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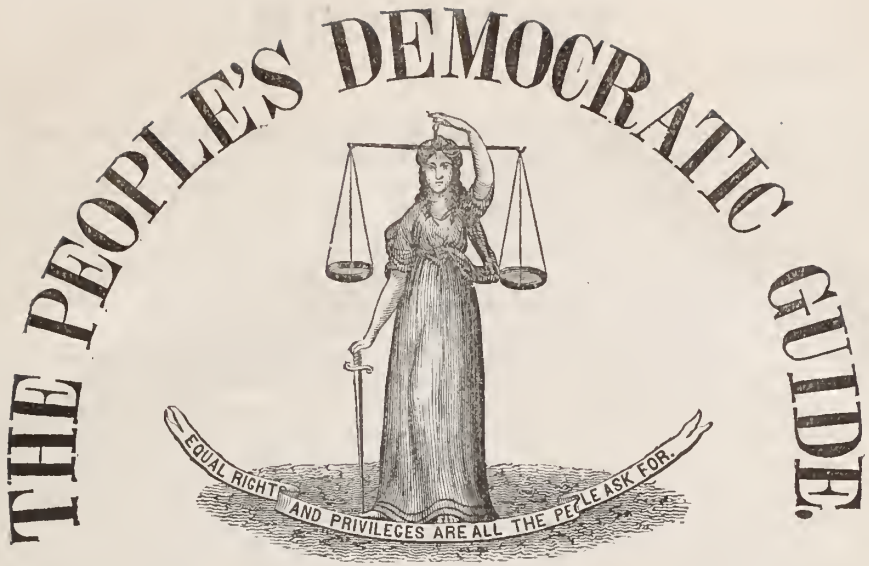
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The blessings of Government, like the dews of Heaven, should be dispensed alike on high and low, the rich and the poor.

The privilege of self-government is one which the people will never be permitted to enjoy unmolested. Power and wealth are continually stealing from the many to the few.

JACKSON.

WILLIAM LEGGETT.

VOLUME ONE.

THIS VOLUME CONTAINS NOT LESS THAN

500 ITEMS ON POLITICAL SUBJECTS,

WORTH MORE THAN TWENTY TIMES THEIR COST TO THE POLITICIAN

AND ALL OTHERS THAT WISH TO POSSESS A

RECORD OF POLITICAL INFORMATION,

COMMENCING WITH THE STRUGGLE FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE TRUE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY,

AND THOSE OF THE FEDERAL WHIGS,

WILL BE FOUND CORRECTLY DELINEATED IN THIS VOLUME.

NEW YORK:

JAMES WEBSTER, PUBLISHING AGENT,
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1842.

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P R E F A C E.

The following selections from our Prospectus, on commencing the publication of **THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC GUIDE**, fully explains its object, &c.

"The nefarious manner in which the producing and working classes have been cheated out of their votes and rights by the *Federal Whigs*, and the want of a publication to present, in a short and laconic style, an account of the various Federal frauds, to supply the deficiency, and to warn the people of the danger in which their liberties are placed, several competent persons in the city of New York have undertaken to edit and compile a Periodical, to be devoted to the cause of Democracy.

We are not, thank God, of the number who, "having eyes, see not—and having ears, hear not." No! we have seen and heard sufficient to convince us that it is the intention of the leading Federal Whigs to establish a *strong government*, after the *model* of that of *England*; that they are grasping at this, see what is daily passing before our eyes: see the daring strides lately perpetrated in this State, that of *interfering* with the *Judiciary*, in *stopping* the course of *Justice*, and removing judges for doing their duty. These facts point us to that precious instrument, the Declaration of Independence of these United States; the framers of which, speaking of the tyranny of the King of England, use this language: "He has obstructed the administration of justice." "He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices." These two items alone gave great cause for our forefathers to *pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honour*. See too the *Registry Law* for the city of New York. *Infamous* as this law is, it is only the *pioneer* of one of a more *desperate character*, viz: a Registry Law for the whole State; and one, too, intended to *disfranchise* the greater portion of the producing and working classes. The same desperate game is playing in several other States in the Union.

"The course the *modern Whigs* do, and will continue to pursue, to enslave the people, reminds us of the bold stand taken by Patrick Henry just on the eve of the American Revolution. That fearless Virginia Patriot, in 1775, seeing the rapid strides of the British government, British capital, and *domestic foes*, &c., to enslave the American people, exclaimed in the Legislative Hall of Virginia, "Our chains are forged; their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston." This remark may now be applied to every part of the Union; and it rest with the people to say whether their chains shall be *broken*, or suffered to be *riveted* closer.

Be that as it may, we will at all hazards do our duty, by informing the people of the numerous *snare*s, *traps*, &c., set by the Federal Whigs to enslave them; after which, if they will suffer themselves to be imposed upon, "*our skirts will be clear*."

"To give the promised information, we shall have to borrow largely from the various Democratic and Federal papers extant, and daily issuing from the press, for the purpose of analysing their contents, making extracts, &c. By this it will be perceived that the People's Democratic Guide is not intended to rank as a scientific and literary publication, but a compiler of facts in politics, political economy, jurisprudence, &c., with such short and laconic articles as we conceive the working classes particularly require. Indeed we are under the impression that the Democratic Guide will be a publication required by politicians of extensive reading. Often have we seen politicians of this description fail in political arguments for want of such an index as we intend to give.

"The Democratic Guide will contain an analysis of the proceedings of Congress, and such other topics as we can collect to promote the cause of Democracy, and to make use of a common expression, it will contain the *pith* and *marrow* of the political matter contained in numbers of Democratic and other publications.

With the advantages thus offered to the people, the conductors of the People's Democratic Guide cannot for a moment doubt but that their efforts to serve and promote the cause of Democracy will meet with corresponding liberality from the Democratic party over the country. By the terms of publication it will be observed, that the very reasonable price brings it within the reach of all who may be desirous to obtain information regarding the political state of our country."

How far we have complied with our promises, our readers will of course judge for themselves by the political matter, &c. contained in this volume.

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ERRATA.—On page 353, our readers will find reference to an article intended to have been published in this number. It was necessarily omitted.

The article headed "Democratic Candidate for the Presidency," page 346, should have been credited to the *Montgomery Adv., Alabama*.

THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC GUIDE.



The blessings of Government, like the dews of Heaven, should be dispensed alike on high and low, the rich and the poor.

The privilege of self-government is one which the people will never be permitted to enjoy, unmolested. Power and wealth are continually stealing from the many to the few.

JACKSON.

Power and
WILLIAM LEGGETT.

VOL. I.

NOVEMBER, 1841.

No. I.

INTRODUCTION.

WE herewith present to the public the first number of "THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC GUIDE," to be devoted solely to the support of the great and fundamental principle of Free Trade and the People's Rights—a principle which our ancestors strove to make perfect and secure to us by the Declaration of Independence, and our Constitution and Articles of Confederation; and which was made so clear by those great Instruments, that we cannot but be astonished at its utter perversion and destruction by late Statesmen and Demagogues. It is our intention to give to the sentiments and rules expressed in these Instruments our unqualified and devoted support, believing that by so doing alone, can we accomplish the grand object of all Democracy—THE GREATEST GOOD TO THE GREATEST NUMBER.

Believing as we do, that these Instruments should be to the Republican what the Bible is to the Christian—the corner-stone of all political faith and action; and that the only safeguard of our Institutions is, that every American consider it his sacred duty, to protect them with patriotic vigilance from every shadow of encroachment. And being satisfied, from recent observations and communications, that the efforts of Demagogues, in perverting their true meaning, have in a measure succeeded, and that they are generally but imperfectly understood; we have determined to give them to our readers in this first number, and ask for them an attention and perusal commensurate with their importance. We shall also, if we meet with a corresponding liberality from the people, soon publish, in extra numbers

or pages, the Constitution of the several States, by which all may be prepared to judge how far their Equal Rights are trampled upon by Congress and the several Legislative Bodies.

It is our intention to make "The People's Democratic Guide" a faithful and impartial record of the past and future political events of our Country, and we therefore earnestly request our subscribers to preserve the numbers in good order, and have them bound at the end of the year, for which purpose we will furnish them with a title-page and index, accompanying the twelfth number.

"In adopting an anonymous form, we have used a Privilege of which, from Swift (who wrought under it more powerfully and beneficially than any man who ever lived) to the most eminent of the present day, all have availed themselves. We have relinquished in these times, when Public Principle, for the most part, is resolved into servility and hypocrisy, general, for private approbation, Money for truth; and where a name could have served the cause given it. But we would rather subject the enemies which this work may make to the Dilemma of rebutting facts, which are stubborn things, than afford them the more favourite alternative of private Persecution. There is no moral obligation which compels a man to stand at an ass's heels, nor any precaution which deprives Vipers of their power to Sting."

With the foregoing observations, &c., we cast the People's Democratic Guide before the American People, not doubting but that they will give it a support commensurate with its usefulness.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

IN CONGRESS, July 4, 1776.

The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident:—that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation, till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large, for their exercise, the state remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to en-

courage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has effected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments:

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections among us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here.

We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world, for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexions between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

JOHN HANCOCK.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Josiah Bartlett,
William Whipple,
Matthew Thorton.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

Samuel Adams,
John Adams,
Robert Treat Paine,
Elbridge Gerry.

RHODE ISLAND, &c.

Stephen Hopkins,
William Ellery.

CONNECTICUT.

Roger Sherman,
Samuel Huntington,
William Williams,
Oliver Wolcott.

NEW YORK.

William Floyd,
Philip Livingston,
Francis Lewis,
Lewis Morris.

NEW JERSEY.

Richard Stockton,
John Witherspoon,
Francis Hopkinson,
John Hart,

Abraham Clark.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Robert Morris,
Benjamin Rush,
Benjamin Franklin,
John Morton,
George Clymer,
James Smith,

George Taylor,
James Wilson,
George Ross.

DELAWARE.

Cesar Rodney,
George Read,
Thomas McKean.

MARYLAND.

Samuel Chase,
William Paca,
Thomas Stone,
Charles Carroll,
of Carrollton.

VIRGINIA.

George Wythe,
Richard Henry Lee,
Thomas Jefferson,
Benjamin Harrison
Thomas Nelson, jr.
Francis Lightfoot Lee,
Carter Braxton.

NORTH CAROLINA.

William Hooper,
Joseph Hewes,
John Penn.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Edward Rutledge,
Thomas Heyward, jr.
Thomas Lynch, jr.
Arthur Middleton.

GEORGIA.

Burton Gwinnett,
Lyman Hall,
George Walton.

ART. I. SEC. 1.—1. All legislative powers herein granted, shall be vested in a congress of the United States, which shall consist of a senate and house of representatives.

SEC. 2.—1. The house of representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states; and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

2. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of *New Hampshire* shall be entitled to choose three; *Massachusetts* eight; *Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* one; *Connecticut* five; *New York* six; *New Jersey* four; *Pennsylvania* eight; *Delaware* one; *Maryland* six; *Virginia* ten; *North Carolina* five; *South Carolina* five; and *Georgia* three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The house of representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SEC. 3.—1. The senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided, as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

4. The vice-president of the United States shall be president of the senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president pro tempore, in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the United States.

6. The senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the president

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America.

of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend farther than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust, or profit, under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment according to law.

SEC. 4.-1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2. The congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SEC. 5.-1. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members; and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each house may provide.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house, on any question, shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither house, during the session of congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SEC. 6.-1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to or returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SEC. 7.-1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives; but the senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the house of representatives and the senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the president of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it

shall likewise be reconsidered, and, if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the president within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the senate and house of representatives may be necessary, (except on a question of adjournment,) shall be presented to the president of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the senate and house of representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SEC. 8. The congress shall have power—

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States:

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States:

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes:

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States:

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures:

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States:

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads:

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries:

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court; To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations:

10. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water:

11. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years:

12. To provide and maintain a navy:

13. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces:

14. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions:

15. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by congress:

16. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states and the acceptance of congress, become the seat of government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased, by the consent of the le-

gislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings:—and,

17. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SEC. 9.—1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder, or ex post facto law, shall be passed.

4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to or from one state be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

6. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law: and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

7. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States, and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SEC. 10.—1 No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility.

2. No state shall, without the consent of the congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States, and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the congress. No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ART. II. SEC. 1.—1. The executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

3. The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate. The president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the house of representatives shall immediately choose, by ballot, one of them for president; and if no person have a majority, then, from the highest five on the list, the said house shall, in like manner, choose the president. But, in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the president, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the vice-president. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the senate shall choose from them, by ballot, the vice-president.

4. The congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person, except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice-president, and the congress may, by law, provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the president and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as president, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.

7. The president shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

9. “I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States.”

SEC. 2.—1. The president shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur: and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper, in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SEC. 3.—1. He shall, from time to time, give to the congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and, in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed; and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SEC.—4. 1. The president, vice-president, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanours.

ART. III. SEC. 1.—1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour; and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SEC. 2.—1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority: to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states, between a state and citizens of another state, between citizens of different states, between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the congress may by law have directed.

SEC. 3.—1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ART. IV. SEC. 1.—1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SEC. 2.—1. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

2. A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labour in one state under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

SEC. 3.—1. New states may be admitted by the congress into this union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state, nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned, as well as of the congress.

2. The congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

SEC. 4.—1. The United States shall guaranty to every state in this union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive, (when the legislature cannot be convened,) against domestic violence.

ART. 5.—1. The congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution; or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the congress; provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article: and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.

ART. 6.—1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution, as under the confederation.

2. This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby; anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this constitution: but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ART. 7.—1. The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the states present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

President and deputy, from Virginia.

DELEWARE.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

John Langdon,
Nicholas Gilman.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Nathaniel Gorham,
Rufus King.

CONNECTICUT.

William Samuel Johnson,
Roger Sherman.

NEW YORK.

Alexander Hamilton.

NEW JERSEY.

William Livingston,
David Brearley,
William Patterson,
Jonathan Dayton.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Benjamin Franklin,
Thomas Mifflin,
Robert Morris,
George Clymer,
Thomas Fitzsimons,
Jared Ingersoll,
James Wilson,
Gouverneur Morris.

Attest,

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

DELEWARE.

George Read,
Gunning Bedford, jun.

John Dickinson,

Richard Bassett,
Jacob Broom.

MARYLAND.

James M'Henry,
Daniel of St. Tho. Jenifer,
Daniel Carroll.

VIRGINIA.

John Blair,
James Madison, jun.

NORTH CAROLINA.

William Blount,
Richard Dobbs Spaight,
Hugh Williamson.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

John Rutledge,
Charles C. Pinckney,
Charles Pinckney,
Pierce Butler.

GEORGIA.

William Pew,
Abraham Baldwin.

arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ART. 6. In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation: to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ART. 7. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ART. 8. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ART. 9. The enumeration in the constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ART. 10. The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

ART. 11. The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ART. 12.—1. The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for president and vice-president, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as president, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as vice-president; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as president, and of all persons voted for as vice-president, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate; the president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted: the person having the greatest number of votes for president, shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed: and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as president, the house of representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the president. But, in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the house of representatives shall not choose a president whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the vice-president shall act as president, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the president.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

ART. 1. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ART. 2. A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ART. 3. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ART. 4. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ART. 5. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases

2. The person having the greatest number of votes as vice-president, shall be the vice-president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the highest two numbers on the list the senate shall choose the vice-president: a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

3. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of president, shall be eligible to that of vice-president of the United States.

Articles of Confederation in our next.

THE IDENTITY OF THE OLD HARTFORD CONVENTION FEDERALISTS With the Modern Whig Party.

IN the summer of last year the talented and industrious editors of the Boston Morning Post collected together various documents, showing the identity of the Hartford Convention Federalists with the party now styling themselves Whigs, and published the same in pamphlet form. It is to this pamphlet we are indebted for the following extracts, which, we trust, will not only be found highly interesting to the Democracy of our country, but to those who may differ with us in politics, at least that portion of them who are not so blind as not to see, hear, and appreciate truth when presented to them in a clear and undeniable form. We have good reason to believe that many good old Democrats have been led astray, and cast their votes for the Federal Whigs, under the firm belief and impression that they were voting for men of the same stock as the Whigs of '76—and defenders and supporters of the late war with England—really, how the people have been gulled by the falsehoods and misrepresentations, made by the Federal Whigs, over every section of our country. The falsehoods, misrepresentations, &c., immediately under consideration, or which we have referred to, will be *particularized* in a future number of this journal; when, if we mistake not, several *classes* will appear in no enviable light; among them, clergymen, who *dabble* in politics, causing *strife* and ill-will *between man and man*: and not following the example of Jesus Christ, but bowing and cringing to those clothed in purple and fine linen, and passing by the poor as if they did not see them. To master manufacturers, mechanics, merchants, &c., who are in the habit of compelling their workmen, by threats of discharging them from their employ, unless they vote at elections for such men as they may name—to such we say, you shall hear from us in due time; and such as do not mend their *ways* in this respect, we will let know that the employer is quite as dependent on the employed, as they are on him. Although we are in possession of numerous facts, accompanied with the names of employers, yet we will avoid making them public, unless, indeed, we are compelled, in justice to the labourer, to ourselves, and to the cause we are engaged in.

In the Boston Atlas (a Federal Whig paper) of August 4, 1840, may be found the following:

"The present Whigs are not the old Hartford Convention Federalists. We all know that that class of politicians became dissatisfied with John Q. Adams, and pending the second canvass went over to Andrew Jackson! The great republican party adhered to their allegiance, and were then as they now are, true Democrats of the Jefferson school, CONSTITUTING THE PRESENT WHIG PARTY."

The recklessness of Whiggery leaves nothing sacred. History must be turned out of doors, and falsehood put in her place. Since then, this alleged change of old parties is to be falsely assumed to practise on the young men who have not examined the subject, it becomes indispensable to put it right. Let those who have sought to seize the monument of Jefferson, and place it over the bones of Federalism, thank themselves for having compelled us to restore it to its right place, with its true inscription, and expose the rottenness it has been made to cover. We would pain no living man connected with those scenes. Many of them are venerable, and most estimable in private life. We would tread lightly on the ashes of the dead; but truth—historic truth—eternal truth—must not, and shall not, be sacrificed.

This assertion in the Atlas has a meaning. It follows close upon the display of "the significant banner" at Baltimore, by the Boston Harrison Delegation, and closer still upon the declaration of Mr. Daniel Webster, at the log cabin gathering in Alexandria, in the District of Columbia, the 11th of June last, when he pledged his men of the North to go with the men of the South, in electing Harrison to the presidency.

That was a meeting ominous to the South, deceptive to the North.

The secret policy of tampering with the Abolitionists of the North had been perfected so far as it could be carried without endangering the South. Mr. Webster relied on party machinery to carry the Whig Abolitionists of his section, let him say what he would to the South; and he took the occasion at Alexandria, just upon the disclosure of General Harrison's secret letter to Mr. Evans, to proclaim an alliance with the South, in the hope of strengthening General Harrison in that section, and doing away the effect of the discovery of Mr. William B. Calhoun's correspondence with the Abolitionists of Massachusetts.

These are the memorable words Mr. Webster used on that occasion:

"WE HAVE MADE WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON THE BEARER OF OUR STANDARD!"

Who are they, and what is their standard? Where have they ever been, and where do they ever mean to be?

This is not the first time that Mr. Webster has officiated in the ceremony of a left-handed marriage between the Federalists of Massachusetts and the Whigs of the South and West.

The 10th of November, 1837, Mr. John Bell, of Tennessee, appeared at a great Whig meeting in Faneuil Hall, Boston, and standing beside Daniel Webster, who presided in that meeting, Mr. Bell exclaimed, "Tennessee is in principle with Massachusetts."

The same men who stood by Mr. Webster to ratify that alliance, the John Davises, the Benjamin Russells, the I. C. Bateses, and the Saltonstalls, are now his vouchers for the pledge at Alexandria. Who and where are they?

Daniel Webster was the author of the Rockingham Circular, adopted by a convention of Federalists in New

Hampshire, denouncing the war, from which he was transferred to congress. Previous to this, in 1806, he delivered an oration, the 4th of July, before "the Federal gentlemen" of Concord, N. H., in which he inveighed against President Jefferson, and denounced him for his love of peace and regard to economy.

"Patriotism," said he, "has given place to the spirit of economy. Regard to national honour is absorbed in a thirst for gain and a desire to save."

In his pamphlet against the Embargo, Mr. Webster said of Jefferson:

"When a man's pretensions are utterly inconsistent with his actions, his pretensions must be false. The motive assigned for laying the embargo, was never the true motive. When we have a British war, we of course [shall] have a French alliance, and surrender our liberties and independence to the protection of Bonaparte."

In 1812, at a Federal Convention, held in Brentwood, Mr. Webster reported resolutions justifying the public enemy, and condemning his own government.

While in congress, he opposed the war at every step. Among volumes of speeches, denouncing the war and the administration, he said:

"Utterly astonished at the declaration of war, I have been surprised at nothing since. I saw how it would be prosecuted, when I saw how it was begun. There is an unchangeable relation between *rash councils* and *feeble execution*."

"They (the Federalists) know the limit of constitutional opposition. Up to that limit they will walk, and walk fearlessly."

He thus exulted at the defeat of our arms and the murderous inroads of the savages:

"This is not the entertainment to which we were invited. We are told that these disappointments are owing to the opposition which the war encounters. This is no new strain. It is the constant tune of every weak or wicked administration!"

Let the recorded votes of Mr. Webster in congress show where he was and ever has been.

July 1, 1813, Daniel Webster voted against a bill for assessing and collecting taxes to sustain the war. January 7, 1814, he voted against a bill to fill the ranks of the army; January 10, against a bill to detect and punish traitors and spies; January 22, against a bill to enlist troops during the war, in a minority of seven; January 25, against enforcing the non-importation laws; February 8, against raising five regiments; March 29, against calling out the militia to execute the laws and repel invasion; December 1, against providing revenue for maintaining the public credit; December 10, against calling on the States for their quotas of militia to defend the frontiers; on the 19th, against a bill to provide for the expenses of the war, and against a bill to provide for rebuilding the capitol and public offices, which had been burnt by the enemy!

In the same spirit, in 1836, when we were threatened with a French war, and it was proposed to put means in the hands of Andrew Jackson to defend the country, Daniel Webster exclaimed, in the United States Senate, "I would not vote for the bill if the enemy were battering down the walls of the capitol."

A very natural sentiment from the man who voted against rebuilding the capitol after the enemy had burnt it down.

So much for the army. What did Mr. Webster do for the navy? He now pretends that was his favourite in the war, and the Federalists lately gave him a cane made from wood of Perry's flag-ship. What did he do for the navy?

The 7th of January, 1814, Mr. Webster voted against an appropriation of one million, for defraying the expenses of the navy! This was less than four months after the victory of Perry on the lakes, so that, had the country depended on Daniel Webster, the gallant Perry's flag-ship could not have been kept afloat.

The catalogue is not full, but it is sufficient.

And who are Daniel Webster's associates in Massachusetts, who have made William Henry Harrison the bearer of their standard? We will identify some of the leaders.

John Davis, (the Federal Harrison candidate for governor against the patriotic and incorruptible Marcus Morton.) And where has John Davis been? We have just stated that, in 1814, Mr. Webster voted against rebuilding the capitol. How his associate, Mr. John Davis, received the news of that outrage, will appear from the following statement:

[From the Worcester Palladium.]

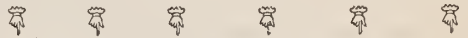
SENATOR DAVIS.

"John Davis is the man who gave three cheers in the streets of Worcester, when he received the news that the British army had sacked the city of Washington, and burnt the capitol."

This statement we made on the authority of an unimpeachable witness, who stood within a few feet of Mr. Davis at the time. All three of the whig papers of this town, the *Spy*, the *Ægis*, and the *North Bend*, have denied that anything of the kind ever occurred, and have hurled at the *Palladium* the keenest shafts their malice could command. But not intending to be brow-beaten by them out of what we believed to be truth, we have persisted in the truth of the statement. The *Ægis* has pursued us with singular virulence, declaring as follows:

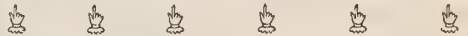
"It is false that ever a man of our population rejoiced that the capitol had been captured, sacked, and burned;" and that "there is no person, gentleman, or of other description, now residing in Worcester, who will say that he ever knew or heard Mr. Davis, by word or act, exult over any victory of the British, because such an act was never done by him. It is a libel on our town to affirm that any of its citizens shouted when the intelligence, which stirred every breast with indignation, of the capture of Washington was received."

Now mark how plain a tale shall put our reviler down!



[From the National *Ægis* of August 31, 1814.]

"*Horrible Depravity*. When the news of the capture of Washington reached this town, some of the leading Federalists openly expressed their gratification, mingled with a regret that the President was not involved in the destruction of the capitol!"



If we are rightly informed, the Democratic *Ægis* of 1814 (not the Federal *Ægis* of 1810) was under the control of a brother of the present editor of the *Ægis*. Of course we shall have no more denials from that quarter, that "some of the leading Federalists" of this town were so horribly depraved as to openly express their gratification at the destruction of the capitol. Shall we have any restrictions? Our accusation against Mr. Davis lags far behind that of the *Ægis* of 1814. We have not accused him of expressing a "regret that the President was not involved in the destruction of the capitol," though, from the temper of his writings at that time, there can be little doubt that the destruction of Mr.

Madison would have sent a thrill of joy through the frame of a man whose daily habit it was to calumniate him as base, perfidious, cowardly, and a "buffoon."

In 1816, the year after the war, the same Mr. John Davis delivered an oration on the 4th of July, before the Federalists of Worcester. We give a few extracts, to show the character of that oration.

"Could Federalists exult in the discharge of severe and ungrateful duty, they might look back with proud satisfaction on their career."

"What is our remuneration for the toil, the labour, and the peril of that season of calamity? [the war.] Are the Canadas subdued? Have we any safer passport on the highway of nations? On these subjects the boasted treaty which was sealed with the blood of thousands, is silent. What, then, are the trophies of that obdurate combat? National glory? And what is that national glory achieved by the blood of thousands? Ask that blazing meteor which consumed Moscow, and, shorn of its beams, has set in the Western Ocean? [Napoleon.]

"Our lesson, though less disastrous, is not much less humiliating.

"When the tax-gatherer knocks at your doors, remember that the tribute he demands is the purchase of national glory.

"When the fisherman sees his occupation gone, let him remember that his government have made the sacrifice for national glory.

"When the merchant murmurs that he is shut out from the West India trade, let him remember it was abandoned in quest of national glory.

"When in the disguise of double duties you pay an exorbitant tax on all foreign commodities, [the Tariff,] let it not escape your minds that this too is a tribute for national glory.

"When you see the page of history which records the sacking of Alexandria and the destruction of the capitol, remember that these were only propitiatory offerings on the altar of ambition, to secure the blessings of national glory.

"The Federalists are gratified that they have erred so little, that they have boldly confronted the menaces of power, the wiles of ambition, and in the darkest times advocated those great measures which were calculated to accelerate the prosperity, and promote the permanent interests of the nation; while they have strenuously opposed that narrow, self-destroying policy, which was founded in party animosity, adapted to a foreign climate, and drew after it poverty, war, and the loss of invaluable national privileges."

This is the eulogy which that modern pretender to the Jefferson school, "honest" ("ay, honest") John Davis, pronounced on the administrations of Jefferson and Madison.

A brief history of another of these "Whigs of the Jefferson school," who is associated with Mr. Webster in making General Harrison the bearer of their standard.

Isaac C. Bates, one of the Harrison electors for Massachusetts, and a missionary of the Harrisburg Convention.

July 14th, 1812, this same Mr. Isaac C. Bates was secretary of the Federal Convention for Hampshire, Franklin, and Hampden, held at Northampton, to denounce the war, every living man of which convention, save one, is now a Harrison Whig. Mr. Bates was chosen one of the Committee of Safety, with Lyman, and Strong, and others, every living man of whom is now a high whig, viz., Joseph Lyman, the Whig Sheriff of Northampton county, a surviving member of the Hartford Convention; Richard E. Newcomb, Judge

of Probate for Franklin; Lewis Strong, son of Governor Caleb Strong; Elijah Alvord, Register of Probate for Franklin; George Grennell, Whig member of the last congress; and

Oliver B. Morris, Judge of Probate for Hampden, and Mr. W. B. Calhoun's confidential correspondent, to whom he wrote the letter (not to get into the newspapers) to be used to satisfy the Abolitionists that General Harrison was with them, and would do all in his power for emancipation.

That Convention, of which these living whigs were most prominent members, adopted a memorial calling on the President forthwith to make peace with Great Britain; and they

"Resolved, That our rulers [James Madison, &c.] have prostrated our national character, sacrificed our vital interests, and finally involved us unprepared in the calamities of war."

This manifesto was signed by Isaac C. Bates as secretary.

And he is the same man who, in February, 1812, pronounced an oration before "the Washington Benevolent Society" of the county of Hampshire, in which he eulogized Ames and Hamilton as patriots, and denounced Jefferson and Madison as traitors. Hamilton's system of revenue—the very thing Mr. Van Buren and the Democracy are opposing—he called

"The main artery of the body politic, which even the Vandal band of this administration [Madison's] dare not cut."

Hon. Leverett Saltonstall is another of Mr. Webster's associates in making General Harrison the standard-bearer of the old Federal party, under their new name.

Mr. Saltonstall, in July, 1812, was chosen, with Timothy Pickering, delegate to the Federal rebel convention held in Boston, August 6, 1812, to oppose the war. He voted for an address on that occasion, which says:

"In an evil hour, Mr. Jefferson gained the President's chair.

"Our country, then prosperous, has been grievously oppressed by ruinous commercial restrictions, which for many years have been wantonly imposed by the government of the United States; and its measure of iniquity is now filled up by a declaration of war against Great Britain—a war impolitic, unnecessary, and unjust.

"In this awful state of things, it is the urgent duty of the freemen of Massachusetts to consult together. This duty has become the more imperious by the condition of the government of this commonwealth, (Massachusetts,) of which one branch (the Senate) is in the hands of usurpers devoted to the iniquitous system of the national government, (James Madison.)

"Our common interests, liberties, and safety are now (1812) more injured, opposed, and endangered, by the doings of our own national government, than they were when, in 1775, we took up arms to protect and defend them against the measures of the British government."

Mr. Saltonstall, who adopted this abuse of Jefferson and Madison, July 21, 1812, at the Essex Junto convention, is now held up as a Jefferson Democrat, (Heaven save the mark!) and is one of the great whig executive committee who are going "to restore the days of our patriot presidents." What presidents?

The Senate of Massachusetts, in 1813, which Leverett Saltonstall denounced as "usurpers devoted to the iniquitous system of the national government," had a majority of Democrats, friends of Jefferson and

supporters of Madison and the war. Of that Senate Marcus Morton, now the Democratic Governor of Massachusetts, was clerk, and Samuel Dana (deceased) president. Mr. Morton, the clerk, was turned out the next year, when the Federalists got the power.

Mr. Saltonstall was a prominent Federal member of the Massachusetts House in 1814, '15, and '16. The journals will show where he then was.

October 13th, 1814, Mr. Saltonstall was placed second on the committee to report upon the Hartford Convention: William Sullivan was chairman; Mr. Saltonstall was the prominent mover in the committee.

January 27, 1815, Leverett Saltonstall voted to approve the doings of the Hartford Convention, and to appoint three commissioners to apply to the United States government for the separation of Massachusetts from the States, in the defence of her territory.

This same Mr. Saltonstall is now a whig member of congress, and one of the "Whig Executive Committee" for the nation, who tell the people that their object is "the restoration of the government to the days of her patriot presidents."

[From the Boston Centinel of July 13, 1812.]

"The union of the Northern and Southern States is not essential to the safety, and is very much opposed to the interests, of both sections. A peaceable separation would be for the happiness of all sections."

[From the Centinel of June 26, 1813.]

"The events of this most abominable war make a very melancholy impression on all who are not peculiarly interested in its perpetuation. Besides the horrid effusion of human blood, the monthly expenses of the war are six millions."

[From the Centinel of March 30, 1816.—Extract from the Federal Address to the people.]

"The malignant blasts of Democracy have swept over us like a pestilence. Why should we vote for the Jeffersons, the Madisons, the Monroes, and their modern satellites, who exhausted our resources, ruined our commerce, and chilled the life-blood of our prosperity by a wicked war to gratify a foreign monster. Come forward, then, and brand with infamy the profligate ringleaders of Democracy."

After the election of Governor Brooks over Samuel Dexter, the Centinel of April 10th exclaimed:

"Democracy is like the clump-footed cabbage. It sprouts in the wet and shade, but when the sun of Federalism shines, it decays and putrefies."

"Mr. Jefferson, about this time, is repeating his exclamation, 'The devil is still in Massachusetts!'"

Here is one of your modern whigs of "the Jefferson school," and he says he knows the whigs are right in supporting Harrison.

We might give more full lengths of prominent Harrison standard-bearers of the blue-light school, but they are so numerous we must group them. Of these men, as above described by themselves, who will not say,

"They are where they ever have been and ever mean to be,"—Federalists?

The contest between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson in 1804.

Where were the supporters of Harrison then?

The Federalists of Massachusetts, then in power, were so eager to defeat Jefferson, that they violently changed the mode of choosing electors from districts to a general ticket. This roused the republicans, and the whole electoral ticket was carried by the people for Jefferson, by a majority of 3,533. It was the largest vote that had ever been given in Massachusetts, then including Maine.

Major Benjamin Russell, editor of the Centinel, the Federal organ, said,

"The state of our national affairs, and the activity of the partisans on both sides, has given an extraordinary activity to the election; and in no instance, since the existence of the State, will be found so great a number of votes given in. It has been, emphatically, a struggle whether Massachusetts would consent to become a colony of Virginia, or a free and independent State."

At that period the supporters of Jefferson called their party republican; but they were universally nicknamed, by the Federalists, *Democrats*, as a term of reproach. The Centinel thus announced the result of the choice of the Jefferson electoral ticket:

"The whole number of votes was 55,000. The highest on the Democratic list had 29,310 votes. The lowest on the Federal ticket, 25,126. The general result may be thus stated: for the Federal ticket, 25,777; for the Democratic ticket, 29,310; odds, 3,533."

The following extracts from the Boston Centinel of that day will show the lines between the two parties, and the bitterness of the then Massachusetts Federalists (now Whigs) against Jefferson Democracy and Virginia:

"If Massachusetts is doomed to become a satellite of Virginia, no blame can rest on Suffolk."

"The result of the electoral choice in this State (for Jefferson) will not materially lessen the faith of any genuine Federalist in the ultimate triumph of the principles of the Constitution as administered by Washington and Adams.

'Tis not in mortals to command success;
They can deserve it."

Alden Bradford, the Federal historian of Massachusetts, says of the success of the Jefferson electoral ticket, in 1804:

"The Democratic party triumphed, much to the disappointment and mortification of the Federalists."

When Sullivan was elected governor, the same writer says,

"For the first time after the Federal government was established, all branches of the government in Massachusetts, in 1807, were Democratic, and again in 1810 and '11."

This is pretty conclusive as to what was meant by Federalist and Democrat in those days. Let us see, then, where the leaders are now. Mr. Alden Bradford is now a very strenuous Harrison man. He was Governor Strong's secretary in the war.

In 1804, Massachusetts, including Maine, gave 19 electoral votes.

Where were the men who were identified in that contest between Adams and Jefferson, thirty-six years ago? and where are the survivors now?

Of the Democratic ticket of electors, headed by James Sullivan and Elbridge Gerry, not one is living. Like the immortal signers of the Declaration, all have gone to their long homes.

Of the Federal John Adams ticket, headed by David Cobb (the avowed monarchist of the reign of terror) and Oliver Wendell, but two are known to be now living, viz., Ebenezer Mattoon, of Amherst, and Samuel S. Wilde, of Hallowell. Where are these men now? and where have they always been?

It was exultingly announced, in the whig papers, that, at the celebration of the last 4th of July, in Barre, where Daniel Webster was the whig orator, the veteran General Ebenezer Mattoon, a Revolutionary soldier, was present, and gave his voice in favour of Harrison!

And who is Ebenezer Mattoon, whom the whigs so exultingly parade in their log cabin processions?

He is the same man who, in 1804, was run as a John Adams elector against Thomas Jefferson, and was defeated by the Democrats of Massachusetts.

He is the very same man who, in 1811, was removed from the office of Sheriff of Hampshire by Governor Gerry, afterward Vice-President with James Madison. He was then taken up by the Federalists, and elected a member of the legislature.

And, farther, this General Mattoon, whose support of Harrison is exultingly proclaimed by the "Harrison Democrats," as they style themselves, was a Federal member of the Massachusetts legislature in 1812, and voted for all the Hartford Convention measures, and signed the violent protest to congress denouncing James Madison's war.

William Sullivan, of Boston, another of Mr. Webster's associates, who died within a year, in the full faith of British Whiggery, (and who, were he now living, would rally around the Federal standard-bearer, General Harrison,) held up these men to scorn, in his *Familiar Letters*, published in 1834.

Mr. Sullivan was the ambassador of the Hartford Convention, sent to Washington in 1814, to demand of President Madison the separation of New England from the Union, in carrying on the war. He was an active partisan whig, to the time of his decease, and none better understood the motto of that party, borne on its significant banner at Baltimore,

"We are where we ever have been and ever mean to be."

Mr. Sullivan thus identifies the Federalists of 1812 and the Whigs of 1834. He says,

"When Mr. Madison came to the presidency, the opponent party were the Federalists. The opponent party at this day (1834) are citizens known by some other name, but they are men of the same principles."—*Familiar Letters*, p. 282.

Judge Hopkinson, of Pennsylvania, another veteran Federalist and modern whig, who is now associated with Mr. Webster in supporting the Federal "standard-bearer," exultingly exclaimed, in the Pennsylvania Convention, Dec. 23, 1837, when the bank suspensions had given new hopes to the opposition:

"Notwithstanding all the calumnies that have been uttered against the Federal party, yet they are always at their post in the hour of danger. Their principles are always invoked to rescue the country from difficulties it is plunged in by the rashness of their opponents. Thus in times of difficulty they triumph, and they are now again coming into power. I see some honest faces present who are not ashamed to avow themselves Federalists."

Such is the identity of the old "Federal Republican," and the new "Whig Republican," or "Democratic Whig" party. But let us return to the war and the Hartford Convention, and see where the present associates of Mr. Webster, in holding up their "standard-bearer" Harrison, then were.

The war was declared June 18, 1812. We all know where Daniel Webster was then, and his motto says, "I am where I ever have been and ever mean to be."

How was the declaration received in Massachusetts, and where are the men now?

Hon. Samuel Putnam, of Salem, then a member of the Massachusetts House, offered a resolve, (June 2, 1812, before war was declared,) deprecating the measure, and reported a strong memorial to congress against it, which passed, 406 to 249. The memorial was dis-

claimed by the republicans of that day, as humiliating to us, and meanly submissive to Great Britain.

Of those who voted for this Federal protest, we have ascertained that thirty-nine are now living, and of these all but one man are active, decided whigs, associates of Mr. Webster in supporting Harrison as the "standard-bearer" of Federalism!

Who were the men that opposed the war? Where are the survivors now?

Governor Strong sent a message to the Massachusetts legislature, June 23, 1812, announcing and denouncing the war. It was referred to a committee. The only survivor of that committee is Charles Jackson, of Boston, the Webster and Harrison elector in 1832. He reported an Address to the people, bitterly denouncing "Madison's war," which passed 165 to 56.

A committee was forthwith appointed to report a fast "on account of the unexpected and calamitous declaration of war."

The only survivor of that committee is Edmund Dwight, now a whig senator for Suffolk.

Seth Sprague, of Duxbury, (now a veteran Democrat, who sent a letter in support of the Independent Treasury to the Democratic celebration of the last 4th of July in that place, and was the Democratic candidate for Senator last fall,) was a State Senator in 1813, and, on his motion, Jan. 29, the Senate, then Democratic, (with Marcus Morton, now governor, its clerk,) voted to build, provision, and equip a 74 gun-ship, to be called the Massachusetts, and present it to the United States government, to be employed by President Madison during the war.

This order was reported against in the house, by Charles Jackson, (the ex-Judge and Harrison elector above named,) and defeated, 310 to 159.

Of the 13 Senators who voted against the above, there are still living, Solomon Strong, (a Judge,) Silas Holman, Daniel A. White, (a Judge,) John Wells, Peter C. Brooks, and Harrison Gray Otis, all Whigs.

Meeting in Faneuil Hall against the war.

July 15, 1812, a great meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, which denounced the war, and vilified James Madison. The most prominent actors in that meeting were, Daniel Sergeant, Harrison Gray Otis, and Josiah Quincy. They are now living, two in Boston and one in Cambridge, and are zealously contributing to try to elect General Harrison. Two of them recently furnished means toward erecting the miserable log cabin on Charles-street, in their ward.

Of Mr. Otis's philippic against Madison, at the Faneuil Hall meeting, the Federal historian says, "Like Demosthenes rousing the Athenians against Philip, his address awakened the citizens of Boston to a virtuous jealousy of the intrigues of France, and of those who are co-operating with her ruler to destroy the liberties of mankind."

Federal meeting in Middlesex.

July 15, 1812, a meeting of Federalists in Middlesex county denounced the war. Of the most prominent actors in that meeting, four are now living, and all ardent whigs, viz.:

Samuel S. P. Fay, Judge of Probate, recently chairman of a great whig meeting, and father R. S. Fay, author of the infamous circular to the workingmen in the Sandwich Glass Company.

Nathaniel Austin, Agent of Warren Free Bridge, appointed by Governor Everett; and Rev. Mr. Ripley, now living in Concord, one of the political preachers against the government in the war, and a uniform Federalist. Isaac Fiske, Register of Probate.

Rebel Convention in Boston.

This was held August 6, 1812. Col. Sumner, now ex-Adjutant General Sumner, (as above,) was secretary. Among the delegates, those now living are, Charles Jackson, (as above;) Artemas Ward, just resigned as Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas; William Parsons, son of Chief Justice Parsons, (an extreme whig;) Warren Dutton, an ex-whig member of the council; and Benjamin Gorham, ex-whig member of congress; all now Harrisonites.

Leverett Saltonstall, member of congress, and one of the whig executive committee for the Union, was also a delegate.

Worcester Convention against the war.

In August, 1812, a violent Federal Convention met in Worcester county. Francis Blake, the most rabid Federalist and disunionist of the day, (not now living,) was at its head. He drew up a declaration in caricature imitation of the Declaration of Independence, which the convention adopted. It was of a highly treasonable character, calling upon the people to withdraw from the government all voluntary aid.

This convention was composed of 80 members. Of these, 40 are known to be dead, 20 are not known to be living, probably dead, and the surviving twenty are every one known to be Harrison Whigs. We give their names.

Elijah Burbank, of Worcester; Nathaniel P. Denny, of Leicester; Nathaniel Chandler, of Petersham; Rufus Bullock, of Royalston, (Justice;) William Drury, of Holden, (Justice;) Samuel Read, of Uxbridge, (whig member of the legislature, 1837;) Nathan Howe, of Shrewsbury, (Justice;) Philip Delano, of New Braintree; Solomon Strong, (now a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas;) William Crawford, of Oakham, (County Commissioner;) Aaron Tufts, of Dudley, (Justice;) James Draper, of Spencer; Aaron White, of Boylston; Nathaniel Crocker and Braddock Livermore, of Paxton; Daniel Tenney, (Justice,) Artemas Bullard, and Jonathan Leland, (Justice,) of Sutton; Jonas Kendall, of Leominster, (of the Quorum;) and Salem Towne, of Charlton, (Justice,) one of the committee to receive Mr. John Bell, at Worcester, in 1837.

John Davis, of Worcester, now the Harrison Federal candidate for governor, was not a member of that convention, being then at New Haven.

Who were the actors in the Hartford Convention, and where are they?

In October, 1814, Caleb Strong, the British Governor of Massachusetts, called an extra session of the legislature, and sent them a message, denouncing the war.

On the 5th of October Mr. Low, of Lyman, Maine, (deceased,) moved to raise a committee, from all the New England States, to go to Washington, and compel James Madison to resign; for having, "by the nefarious plans of his administration, ruined the country."

This old tory threat of rebellion has since been copied by the Boston Atlas, in 1834, in calling for an army of 40,000 men, to go to Washington, and compel the tyrant Jackson to restore the deposits—and by Robert Gould, one of the Whig Committee of New York Merchants, in 1837, who declined being on a distress committee of fifty, but demanded 10,000 armed men, to force Mr. Van Buren to rescind the specie circular and take broken bank-bills.

Who were the Hartford Convention leaders, and where are they now?

At his speech at Alexandria, June 11, 1840, Daniel Webster, who appointed General Harrison his "standard-bearer," exclaimed:

"Fellow-citizens, we must not stop or falter in our opposition to the administration, till our lost prosperity is restored!"

When the Federal Massachusetts legislature assembled to oppose the war, preliminary to the Hartford Convention, Benjamin Russell exclaimed in his Centinel:

"All the branches contain majorities of the friends of peace, and whatever can be done to restore their country to its lost prosperity will be attempted."—[Boston Centinel, May, 26.

The Federal measure to restore lost prosperity, in 1814, was the Hartford Convention. The whig measure, to do the same in 1840, is to restore the lost influence of the Hartford Convention men, by means of the Harrisburg Convention, under Harrison and hard cider!

List of Survivors who voted for the Hartford Convention.

In the Massachusetts Senate, October 8, 1814, Harrison Gray Otis reported the bill for the Hartford Convention, which was carried, 22 to 12. Its principal advocates were Messrs. Otis, Quincy, and White, all now whigs. Of those who voted for it, there are now living,

Josiah Quincy, President of Harvard College, Harrison Gray Otis, Thomas H. Perkins, and Daniel Sargeant, of Boston.

Essex.—Samuel Putnam, a Judge of the Supreme Court, appointed by Governor Strong; Daniel A. White, of Salem, Judge of Probate and President of a Bank panic meeting, and also of the great whig dinner, given to Daniel Webster in 1834, when the decapitated figure-head of the Frigate Constitution was exhibited by Parker H. Pierce, then Chairman of the Boston Whig Committee of Safety, and subsequently the fugitive President of the Whig Commercial Bank. Caleb Foote, the furious whig editor of the Salem Gazette, and an ex-member of Governor Everett's Council, is Judge White's son-in-law.

Worcester.—Silas Holman, of Bolton, holds a State office from a Whig Governor.

Hampden and Franklin.—Samuel Lathrop, Samuel C. Allen.

Bristol.—Samuel Crocker, of Taunton, member of a great Whig Corporation, and an office-holder.

Plymouth.—Wilkes Wood, Judge of Probate, and now nominated for Harrison elector for Plymouth District, by the Whig Convention, held at Worcester, the 17th of June last—voted for and to approve the Hartford Convention, and to send ambassadors to Washington.

Judge Wood headed the hard cider procession, with canoes and cabins, that marched from Middleborough to Bridgewater, the 4th of July last, to hear Robert C. Winthrop, Esq., the Whig Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. Wilkes Wood was chosen a Federal Senator from Plymouth, in 1814, over Nathan Willis, then of Rochester, who was a Republican Senator for that county in 1813, with Seth Sprague, and voted with him for his resolve to build a 74 gun-ship, for the use of the United States, to carry on the war, and against Josiah Quincy's resolution not to rejoice at our naval victories. He was Chairman of the Committee that reported that Marcus Morton was chosen Clerk of the Senate in 1813. Mr. Willis, now of Berkshire, is the Democratic candidate for Lieutenant Governor, while Mr. Wood is a candidate for Harrison elector!

Of the above 11 survivors, out of the 22 who voted for the Hartford Convention in the Senate, all but one

are Whigs and Harrison men. Mr. Allen, of Franklin, is a decided Democrat. He was one of those whom Mr. Otis described as not exactly Federalists, but "the flying squad." In his 8th letter, Mr. Otis speaks of "the Federalists," (or persons composing the majority,) for, he adds, there were among them a few of the "flying squad" in both Houses, in the session of 1814, when the convention was formed. Mr. Allen declined voting on the first motion for the Hartford Convention.

Neither can we positively speak as to Mr. Lathrop, who has taken no part in politics for some time. All the rest are earnest supporters of Harrison. They are "Where they ever have been and ever mean to be."

Surviving members of the Hartford Convention.

The Massachusetts legislature chose these delegates to the convention, in convention, October 18, 1814. The Federalists cast 215 votes—the Republicans all refusing to act in this treasonable proceeding.

The survivors of the Massachusetts delegates are, Hon. S. S. Wilde, Judge of the Supreme Court; Harrison Gray Otis, a member of Congress in 1800, and voted for Aaron Burr against Jefferson; William Prescott, an ex-Judge and Justice for the commonwealth; Hodijah Baylies, Judge of Probate till 1834; Daniel Waldo, Justice of the Quorum; Stephen Longfellow, of Portland; Joseph Lyman, Sheriff of Hampshire, and commissioner to qualify officers; and Thomas H. Perkins, one of the commissioners to treat with the President; signed the Whig handbill, in 1832, that Pennsylvania had gone against Jackson.

Of Governor Strong's Council, who advised the Hartford Convention, two only survive, and both are Whigs, viz., Nahum Mitchell, member of the House, and Benjamin Pickman, the son of a distinguished tory of the revolution, member of the Essex Junto, and one of the committee to celebrate, in Boston, the restoration of the Bourbons.

The only known survivors out of that convention, out of Massachusetts, are correctly ascertained to be Calvin Goddard, and Roger M. Sherman, of Connecticut, Benjamin Hazard, of Rhode Island, and Josiah Dunham, a supernumerary from Vermont, now in Lexington, Kentucky. They are all Harrison Whigs.

Here are one hundred and five of the direct original Hartford Convention school now prominent Whigs, and Democrats, (?) as is pretended, of the Jefferson school! Add to these other survivors who supported legislative measures to get up or approve that convention, 17 in number, and the prominent men in the primary conventions, still living, 18 in number; and it gives an aggregate of one hundred and forty-seven men of that school, nearly all in Massachusetts, who are principal advisers and actors in the efforts to restore the days of the black cockade, and in the language of their expounder, Mr. Webster, "have made William H. Harrison the bearer of their standard!"

Who can doubt the character of that flag, when these are the men who rally under it? Who can deny the aptness of the motto on "the significant banner?"

"We are where we ever have been and ever mean to be!"

Trace it still farther. Mr. Otis, in his defence of that convention, (which Mr. Saltonstall, as one of the Harrison Executive Committee, declares was a patriotic body,) remarks that the actors in that convention have continued to receive in Massachusetts ample testimonials of public confidence.

This is true. In fact, the principal offices in the State are now held by them; and of those whose names

are given in this list, ninety-two now hold offices of Whig appointment.

To these men, the prominent Whig counsellors in Massachusetts, General Wilson says, is owing the nomination of General Harrison! Massachusetts did it, and if the Whig party of Massachusetts directed the movement, who doubts that it is what Judge Hopkinson, of Pennsylvania, described, viz., the old Federal party striving again to get into power?

Josiah Quincy's Resolve.

As another test of identity, we will trace the resolve offered by Josiah Quincy, and adopted by the Federal Senate of Massachusetts, just 11 days after the gallant Lawrence was killed on board the Chesapeake, the news of which had just been confirmed in Boston. A resolve was pending for a vote of thanks to Captain James Lawrence for the capture of the Peacock by the Hornet. Instead of adopting that resolution, it was voted, on Josiah Quincy's motion,

January 15, 1813, "That in a war like the present, waged without justifiable cause, *it is not becoming a moral and religious people to express any approbation of military or naval exploits, which are not immediately connected with the defence of our sea-coast and soil.*"

The Index of the old Senate Journal describes this resolve thus: "Declaring it unbecoming a moral and religious people to express approbation of success in such a war."

It was passed without the yeas and nays. February 12, a motion to erase it from the journal was reported against by a committee who say in their report that,

"The resolve of the 13th of June is in itself highly correct and expedient to form the grounds of constitutional opposition and patriotic discouragement to the prosecution of the war."

This passed, 20 to 8; and the survivors who voted for it were Josiah Quincy, Thomas H. Perkins, Samuel Putnam, Silas Holman, Daniel A. White, S. C. Allen, Solomon Strong, Nahum Mitchell, and James Richardson, of Dedham—all but Mr. Allen, prominent Harrison men, and all now holding Whig State offices, three of them being judges in the land.

The Massachusetts Senate continued in Federal hands till 1824, when William Eustis, Secretary of War under Madison during the war, was elected Democratic Governor of Massachusetts, and Marcus Morton, Lieutenant Governor.

Seth Sprague, now a Democrat, who had voted against the Quincy resolution in 1814, was a member again in 1824. On his motion, it was resolved, 22 to 15,

January 17, 1824, "That the resolve of the 15th of June, 1813, and the preamble thereof, be, and the same are hereby, expunged from the journals of the Senate."

The survivors who voted against expunging, are Thomas H. Perkins, and Peter C. Brooks, of Boston, (father-in-law of Governor Everett;) S. P. Gardner, of Bolton; Thomas Longley, of Hawley, (who, in April 14, 1836, supported in the Massachusetts legislature a law to be passed by congress requiring twenty-one years' residence in the United States of all foreigners before they shall be allowed to vote;) Aaron Tufts, of Dudley, (committee to receive John Bell;) Benjamin Gorham, (afterward sent to congress;) Lewis Strong, and Joseph Strong, jr., (now Whigs in New York. Lewis Strong is a son of Governor Strong;) Nathaniel P. Denney, and Samuel Hubbard, of Boston.

Ten out of the fifteen are now living, all Whigs, and each of them holding an office from a whig governor!

Of the twenty-two who voted for expunging, thirteen survive, of whom nine are Democrats and four Whigs.

Offices held by Hartford Convention Men.

Of the survivors of the Federal party, who voted for the Hartford Convention, or against the war, in the Massachusetts legislature, and were in that convention, sixty-eight now hold civil offices under Whig appointments. Among them are twenty-nine of the most important offices in the state, viz., 1 Chief Justice of Supreme Court, 2 Judges of Supreme Court, 1 Judge of Common Pleas, 2 Judges of Police, 5 Judges of Probate, 1 Treasurer of the Commonwealth, 1 Member of Congress, 2 Registers of Probate, 1 Counsellor of State, 2 Commissioners, 1 City Solicitor, 2 Sheriffs, 1 President of Harvard College, 1 Agent of Militia Claims, and 6 Members of the Legislature, all modern Whigs.

Verily are these men made judges and rulers over us!

The Harrison electors and Hartford Convention.

Of the fourteen candidates now in nomination for Harrison electors in Massachusetts, all but two apostates are old Federalists.

Old Federalists now in Congress from Mass.

In the present Massachusetts delegation there are, Daniel Webster, the bitter opposer of the war from the beginning, and John Davis, the author of the Worcester 4th of July Oration in 1816; Leverett Saltonstall, who supported the Hartford Convention in the House; Abbott Lawrence, a member of the "Washington Benevolent Society" to resist the war; [see Stebbin's Directory, 1813:] John Reed, elected to Congress in 1813, over I. L. Greene, who had voted for the war. Mr. Reed was a member of the Barnstable Federal Rebellion Convention to denounce the war, of which "Squire David Scudder" was president. While in Congress, he voted against every possible measure to sustain the war, and virulently denounced Madison and Jefferson. William S. Hastings, a uniform Federalist, is the son of Seth Hastings, a Federal member of Congress in 1801, who voted for Burr against Jefferson. William B. Calhoun, always a Federalist and U. S. Bank man, supported the ten million bank in Massachusetts. John Quincy Adams need only be named. Levi Lincoln is an apostate republican, now acting with the men who opposed his father, Levi Lincoln, from 1800 to his death, and the son till his desertion in 1826. Mr. Briggs, we believe, is also an apostate. Cushing is too young to have acted in the war, but has since been plated all over with the Silver Grays and petted by the Essex Junto.

William Parmenter, who now supports Mr. Van Buren, was Secretary of a Republican Middlesex Convention, to nominate officers in 1814, and a uniform war Democrat.

Mass. Representatives in Congress during the war.

Of these, every living man then from Massachusetts but one who opposed the war in Congress, is now a Harrison man, viz., Solomon Strong, Judge; John Reed, now a member; Laban Wheaton, William Baylies, Harrison Gray Otis, Josiah Quincy, Artemas Ward, and Daniel Webster, then of N. H.

Massachusetts, since the Constitution, has elected 175 men as members of Congress. Of these, 49 are now living; 37 were elected as Federalists, and of these all but two are now Harrison men; 12 were elected as Democrats, among them Marcus Morton, and all but five are now opposed to Harrison; (2 doubtful.) The apostates are Crowningshield, John Holmes, a Federalist in 1804, Shaw, Silsbee, and Judge Story.

The old Federal newspapers of Massachusetts.

These are all now supporters of Harrison.

Thus much for the identity of old Hartford Convention Federalism in Massachusetts, with the modern British Whig Harrison party.

The same result might be shown in the other New England States, and elsewhere. We have not access to the records. A sample will suffice.

Virginia.—The Richmond Enquirer of August, 1840, states the fact, that in 1800 the city of Richmond gave 254 votes for John Adams. 33 survive, and all but one are Harrison men. 91 voted for Jefferson; 6 survive, and all but one are for Van Buren.

Connecticut.—Two members of the Hartford Convention, and the secretary of that convention, are now living, viz., Roger M. Sherman, Calvin Goddard, and Theodore Dwight. All are Harrison Whigs. The Connecticut Courant, the organ of the Whig party in that State, and always a Federal paper, is edited by Theodore Dwight. It is not excelled for bitterness, intolerance, and everything anti-Democratic.

A friend in Hartford writes—"So far as I am informed, the connexions of every member of the Hartford Convention from this state are 'Whigs.' Truman Smith, the member of Congress, and one of the Whig Executive Committee with Saltonstall, Clarke, Botts, &c., is a nephew of Nathaniel Smith, a deceased member of that convention."

Vermont old Federalists and Harrison men.

Hon. C. P. Van Ness, in a recent address before a Democratic Convention, in Vermont, states the following fact:

"In the year 1813 the Federalists obtained a majority in the House of Assembly of this State. A resolution was proposed that the members of both Houses should convene, on a day mentioned, to offer up thanks to Almighty God for the victory obtained by the American army under Harrison, near the River Thames, over the combined forces of the British and Indians. On the question of passing the resolution, ninety-five, all Republicans, voted in favour of it, and every Federalist, against it, there being one hundred and eight Federalists (that is, for war with their own government,) and I affirm, that but one of these has come over to our party. I also find that thirty-three of them are now dead. But of the seventy-five living ones, every man—except the one already alluded to—is a thorough-going modern Whig."

We have now discharged a great duty, as we view it, to the country, and especially to her young men. Laborious as it has been to collect these facts, truth and the times demand it. We should have been reluctant to have revived these recollections, had not our opponents sought to cheat the people by basely attempting to change the names of the two parties. This deception cannot avail in New England, for the men who meanly descend to use it are known; but at the South and West, where all were patriots and all Republicans in the war, the landmarks may be removed, or at least disturbed, by these forgers of false titles to the confidence of the people, if they are not exposed.

The facts we have here disclosed belong to the whole country. Let them be used by every man who loves that country, to prevent the remotest possibility of the Democracy of the South and West coming under the old Hartford Convention rule, in the disguise of Whig Harrisonism.

The Harrison party is the reorganization of the old Federal party. Driven from power by their real principles, the leaders are desperately struggling once more

to regain their lost ascendancy, by denying their own identity. This, one of their great men foresaw they would do fifteen years ago.

When the Democratic Eustis was elected Governor of Massachusetts in 1824, and in his message placed the seal of infamy on the Hartford Convention, Harrison Gray Otis, his Federal opponent, addressed to the governor a series of letters in defence of that measure.

In the close of that defence he threatened that, if the Federalists and their "families" continued to find themselves excluded from office in the nation, they would, first or last, from feelings of bitter resentment, be driven to organize themselves again as a party; and if they should not succeed, the consequences were to be the old story of ruin to the country.

The first prediction of Mr. Otis is fulfilled. The last no race of his will live to see. The Hartford Convention Federalists, and "their families," are reorganized in a spirit of more "bitter resentment" than ever before inflamed their desperate ambition and greediness for power. They have put forward, as their great expounders and reformers, Daniel Webster and his associates.

"The significant banner" has been consecrated by the Boston Federalists with its motto—

"We are where we ever have been and ever mean to be."

And in the name of the assembled Federal hosts, Daniel Webster exclaims at Alexandria:

"WE HAVE MADE WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON THE BEARER OF OUR STANDARD, AND WHILE HE HOLDS IT, IT SHALL NOT *falter* unless WE FALL ALONG WITH IT!"

The following disclosures, of recent date, throw much light on the dark designs of the Hartford Convention:

Impression the British had of the Hartford Convention.

"Colonel C. G. Greene,

"Dear Sir: The following statement was handed to me, in the hand-writing of Mr. Aaron Wallis, of Ipswich, in June last, without my having the slightest previous knowledge that any such facts were in his possession. I have known Mr. Wallis for the last eight years, particularly, and should place implicit reliance in his statements. No man's character stands fairer for uprightness: he is a member of the vestry, and treasurer of the Episcopal Church in Ipswich. Mr. Wallis implicates no one. He relates the conversation of the British officer, which he has distinctly retained ever since it occurred, and which made a deep impression on him. He is ready to attest to the statement; but the laws of this commonwealth will not admit of an extrajudicial oath.

"My attention has been called to this striking disclosure of Mr. Wallis by extracts, just published in the *Globe*, from the *British United Service Journal* of May last, and the declaration that there is a correspondence in existence, which would disclose facts that would fully warrant the statements made by the British Major at Halifax.

Yours truly,

"B. F. HALLETT."

"Sir: After perusing Mr. Parmenter's speech, in relation to the Hartford Convention, I find a very important part omitted, viz., the view the British took of their assembling together.

"Being at that time at Halifax, a prisoner of war, at work, with John Shatswell, of Salem, and Alexander Black, of New York, in the King's Store, on the north side of the Parade, at Melville Island, in the winter of 1814, one Major Nickholds, or Nichols, of the 90th or

92d regiment, (I think the 92d,) acting, as was said, as assistant quartermaster-general of his majesty's forces at Halifax, came on to the Island about 2 o'clock, P. M. After transacting some business with the Royal Artilleryman, with relation to the telegraphic flags, &c., he came into the store, where Shatswell and myself were making a chest of drawers, and Black a sleigh, all for Captain Cuchett of the royal navy, the transport agent for prisoners, and said, 'Well, boys, what are you at?' 'At work for the agent, sir.' After inquiring as to our fare, treatment, &c., he said, 'Well, boys, where do you belong?' Shatswell and myself hailed from Salem, and Black from New York. 'How long have you been here?' We answered according to time; when he immediately said to Shatswell and myself, that we should be sent home in a few days, as the Nantucket men had been. We inquired the cause; and he immediately stated, that 'a convention of delegates from the New England States meet this day at Hartford, for the purpose of withdrawing from the Union and declaring their neutrality, when all the New England men will be sent home, as the Nantucket men have been, immediately.'

"We made inquiry how this was to be brought about, and he replied, 'The whole has been arranged. The fleet in Boston Bay will watch a favourable wind, and appear off the Light, when the troops at South Boston will take up their line of march through Boston for Charlestown, ostensibly for the protection of the Navy Yard, but in fact to prevent Commodore Bainbridge from shedding blood. The fleet will sail up past the Castle, without firing a gun; and the troops at Charlestown will immediately march into the Navy Yard; and the choice officers, already selected, will surround Commodore Bainbridge, and say to him, Sir, do yourself no harm; you must not burn powder this day; and no one will hurt you. The fleet will anchor off Long Wharf, and all will be quiet immediately, as the Naval Commander has his orders to place Harrison Gray Otis at the head of affairs, until the pleasure of the Prince Regent is known. All this has been arranged among the leading men, but will not be made public until the fleet anchors off Long Wharf.'

"Black inquired, 'What will you do with me?' 'As you belong to New York, you must ride it out; we shall not go to New York—only to the New England States.' 'By God,' said Black, 'you had better not go there; you will find old Tompkins at home!'

"So sanguine was Major Nickholds of the success of the whole plot, that he declared his belief that the five-striped flag would fly at the State House in less than one fortnight. He farther stated that we should know all about it in a few days, as a gun-brig or sloop-of-war, (I think a gun-brig,) had sailed for Castine, a week ago, to fetch down the news, and would be back shortly, when we should know all about it.

"Sir: When you was at Ipswich, last fall, I stated to you that I supposed I was in possession of some facts in relation to the Hartford Convention, that I was desirous of making known, but dared not, for fear of the consequences to my family. The above are the facts alluded to at that time. They are now at your disposal, provided you work them into the history of our country, where they belong.

"Your obedient servant,

(Signed),

"AARON WALLIS.

"Ipswich, June 24, 1840.

"To B. F. Hallett, Esq."

The *British United Service Journal* of May, 1840, discloses the following facts, which tend strongly to

corroborate the testimony of Mr. Wallis. It is hardly necessary to say, that Mr. W. never saw this work, which was published last May, in Great Britain, and which holds a semi-official rank as the chronicler of the military and naval service.

[From the British United Service Journal.]

"Among the many dangers to which the American Republic must always be exposed in a war with Great Britain, not the least is that of a split among themselves, and consequent break up of their Federal Union. The slave question is a wedge strong enough to effect this at any time; but we could employ another nearly as powerful."

After stating that the Western States were in favour of the war, the British writer adds:

"Not so with the New Englanders; they, on the contrary, began to cast about to see how they could best extricate themselves from the strait to which the mad policy of Mr. Madison and the general government had driven them. The inhabitants of the Island of Nantucket made an overture to our commander-in-chief to remain perfectly neutral during the war, excluding the armed vessels of both belligerents from their harbours; while in another quarter a far more extensive scheme of 'nullification' was seriously set on foot, and began to make rapid progress among some of the most respectable and influential inhabitants of New England."

With these originated the Hartford Convention, and the object of that body, the British writer says,

"Was to separate the Northern and Eastern from the Southern and Western States, to establish a limited monarchy in the first-named States, placing one of our princes of the blood on the throne, and strengthening the new transatlantic kingdom, by an alliance offensive and defensive with England. The treaty at Ghent put a stop to the correspondence, which was in active progress on this subject, but that correspondence is still in existence; and however improbable it may appear to Yankee pride, were a war to break out again between us, something similar would occur before the 'United States' were two years older. The destruction of the public buildings at the nominal seat of the Federal Government, it was conceived, would indirectly, if not directly, forward the views of the New England separatists."—*United Service Journal of May, 1840.*

This avowal seems to explain the extraordinary conduct of the British officers in destroying the public buildings at Washington, contrary to all usages in civilized warfare. Was it to aid the Northern Federalists in establishing a separate seat of government elsewhere? Was this the reason that Mr. John Davis exulted at the burning of the capitol? Was this the reason that Daniel Webster and his Federal associates voted against rebuilding it?

The preliminaries to the Hartford Convention had their origin in John Henry's mission to New England, in 1809. The British Governor thus instructed Henry:

"Governor Craig's instructions to Henry, dated
"Quebec, February, 1809.

"I request you to proceed with the earliest conveyance to Boston—obtain accurate information. The wealth of Massachusetts—the number of its inhabitants—the known intelligence and ability of several of its leading men, must give it a considerable influence over the other Eastern States, and will probably lead them in the part they are to take. Your judgment and connexions there will guide you.

"I use general terms in describing the object in view.

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It has been supposed that if the Federalists of the Eastern States should be successful, and obtain the decided influence which may enable them to direct the public opinion, it is not improbable that, rather than submit, they will exert that influence to bring about a separation from the general union. How far in such an event will they look to England for assistance, or be disposed to enter into a connexion with us!

"You are not to appear as an avowed agent—continue to obtain an intimacy with the leaders, and cautiously advise them, that, if they wish to enter into any communication with this government, you will transmit it to me."

Henry, in his letters to his employer, thus described, in 1809, what actually was begun, and, but for the peace, would have been consummated in 1815:

"Boston, March 6, 1809.

"I have already given a decided opinion that a declaration of war is not to be expected; but, contrary to all reasonable calculation, should Congress possess spirit and independence enough to place their popularity in jeopardy by so strong a measure, the legislature of Massachusetts will give the tone to the neighbouring states; will declare itself permanent until a new election of members; invite a Congress, to be composed of delegates from the Federal States, and erect a separate government for their common interest. A. B."

To the same effect, in his letter from Burlington, Vermont, the British Spy pledged that State to rebellion, through the Federalists. He said,

"The Federal party declare that, in the event of a war, the state of Vermont will treat separately for itself with Great Britain; and support, to the utmost, the stipulations into which it may enter, without any regard to the policy of the general government."

There is one man living, who has in his possession the evidence to prove the design of the Federalists to establish a Northern confederation. He declared this in his reply to Mr. Otis and twelve other leading Federalists of Boston, the 26th of December, 1828. That man is John Quincy Adams. He is now with the Federalists, and, therefore, unless he should change again, will, most likely, let the proof die with him. The fact that he possesses this evidence, may account for the extraordinary docility with which the Boston Federalists have always submitted to his castigations, and always received him into favour, let him do or say what he would. There is one passage in his letter to Messrs. Otis, &c., of 1828, which strikingly coincides with the declaration of Major Nichols to Mr. Wallis.

Extract from Mr. Adams's Letter.

"It was in those letters of 1808 and 1809, that I mentioned the design of certain leaders of the Federal party, and the establishment of a Northern confederacy, &c.

"This plan was so far matured, that the proposal had been made to an individual at the proper time, to be placed at the head of the military movement which, it was foreseen, would be necessary for carrying it into execution.

"The interposition of a kind Providence averted the most deplorable of catastrophes, and, turning over to the receptacle of things lost upon earth the adjourned convention from Hartford to Boston, extinguished (by the mercy of Heaven, may it be for ever!) the projected New England confederacy."

The foregoing extracts, &c., sufficiently show the identity of the Federalists of New England, of the Hartford Convention stamp and Whigs of '34. With

respect to the same party, in this and other states of the Union, it is equally clear that they have neither right nor title to the name of Whigs, which they have by some *hocus pocus* work *usurped*. Quere, is not the whole body of them in *this State* liable to an indictment for usurping our good old Democratic name under "false pretences?" Be that as it may, it is as clear as noon-day, that the Whigs of '34 are the real old Federalists, who have, and still do contend for, a strong government (to keep the people down) after the model of that of England.

These self-same Federalists may turn and twist as much as they please—no more than the *Ethiopian* can they change their *skin*. For ourselves, whatever other Democratic journalists may do, on no occasion will we admit the old Federalists to have the name of Whigs; allowing them to use the name of *Federal Whigs*, we think is going quite far enough.

More items which prove the identity of the modern Whigs to be of the real stock of old Federalists.

"What," writes one of these reckless partisans, "if we now lend them money? They will not make peace. They will still hanker for Canada. They will still assemble forces and shed blood on our western frontier. Mere pride, if nothing else, would make them do it. The motives which first brought on the war will still continue it, if money can be had. But some say—will you let the country become bankrupt? No, the country will never become bankrupt. But pray do not prevent the abusers of their trust becoming bankrupt. Do not prevent them from becoming odious to the public and replaced by better men. Any Federalist who lends money to government must go and shake hands with James Madison, and claim fellowship with Felix Grundy. Let him no more call himself a Federalist and friend to his country. He will be called by others infamous."

"Take a squint at *Federal Whiggery*.—Be it known to all men, that the leaders of the party now opposed to Democracy—

In 1776 were Tories!
In 1783 Nova Scotia Cow-Boys!
In 1787 Convention Monarchists!
In 1799 Black Cockades!
In 1808 Anti-Jefferson Impressment men!
In 1811 British Bank men!
In 1812 Peacemen!
In 1813 Bluelights!
In 1814 Hartford Conventionists!
In 1816 Washington Benevolent Society men!
In 1818 No party men!
In 1820 Federal Republicans!
In 1826 National Republicans!
In 1829 Anti-Masons!
In 1834 Anti-Masonic Whigs!
In 1837 Conservatives!
In 1838 Abolitionists!
In 1839 Democratic Whigs!
In 1840 Log Cabin, Hard Cider, Democratic Republican, Abolition Whigs!

This is the ring-streaked and speckled party against which Democracy is now contending; and this is the rotten, broken down faction that nominated Harrison for the Presidency. These are the fellows, too, who now claim to be *§- Democrats*."

Friends of Equal Rights and the privilege of Self-Government, prepare to put down a growing Monster!—A leading Federal Whig paper in this city, viz., The Commercial Advertiser, whose editor now holds an important office under our state government, in November, 1837, published in his paper an article signed Sidney.

This precious document of monarchical principles, views, &c., excited considerable attention, at the time of publication, over our country, particularly so, as Chancellor Kent, an old Federalist, was viewed as the author. We select from this same article, Sidney, the following extracts, which, we believe, are of themselves sufficient to arouse the American people, and cause them to rally and support Democratic principles, and put down the arrogant pretensions of his said Sidney and his co-partners the Federalists, and let them and all the world see that the "American people are capable of governing themselves without a king."

"It has long been customary for those who write for public prints, and for speakers who address popular assemblies, to boast of the unparalleled prosperity of the United States, as the result of the singular freedom enjoyed by our citizens, under a constitution whose excellence has been the theme of eulogy through a period of nearly half a century. So long have our citizens been habituated to ascribe our prosperity to the constitution, that, in the midst of general distress, they are disposed to ascribe all our calamities to the maladministration of a single man, without recurring to any defect in that instrument."

"That the *immediate* cause of the present derangement of the currency, and of the embarrassments of commerce and manufactures, is the ignorance, perversity, or wrong-headedness of a few men in the administration, is true; but that the primary causes are to be sought in the constitution, is a fact too obvious to admit dispute. No man, probably, will now deny that the powers of the chief magistrate are left without sufficient checks; no man will deny that the balance intended to be created by the division of Congress into two houses, has proved to be insufficient for the purposes required; no man can deny that universal suffrage has been left without adequate control, a prey to corruption.

"There are two prominent reasons to be assigned for these defects in the constitution. One is, the want of experience in the patriotic men who framed the constitution. The other is, the credulous reliance of those men on the *virtue and intelligence of the people*, and of the men who should be elected to enact laws and administer the government."

"In these opinions our patriotic statesmen were most woefully mistaken. However true it may be that the people of any state or nation sincerely desire the best good of the whole community, or that it is always their will and intention that the affairs of the public should

* Here we conceive it is openly avowed: 1st, That the framers of the constitution did wrong in not making a strong government. 2d, That "universal suffrage" ought to have been greatly abridged, or not admitted at all. This is a favourite doctrine of the Federal party; witness the Registry Law for the city of New York. 3d, That the constitution ought, and must be changed to suit the taste and sense of these modern Whigs; and that it is their firm intention to do so, when they have "adequate control," there cannot be a shadow of doubt.

be conducted with integrity and wisdom, yet hitherto the means of carrying that will into effect have not been discovered, nor found practicable, in any free government."

"There always have been disturbing causes in the community, which have given a wrong direction to the public will or national councils. Even when no evil purposes exist to pervert the public mind, the people may be uninformed or misinformed, and make a bad choice of rulers."

"The people, it is true, when they feel calamity, may change their rulers; but the remedy comes too late. Sound policy forbids to wait for the miseries of a nation to produce a change of councils; it forbids to suffer the evil, before a guard is provided against the wickedness or weakness which may produce it. A form of government which has no better corrective of public disorders than this, is a burlesque on the reason and intelligence of men; it is as incompatible with wisdom as it is with public prosperity and happiness."

"The people of the United States are republican in principle. They all declare themselves to be republicans or democrats; by which it is understood that they prefer a government formed by the people or nation. Yet probably not one man in a hundred understands the subject sufficiently to describe the manner in which that government must be formed and administered, in order to secure his rights and liberties. Not one man in a hundred knows or considers the difficulties which such a government must encounter, and the dangers to which it is incessantly exposed.† So far is this from being the fact, that the people themselves are often made the instruments of subverting their own government."

"The question then arises, will the people or the nation *establish a constitution* which shall have a force sufficient to control parties and factions, and defeat their selfish projects? Will they *establish a constitution* which shall place each department of the government in a state of dependence, which shall secure it effectually from being brought under the control of another department? Will they *devise a mode* of electing a chief magistrate which shall render it impossible for a candidate to purchase the office, by pledging the emoluments of government, and impossible for the chief magistrate to secure himself in office by holding over his dependants the rod of proscription? Will they devise and establish a mode of electing representatives, which shall insure, to the public councils, the best talents and the wisdom of the country? If they will, there is hope for us; if they will not, the fate of our republic is sealed.

"In every government there will be parties, often violent parties, and nearly equally divided. It follows, of course, that *executive officers, dependent on the suffrages of the people, must be party men*. A chief magistrate thus elected cannot be the head of the state or nation, or an impartial officer, but he will be the head of a party. This consequence is almost inevitable; and such a government will be a government of successive factions, involving the nation in everlasting contentions, in which the interests and just rights of one party are sacrificed to the ambition of another.

"These opinions are not the visions of theory; they are substantial *truths*; absolute *facts*; and such facts have induced nations to abandon the practice of *electing* their chief magistrates; preferring to receive that officer

by *hereditary succession*. Men have found that the chances of having a good chief magistrate by *BIRTH*, are about *equal* to the chances of obtaining one by *popular election*. And boast as we will that the superior intelligence of our citizens may render this government an exception, time will show that this is a mistake. No nation can be an exception, till the Almighty shall change the whole character of man.

"Then what is our remedy? It is to be found only in a mode of election which shall preclude the possibility of intriguing for the office, and in placing the chief magistrate in such a state of independence that he need not resort to any species of favouritism to secure himself in his place."

"It is wonderful to observe how little the mass of our population attend to the causes of our public evils. Public speakers, orators, writers in newspapers, are perpetually clamoring about the derangement of commerce and the currency, and wondering how such general distress can have fallen upon the country, under a constitution which is lauded as the admiration of the world. But there is nothing wonderful or strange in these events. It is in vain that men attempt to disguise the truth; the fact, beyond all debate, is, that the disorders of our political affairs are the genuine and natural consequences of defects in the constitution, and of the false and visionary opinions which Mr. Jefferson and his disciples have been proclaiming for forty years.† And if the citizens of this country expect a radical cure for these evils in a change of men in our councils, and an upright, impartial, and wise administration, with a system of just and stable laws, without essential alterations in the constitution, they will be woefully disappointed."

We regret that our limits will not admit of our giving more extracts from Sidney, at least at this time; therefore close with the following editorial extract from Colonel Stone's Commercial Advertiser; by which it will appear that Chancellor Kent is not the author of Sidney, but that he and the Federal Whigs subscribe to Squire Sidney's *Monarchical Doctrines*.

"Chancellor Kent did not write the essay of Sidney. But we venture to affirm that its wholesome spirit and tenor found a welcome response in his patriotic bosom. If it did not, then, as far as we can learn, that distinguished gentleman stands alone among the intelligent Whigs of this city, for we have never published an article which has been more cordially welcomed by those whose opinions are entitled to regard in the city

* Here we have the *pith* and *marrow* of Squire Sidney and his Federal Whig friends' views in a nut-shell, viz., a President by *birth*, or, more properly speaking, have a king; and that Sidney has promulgated the true sentiments of "the intelligent" part of the Federal Whigs, we will show from the pen of Colonel Stone himself; which gentleman we have, on several occasions, heard acknowledge himself a Federalist; and although he is now *transformed* into a Federal Whig, yet we feel persuaded that the gallant colonel, if asked the question, will say that he always was, and is still, a Federalist.

† Modern Whigs, alias Federalists, "Jefferson Democrats," what could have induced a party, claiming to themselves to have all the *intelligence, sense, decency, &c.*, to utter such rank nonsense. Oh! Daniel Webster, what could have induced you to pollute the name of the venerated Jefferson in the streets of Richmond, Virginia, by calling yourself a *Jefferson Democrat*—fair dealing, although it may be opposed to us, yet we approve of it—but deceit and deception we despise, no matter from what quarter it emanates.

* How truly is this verified in the change of the late administration, which, in the language of Sidney, was brought about entirely by the people being "misinformed."

† By this, it is presumed, Mr. Sidney means that none but the *few wealthy and well born* ought to be trusted with the reins of government.

of New York—we mean—than that self-same article of Sidney.”

After this exposition of the principles of the “34 Whig” party—alias Federal party—is there an honest American—an honest merchant—an honest farmer—an honest mechanic—who will support it? No! The liberty bequeathed us by our revolutionary fathers is too dear to be given up for these monarchical doctrines.

WILLIAM LEGGETT,

The undaunted champion and defender of the People's Liberty and Equal Rights, &c.

Few men ever lived who devoted themselves with more firmness and independence to sustain the Democratic principles, and the people's equal rights and privileges, than did the lamented William Leggett; and although his mortal remains are now mouldering in our mother earth in his silent and retired grave, at the village of New Rochelle, West Chester County, in this State, yet his memory and the productions of his pen in defence of the people's rights and against the Federal Whig doctrines, are so deeply engraved on the hearts of the American people, that they can never be effaced from their memory, no more than can those of Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and a host of other defenders of the Whig principles of 1776. The writings of Mr. Leggett, in 1834, are so appropriate to the political affairs of our country at the present time, that we have selected the following five articles from his valuable works,* which we believe cannot be otherwise than satisfactory and instructive to the Democracy of our common country.

The Division of Parties.—Since the organization of the government of the United States, the people of this country have been divided into two great parties. One of these parties has undergone various changes of names; the other has continued steadfast alike to its appellation and to its principles, and is now, as it was at first, the DEMOCRACY. Both parties have ever contended for the same opposite ends which originally caused the division—whatever may have been, at different times, the particular means which furnished the immediate subject of dispute. The great object of the struggles of the Democracy has been to confine the action of the general government within the limits marked out in the constitution: the great object of the party opposed to the Democracy has ever been to overleap those boundaries, and give to the general government greater powers and a wider field for their exercise. The doctrine of the one party is, that all power, not expressly and clearly delegated to the general government, remains with the States and with the people: the doctrine of the other party is, that the vigour and efficacy of the general government should be strengthened by a free construction of its powers. The one party sees danger from the encroachments of the general government; the other affects to see danger from the encroachments of the States.

This original line of separation between the two great political parties of the republic, though it existed under the old confederation, and was distinctly marked in the controversy which preceded the formation and adoption of the present constitution, was widened and strengthened by the project of a National Bank, brought

forward in 1791. This was the first great question which occurred under the new constitution, to test whether the provisions of that instrument were to be interpreted according to their strict and literal meaning; or whether they might be stretched to include objects and powers which had never been delegated to the general government, and which consequently still resided with the states as separate sovereignties.

The proposition of the bank was recommended by the secretary of the treasury on the ground, that such an institution would be “of primary importance to the prosperous administration of the finances, and of the greatest utility in the operations connected with the support of public credit.” This scheme, then, as now, was opposed on various grounds; but the constitutional objection constituted then, as it does at the present day, the main reason of the uncompromising and invincible hostility of the democracy to the measure. They considered it as the exercise of a very important power which had never been given by the states or the people to the general government, and which the general government could not, therefore, exercise without being guilty of usurpation. Those who contended that the government possessed the power, effected their immediate object; but the controversy still exists. And it is of no consequence to tell the democracy that it is now established by various precedents, and by decisions of the Supreme Court, that this power is fairly incidental to certain other powers expressly granted; for this is only telling them that the advocates of free construction have, at times, had the ascendancy in the executive and legislative, and, at all times, in the judiciary department of the government. The bank question stands now on precisely the same footing that it originally did; it is now, as it was at first, a matter of controversy between the two great parties of this country—between parties as opposite as day and night—between parties which contend, one for the consolidation and enlargement of the powers of the general government, and the other for strictly limiting that government to the objects for which it was instituted, and to the exercise of the means with which it was intrusted. The one party is for a popular government; the other for an aristocracy. The one party is composed, in a great measure, of the farmers, mechanics, labourers, and other producers of the middling and lower classes, (according to the common gradation by the scale of wealth,) and the other of the consumers, the rich, the proud, the privileged—of those who, if our government were converted into an aristocracy, would become our dukes, lords, marquises, and baronets. The question is still disputed between these two parties—it is ever a new question—and whether the democracy or the aristocracy shall succeed in the present struggle, the fight will be renewed, whenever the defeated party shall be again able to muster strength enough to take the field. The privilege of self-government is one which the people will never be permitted to enjoy unmolested. Power and wealth are continually stealing from the many to the few. There is a class continually gaining ground in the community, who desire to monopolize the advantages of the government, to hedge themselves round with exclusive privileges, and elevate themselves at the expense of the great body of the people. These, in our society, are emphatically the aristocracy; and these, with all such as their means of persuasion, or corruption, or intimidation, can move to act with them, constitute the party which are now struggling against the democracy, for the perpetuation of an odious and dangerous moneyed institution.

Putting out of view, for the present, all other objec-

* Originally Published in the Evening Post.

tions to the United States Bank—that it is a monopoly, that it possesses enormous and overshadowing power, that it has been most corruptly managed, and that it is identified with political leaders to whom the people of the United States must ever be strongly opposed—the constitutional objection alone is an insurmountable objection to it.

The government of the United States is a limited sovereignty. The powers which it may exercise are expressly enumerated in the Constitution. None not thus stated, or that are not “necessary and proper” to carry those which are stated into effect, can be allowed to be exercised by it. The power to establish a bank is not expressly given; neither is incidental; since it cannot be shown to be “necessary” to carry the powers which are given, or any of them, into effect. That power cannot, therefore, be exercised without transcending the Constitutional limits.

This is the democratic argument stated in its briefest form. The aristocratic argument in favour of the power is founded on the dangerous heresy, that the Constitution says one thing, and means another. That *necessary* does not mean *necessary*, but simply *convenient*. By a mode of reasoning not looser than this it would be easy to prove that our government ought to be changed into a Monarchy, Henry Clay crowned King, and the opposition members of the Senate made peers of the realm; and power, place, and perquisites given to them and their heirs for ever.”

Monopolies.—“I have read attentively the views expressed in your paper on the subject of ‘monopolies,’ and I agree with you to some extent, but I am not certain that I understand how far the practical detail may interfere with the general principle. This may be tested by some cases in point. I take the first notice from the Journal of Commerce, and the others from the Albany Argus.

[Here follow notices of applications for incorporations.]

“You will perceive here are four distinct objects proposed to be accomplished. That the public may know how your theories are to be reduced to practice, I request that you will say how the members from this city, under their pledge as honourable men, are to vote on these general propositions; and, secondly, how you would vote as a legislator without any pledge.

“AN HONEST INQUIRER.”

We have witnessed with regret, and we may add with surprise, that, notwithstanding the recent clearly and strongly expressed sentiment of the great body of the democracy of this state against all monopolies, of every kind and degree, a number of notices, like those quoted by our correspondent, have already appeared in the public papers. There can be no sort of question that one of the chief points which the great body of the democratic voters meant to decide by their suffrages in the recent contest, was, that there should be no more monopolies created by our legislature. And there can be no sort of question either, that in the term monopoly, according to the understanding of the democratic party, all acts of incorporation were included.

We do not mean to say that this was the universal understanding; and perhaps it is never the case, in a political contest which turns on a variety of questions, that the whole body of voters are governed by absolute coincidence of sentiment on every particular subject. But we do mean to say, and we think no one will dispute, that those who gave the latitude of meaning to the word monopoly which we have here expressed, were at least much more numerous than the excess of votes in favour of Governor Marcy over Mr. Seward; and farther, that had it been announced, from any au-

thentic source, previous to the election, that the candidates of the democracy for legislative office would, on being elected, vote for any act of incorporation whatever, they never would have had the opportunity of imposing any such contemplated additional fetters on the body politic.

The success of the democratic ticket in a majority of the republican counties, was clearly owing, in our view of the subject, to the belief that all exclusive and partial legislation would cease, if the democracy succeeded; that laws would be made for the whole people, not for a part; and that the great fundamental principle of our republic, the equal rights of all, would be their governing rule of action. It is to this conviction we owe our success; and if this conviction had been destroyed by the promulgation of such sentiments before the election, as have since been expressed in certain degenerate prints, those who are now informed that the term monopoly applies only to such laws as no one ever dreamed would be passed, and are called upon to act accordingly in the legislature, would still have occupied a private station.

But, independent of this consideration, we hold it to be demonstrable, (and we think we have not fallen far short of demonstration in our various articles on the subject,) that all acts of partial legislation are undemocratic; that they are subversive of the equal rights of men; are calculated to create artificial inequality in human condition; to elevate the few and depress the many; and, in their final operation, to build up a powerful aristocracy, and overthrow the whole frame of democratic government.

In this view of the subject, we consider it the duty of every democratic legislator, however much or little he may consider the disputed word monopoly to comprehend, to set himself firmly against every attempt to obtain new charters of incorporation, or to enlarge the term or conditions of old ones. Whether he thinks himself positively instructed or not, by the terms of his county resolutions, to oppose every bill of incorporation, no one will pretend that he has been instructed to advocate such a bill, and he is therefore certainly under the general obligation to oppose every measure of anti-democratic character or tendency. The man, then, who, pretending to represent democratic constituents, shall yet cast his suffrage, or exercise his influence, in favour of a single application for corporate powers, or shall refrain from exerting himself to defeat such an application, will be unfaithful to his trust, to his country, and to the principles of liberty, and will richly deserve to be held up, in the strongest language which indignant patriotism can use, to the scorn of his fellow-men. On such a gibbet we shall surely do all in our power to hang such a traitor, if any such there shall be found, which we hope and trust there may not.

Is our correspondent answered? As to the duty of our city delegation, there is not the slightest room for question. They are PLEDGED to oppose, with all their might, *all* monopolies; and happily the terms of the pledge have not left the word monopoly of dubious import. By specifying Insurance Corporations, which are as useful in their favourable features, and as little objectionable in their unfavourable, as any description of corporations whatever—by specifying these as one of the most obnoxious kinds of monopolies, the phrase clearly embraces corporate institutions of every kind and name. Should, then, any member of our city delegation, being thus pledged, vote for any monopoly within the comprehensive signification fixed by the obligation he subscribed, he would not only be unfaithful to his party and to republican principles, but a fore-

sworn caitiff, worse even than Dudley Selden, if worse can be.

But we have no fear that the democracy of our metropolis have cherished any such viper in their bosom. We look not to see any of our delegates seek to escape from their honourable obligations through any flaw which the Times may try to discover in their pledge. We look not to see them skulk behind a quibble, or palter with their constituents in a double sense. We expect rather that they will exhibit a noble emulation in carrying into effect the spirit of that condition. We expect to see them all eager to identify themselves with the leading doctrines of the democracy in the present struggle with aristocratic opponents of equal liberty and laws, and each striving to outdo the others in the strenuousness of his hostility to exclusive privileges, partial legislation, or whatever endangers, in the slightest degree, the foundation principle of our political fabric, the equal rights of mankind.

Rich and Poor.—The rich perceive, acknowledge, and act upon a common interest, and why not the poor? Yet the moment the latter are called upon to combine for the preservation of their rights, forsooth the community is in danger! Property is no longer secure, and life in jeopardy. This cant has descended to us from those times when the poor and labouring classes had no stake in the community, and no rights except such as they could acquire by force. But the times have changed, though the cant remains the same. The scrip nobility of this Republic have adopted toward the free people of this Republic the same language which the Feudal Barons and the despot who contested with them the power of oppressing the people, used toward their serfs and villains, as they were opprobiously called.

These would-be lordlings of the Paper Dynasty, cannot or will not perceive, that there is some difference in the situation and feelings of the people of the United States, and those of the despotic governments of Europe. They forget that at this moment our people, we mean emphatically the class which labours with its own hands, is in possession of a greater portion of the property and intelligence of this country, ay, ten times over, than all the creatures of the paper credit system put together. This property is indeed more widely and equally distributed among the people than among the phantoms of the paper system, and so much the better. And as to their intelligence, let any man talk with them, and if he does not learn something it is his own fault. They are as well acquainted with the rights of person and property, and have as just a regard for them, as the most illustrious lordling of the scrip nobility. And why should they not? Who and what are the great majority of the wealthy people of this city—we may say of this country? Are they not—(we say it not in disparagement, but in high commendation)—are they not men who began the world comparatively poor, with ordinary education and ordinary means? And what should make them so much wiser than their neighbours? Is it because they live in better style, ride in carriages, and have more money—or at least more credit than their poorer neighbours? Does a man become wiser, stronger, or more virtuous and patriotic, because he has a fine house over his head? Does he love his country the better because he has a French cook, and a box at the opera? Or does he grow more learned, logical, and profound by intense study of the day-book, ledger, bills of exchange, bank promises, and notes of hand?

Of all the countries on the face of the earth, or that

ever existed on the face of the earth, this is the one where the claims of wealth and aristocracy are the most unfounded, absurd, and ridiculous. With no claim to hereditary distinctions; with no exclusive rights except what they derive from monopolies, and no power of perpetuating their estates in their posterity, the assumption of aristocratic airs and claims is supremely ridiculous. To-morrow they themselves may be beggars for aught they know, or at all events their children may become so. Their posterity in the second generation will have to begin the world again, and work for a living as did their forefathers. And yet the moment a man becomes rich among us, he sets up for wisdom—he despises the poor and ignorant—he sets up for patriotism: he is your only man who has a stake in the community, and therefore the only one who ought to have a voice in the state. What folly is this? And how contemptible his presumption? He is not a whit wiser, better, or more patriotic than when he commenced the world, a wagon-driver. Nay, not half so patriotic, for he would see his country disgraced a thousand times, rather than see one fall of the stocks, unless perhaps he had been speculating on such a contingency. To him a victory is only of consequence, as it raises, and a defeat only to be lamented, as it depresses a loan. His soul is wrapped up in a certificate of scrip, or a bank-note. Witness the conduct of these pure patriots, during the late war, when they, at least a large proportion of them, not only withheld all their support from the government, but used all their influence to prevent others from giving their assistance. Yet these are the people who alone have a stake in the community, and of course exclusively monopolize patriotism.

But let us ask what and where is the danger of a combination of the labouring classes in vindication of their political principles, or in defence of their menaced rights? Have they not the right to act in concert, when their opponents act in concert? Nay, is it not their bounden duty to combine against the only enemy they have to fear as yet in this free country, monopoly and a great paper system that grinds them to the dust? Truly this is strange republican doctrine, and this is a strange republican country, where men cannot unite in one common effort, in one common cause, without rousing the cry of danger to the rights of person and property. Is not this a government of the people, founded on the rights of the people, and instituted for the express object of guarding them against the encroachments and usurpations of power? And if they are not permitted the possession of common interest; the exercise of a common feeling; if they cannot combine to resist, by constitutional means, these encroachments; to what purpose were they declared free to exercise the right of suffrage in the choice of rulers, and the making of laws?

And what, we ask, is the power against which the people, not only of this country, but of almost all Europe, are called upon to array themselves, and the encroachment on their rights they are summoned to resist? Is it not emphatically, the power of monopoly and the encroachments of corporate privileges of every kind, which the cupidity of the rich engenders to the injury of the poor?

It was to guard against the encroachments of power, the insatiate ambition of wealth that this government was instituted, by the people themselves. But the objects which call for the peculiar jealousy and watchfulness of the people, are not now what they once were. The cautions of the early writers in favour of the liberties of mankind, have in some measure become

obsolete and inapplicable. We are menaced by our old enemies, avarice and ambition, under a new name and form. The tyrant is changed from a steel-clad feudal baron, or a minor despot, at the head of thousands of ruffian followers, to a mighty civil gentleman, who comes mincing and bowing to the people with a quill behind his ear, at the head of countless millions of magnificent *promises*. He promises to make every body rich; he promises to pave cities with gold; and he promises to pay. In short, he is made up of promises. He will do wonders, such as never were seen or heard of, provided the people will only allow him to make his promises, equal to silver and gold, and human labour, and grant him the exclusive benefits of all the great blessings he intends to confer on them. He is the sly, selfish, grasping, and insatiable tyrant the people are now to guard against. A CONCENTRATED MONEY POWER; a usurper in the disguise of a benefactor; an agent exercising privileges which his principal never possessed; an impostor who, while he affects to wear chains, is placed above those who are free? a chartered libertine, that pretends to be manacled only that he may the more safely pick our pockets, and lord it over our rights. This is the enemy we are now to encounter and overcome, before we can expect to enjoy the substantial realities of freedom.

True Functions of Government.—"There are no necessary evils in government. Its evils exist only in its abuses. If it would confine itself to *equal protection*, and, as heaven does its rains, shower its favours alike on the high and the low, the rich and the poor, it would be an unqualified blessing."

This is the language of our venerated President, and the passage deserves to be written in letters of gold, for neither in truth of sentiment nor beauty of expression can it be surpassed. We choose it as our text for a few remarks on the true functions of government.

The fundamental principle of all governments is the protection of person and property from domestic and foreign enemies; in other words, to defend the weak against the strong. By establishing the social feeling in a community, it was intended to counteract that selfish feeling, which, in its proper exercise, is the parent of all worldly good, and, in its excesses, the root of all evil. The functions of government, when confined to their proper sphere of action, are therefore restricted to the making of *general laws*, uniform and universal in their operation, for these purposes, and for no other.

Governments have no right to interfere with the pursuits of individuals, as guarantied by those general laws, by offering encouragements and granting privileges to any particular class of industry, or any select bodies of men, inasmuch as all classes of industry and all men are equally important to the general welfare, and equally entitled to protection.

Whenever a government assumes the power of discriminating between the different classes of the community, it becomes, in effect, the arbiter of their prosperity, and exercises a power not contemplated by any intelligent people in delegating their sovereignty to their rulers. It then becomes the great regulator of the profits of every species of industry, and reduces men from a dependence on their own exertions, to a dependence on the caprices of their government. Governments possess no delegated right to tamper with individual industry a single hair's-breadth beyond what is essential to protect the rights of person and property.

In the exercise of this power of intermeddling with the private pursuits and individual occupations of the

citizen, a government may at pleasure elevate one class and depress another; it may one day legislate exclusively for the farmer, the next for the mechanic, and the third for the manufacturer, who all thus become the mere puppets of legislative cobbling and tinkering, instead of independent citizens, relying on their own resources for their prosperity. It assumes the functions which belong alone to an overruling Providence, and affects to become the universal dispenser of good and evil.

This power of regulating—of increasing or diminishing the profits of labour and the value of property of all kinds and degrees, by direct legislation, in a great measure destroys the essential object of all civil compacts, which, as we said before, is to make the social a counterpoise to the selfish feeling. By thus operating directly on the latter, by offering one class a bounty and another a discouragement, they involve the selfish feeling in every struggle of party for the ascendancy, and give to the force of political rivalry all the bitterest excitement of personal interests conflicting with each other. Why is it that parties now exhibit excitement aggravated to a degree dangerous to the existence of the Union and to the peace of society? Is it not that by frequent exercises of partial legislation, almost every man's personal interests have become deeply involved in the result of the contest? In common times, the strife of parties is the mere struggle of ambitious leaders for power; now they are deadly contests of the whole mass of the people, whose pecuniary interests are implicated in the event, because the government has usurped and exercised the power of legislating on their private affairs. The selfish feeling has been so strongly called into action by this abuse of authority as almost to overpower the social feeling, which it should be the object of a good government to foster by every means in its power.

No nation, knowingly and voluntarily, with its eyes open, ever delegated to its government this enormous power, which places at its disposal the property, the industry, and the fruits of the industry, of the whole people. As a general rule, the prosperity of rational men depends on themselves. Their talents and their virtues shape their fortunes. They are, therefore, the best judges of their own affairs, and should be permitted to seek their own happiness in their own way, untrammelled by the capricious interference of legislative bungling, so long as they do not violate the equal rights of others, nor transgress the general laws for the security of person and property.

But modern refinements have introduced new principles in the science of government. Our own government, most especially, has assumed and exercised an authority over the people, not unlike that of weak and vacillating parents over their children, and with about the same degree of impartiality. One child becomes a favourite because he has made a fortune, and another because he has failed in the pursuit of that object; one because of its beauty, and another because of its deformity. Our government has thus exercised the right of dispensing favours to one or another class of citizens at will; of directing its patronage first here and then there; of bestowing one day and taking back the next; of giving to the few and denying to the many; of investing wealth with new and exclusive privileges, and distributing, as it were at random, and with a capricious policy, in unequal portions, what it ought not to bestow, or what, if given away, should be equally the portion of all.

A government administered on such a system of policy may be called a Government of Equal Rights, but

it is in its nature and essence a disguised despotism. It is the capricious dispenser of good and evil, without any restraint, except its own sovereign will. It holds in its hand the distribution of the goods of this world, and is consequently the uncontrolled master of the people.

Such was not the object of the government of the United States, nor such the powers delegated to it by the people. The object was, beyond doubt, to protect the weak against the strong, by giving them an equal voice and equal rights in the state; not to make one portion stronger, the other weaker at pleasure, by crippling one or more classes of the community, or making them tributary to one alone. This is too great a power to intrust to government. It was never given away by the people, and is not a right, but a usurpation.

Experience will show that this power has always been exercised under the influence and for the exclusive benefit of wealth. It was never wielded in behalf of the community. Whenever an exception is made to the general law of the land, founded on the principle of equal rights, it will always be found to be in favour of wealth. These immunities are never bestowed on the poor. They have no claim to a dispensation of exclusive benefits, and their only business is, to "*take care of the rich, that the rich may take care of the poor.*"

Thus it will be seen that the sole reliance of the labouring classes, who constitute a vast majority of every people on the earth, is the great principle of Equal Rights; that their only safeguard against oppression is a system of legislation which leaves all to the free exercise of their talents and industry, within the limits of the GENERAL LAW, and which, on no pretence of public good, bestows on any particular class of industry, or any particular body of men, rights or privileges not equally enjoyed by the great aggregate of the body politic.

Time will remedy the departures which have already been made from this sound republican system, if the people but jealously watch and indignantly frown on any future attempts to invade their equal rights, or appropriate to the few what belongs to all alike. To quote, in conclusion, the language of the great man, with whose admirable sentiment we commenced these remarks, "it is time to pause in our career—if we cannot at once, in justice to the interests vested under improvident legislation, make our government what it ought to be, we can at least take a stand against all new grants of monopolies and exclusive privileges, and against any prostitution of our government to the advancement of the few at the expense of the many."

Who pays for Uncurrent Bills?—A retail grocer receives from his customers in the course of a week, say a hundred dollars in uncurrent bills. He cannot take up his promissory note in the bank without getting these uncurrent bills exchanged. He takes them to a broker, and receives ninety-eight dollars in bankable money for them. If this operation is repeated every week, it amounts to, say fifty dollars in the course of a year. Out of whose pocket is this paper-money tax paid? Does the grocer incur the loss? Certainly not; he pays it in the first instance, but who indemnifies him? It forms one of the items of his annual expenses, which he is obliged to calculate in putting a profit on his goods. Those who deal with him pay the tax, and who are they? The carpenter, the bricklayer, and the labourer, when they buy a pound of tea, or cheese, or butter, or any other article in his line, to

take home to their families. If the currency of the city were specie, or even paper convertible into specie without a discount, the prices of all commodities would undergo a sensible reduction. Every article of consumption is now charged from two to three per cent. higher than it ought to be, in consequence of the depreciated currency in circulation. This tax falls almost exclusively on the mechanics and labourers. The profit goes into the pockets of the bankers and brokers. Why should the mechanics and labourers be burdened to support banks? Are they in the habit of getting discounts? Do they live by bank favours? No, quite the reverse. The men who live on bank credits are not labourers. "They toil not, neither do they spin;" or if they work at all, it is head-work, the end and aim of which is to supply themselves with luxuries at other people's expense. Is it not a little hard that they who receive none of the benefits dispensed by banks, should be saddled with all the burdens? If they will suffer the scrip nobility to mount them, however, and spur them, like horses, or we might more properly say like asses, it is their own fault, since they have it in their power to throw them off whenever they please. But if they would rather have depreciated paper than real money, though we may wonder at their choice, we shall not quarrel with it. *De gustibus non est disputandum.* Perhaps they prefer, as a matter of taste, a small loaf to a large one. It may be a thing of no consequence to them whether they have to pay ten pence or only eight pence a pound for beef; and to be caught now and then with a few dollars of broken banknotes in their pockets may be considered a capital joke. We should think their relish of this joke would be keener, however, if they had not purchased those notes by several days of hard toil.

Extracts from a Fourth of July Oration, 1841.—

The following extracts are selected from an Oration delivered at the Washington Hall, in this city, 5th of July, 1841, by Orestes A. Brownson, Esq., the talented and fearless editor of the Boston Quarterly Review, a Democratic publication: we cannot admit that any pen was ever wielded with more ability in defence of the People's Equal Rights than that of the lamented Leggett; yet we frankly, with great pleasure, admit that the fearless and independent manner in which Mr. Brownson writes in defence of the great Democratic principle, and in support of the Constitution of the United States, is not excelled by any writer we are acquainted with. This will appear more forcibly from the following extracts from his late oration. We take this occasion to state that it is our intention to present to our readers, from time to time, extracts, &c., from Mr. Brownson's Quarterly, which cannot be otherwise than acceptable to them. Mr. Hayward, No. 89 Division-street, New York, is the agent for the Boston Quarterly, price \$3 a year.

"The story of the American Revolution has often been told, and need not be repeated on this occasion. There is a deeper meaning in that enterprise, than the mere political independence of the colonies from the crown of Great Britain. What is that meaning? What place holds the Revolution in the general history of mankind? What are the duties it imposes on us? It strikes me that this is an appropriate question. God has created this world according to a plan, and in every

part of nature one thing answers to another; and it is so in the moral world; and it would be discovered in the history of humanity, that everything which took place was according to some plan; every event belonged to the general scheme of Providence, and had a signification—a meaning in it. Our Revolution was one of these events. It was not an event of chance; it was not the creation of a few individuals, nor did it grow out of a few local cause which could be answered only then and by that event.

“We are too much in the habit of taking too low views of the American Revolution, and of considering the question in a light altogether inferior to its real merits. It was not only a question between the colonies and the mother country; it was a question between the past and the future; and when the troops met in battle, as on Bunker’s heights, or Saratoga’s plains, it was entire humanity struggling to decide the question whether humanity should continue where she was, or continue her march onward toward freedom and union with God.”

“The Revolutionary patriots were men of great worth; but perhaps that, viewed as mere individuals, no greater than have elsewhere been. Yes! there was one greater than all the past; greater, not in some few traits, but in his whole character; greater than all in the completeness and symmetry of his character; so symmetrical indeed, that we look long and contemplate long before we confess that there was so great a man. I need not mention his name, for it is on every tongue—you know that I mean Washington. Yet, notwithstanding all this, that Revolution would lose much of its spirit if it was nothing more than a Revolution in favour of political independence. That Revolution had deeper meaning in it—the emancipation of the labourer. Great is the work of modern history, preparing for the reign of those just principles, first proclaimed some 1800 years ago, by one who, to all human appearance, was a Jewish peasant, and caught up by a few fishermen followers, who promulgated them through persecutions, death, and opprobrium, and published them throughout the world where they took root and thrived, though rudely trampled upon by nobles, hierarchies, and tyrants of all descriptions: for the principles involved in the American Revolution were but the application of those political associations involved in the principles taught by Jesus Christ, whom it is the glory of our nation to worship as the Son of God: and it was with an instinct of this sort that our fathers engaged in battle, in deep religious solemnity.”

“We meet to-day to commemorate, in part, our political independence; but what is it to me that my country is free from England, if I have the chain on my mind and the padlock on my hand?

“You may bind my limbs, but if you leave my mind free, I may still be a man: and though you bind my limbs with cords like the green withes with which Samson was bound, yet if a man dare to think, he will not be long a slave. Carry free thought to the down-trodden millions of Europe; thrones would totter and hierarchies would tremble, and nobility would vanish to nothing. We should see man standing up in the image of his Maker, and looking forth upon a world of beauty. This was the abstraction our fathers brought to this country, and this was the abstraction which Jesus mentioned to the Jews—‘Ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you that ye resist not evil.’ The freedom which the apostles claimed when they were imprisoned by the magistrates for curing the man that was lame, ‘Whether it is right to harken unto you

more than unto God, judge ye.’ There have been examples of appealing unto God rather than men at a later day.”

“The progress of democracy during the last 1800 years has still been onward. Wealth has departed from the landed noble. Wealth has, in many instances, been divided among the industrial classes. A power has grown out that wealth cannot command—the power of thought, which has well been called, by some one, the ‘fourth estate.’ Literature speaks a tone which it never before spoke. In this country it is high treason to speak a sentiment that was read here to-day—that all men are born free and equal. High treason here: but in French and German literature, in those monarchical countries, they dare speak even of agrarianism and infidelity. The literature of the old world is becoming thoroughly democratic. Literature is a power never to be despised—a power that will, one day, come up and dispute dominion with your money bags—a power planting itself on the indestructible rights of the human race will gain strength, and money shall be its servant. You may turn to the most popular literature of Paris at this moment: you will find that thousands are unwilling for Americans to read it—why is this? Not because it is impure, not because it is demoralizing, but because it is *democratic*!—because it speaks in favour of the humble proletian—dangerous literature for worn out hierarchies and old systems of oppressions, but noble for young humanity, green with the fresh verdure of heavenly instincts. Even England dares to utter its voice; even the London Quarterly, the organ of torism, inserts articles which your New York Quarterly would not dare to publish; but, thank God, the Boston Quarterly dare. [*Great applause.*] I do not mention the New York Quarterly with disrespect. It is not the New York Quarterly alone, but the character of our literature of which I speak.”

“I recollect well the time—and I am not an old man—when there was no party in this country that would not spurn the name of *democrat*. Last war, the party which were in favour of the war, spurned that appellation, and insisted on being called republicans. I have lived to see not only that party, but the party which called them democrats in derision, swearing that they are more democratic than all others.”

“This shows that democracy has become popular. One must either be a democrat, or make the people believe that he is one. Already do we find it proclaimed that this is the crisis of the country. Onward is the democrat’s watchword! What is democracy? Some tell us that democracy is merely that form of government in which the people rule. That is one of its meanings, I admit. They tell us it is the great experiment in civil government—that we are testing the experiment that will show if man is able to govern himself. If I thought democracy no more than this—if I thought democracy was no more than the trial whether a people can do without kings and nobles, then I would have nothing to do with it. I understand by democracy, not so much the form of government which is established, as the feelings of the need of a government which is established for the protection of each and every individual in the full and free enjoyment of all his natural rights. If nine-tenths of the people are deprived of their natural rights, I care not whether the government is aristocratic, democratic, or monarchical in its form. We find in all history that the great mass have been deprived of their rights. In all countries but this they are deprived of their political rights; they have no voice in the choice of their rulers. By

depriving them of their political rights, it gives the few who control them, power to control as they please. Although we have nominally given them equal rights, yet, even here, in point of fact, they do not exist. The great mass are slaves. I speak not of negro slaves. When you go into your homes, your dark holes, your unventilated garrets, which the negro slave dreams not of, you feel that there is more than one form of slavery. I speak not even of them. Men who seem to have more than the human form are dependent for employment on those who make them go and vote for measures* which they in their hearts believe will be injurious, because they believe it will be better for them to endure a few plague-spots than to want for a home. Every man is a slave so long as he is dependent on another for the means of living. So long as a man makes not his own price, that which gives him employment exercises over him the absolute power of life and death; for let him close that price, and I fail in obtaining employment, and must rob, beg, steal, or die."

"That freedom does not yet exist. Look into the history of this country. The simple labourer has no influence. I care not which party has triumphed at the polls, I tell you that the interest of capital has always triumphed. I say not this to stir up the labourer against the capitalist. I know that in this country there is no danger of exciting him against the capitalist. I know their respect for property. Throughout all ages the labouring classes have been noted for respecting the property of others. I say not that they may not have torn down a flour store and scattered a few barrels of flour about the streets; but I say that there is no country which is not celebrated for the plans contrived by the rich to rob the poor."

"If you look at history impartially, you will find that the poor never demanded their rights. Go back to Wat Tyler who led on their thousands—'when Adam delved and Eve spun, where was then the gentleman?' He submitted to all the vexations which the lords imposed upon them, and when they had the army in their power they required but the following conditions: 'We demand simply that, if we work for these lords, they do pay us wages.' This simple demand carried trembling into every place throughout England. The tyrant heard the awful voice of God summoning him to judgment. How is it now? Let but a man go up and speak a single word in favour of equality, and forthwith every pulpit sounds an alarm, and marks him as a man dangerous to the community. Oh! there is something in conscience that makes cowards of us all. The wrong-doer feels that it is all over with him. I speak not this to excite the poor against the rich. I have no disposition to do it: both because of its inhumanity, and because the poor of this country have not yet received the full benefit of the Revolutionary doctrine, that 'all men are created free and equal.' I say that this declaration has a deep and significant meaning. There are many who refuse to read it, because, they say, it is old-fashioned and out of date."†

"When I glance my eyes to the spot where is seated the assembled wisdom of the nation, and see what measures are foisted upon the country, I am almost disposed to believe that the Declaration of Independence is out

of date. I do not want to utter a word to arouse party feelings, but this day freedom woke and asked for justice or a Brutus' dagger. We have not yet carried out this freedom—this is what we are to attempt. It is a constitution for democracy which we have established. The constitution recognises the independence of these States. Every exercise of power beyond those enumerated in the constitution is an invasion of the rights of the people. But what do we see? Men professing to be in favour of the working men, endeavouring to violate the constitution by placing a tax on the labourer. Who pays your taxes? They are paid by the producer of the North—that is, the labourer; and at the South they are paid, it is the Southern planter who pays, as he raises the produce. They are the Southern planter and the Northern working men who pay the debt of thirty millions or more, for the benefit of whom? I hardly know—perhaps for the benefit of the hundred thousand who are flowing into Pennsylvania Avenue in search of office. This is their dependence—the office-holders and expectants of office, and the tax-payers must bear the burden—and this is called relief. And this is not the only relief—but we are to have a bank and paper money—a most ingenious method for fertilizing the rich man's fields by the poor man's toil and sweat. Again, see the thousand million of acres which are to be mortgaged to English and American stockjobbers, and their dependents. When I look at these things, I almost feel that the Declaration of Independence is out of date. Who feels that we are independent of England, when the Secretary of State is acting as counsel for a British subject.* [Here a strong sensation was excited among the audience. Several persons raised a hiss, but the overwhelming applause which was at the same time given to the sentiments of the speaker, drowned the hisses entirely.]

"I say not this because I want war with the British, or injustice done toward any nation; but because I want the government of this country to speak every country as an equal, and acknowledge no inferiority to Great Britain. Speak to John Bull the language of men, and he acts like a man: but he always takes all he can get. If you show him that you are afraid of a war with him, he will be sure to kick up a war. I am opposed to war; my interest in humanity induces me to hope that there will be no war. There will be none, if we demand only what is just; and resent, with a firm, indignant spirit, whatever is wrong. But though these are dark times, they are not so gloomy as when our fathers met in Philadelphia and pledged their sacred honour, and their lives, and fortunes, and appealed, for the justice of their cause, to Heaven. The enemies of liberty are in power; but they have been in power before; and have not we too the nerve of our fathers, to hold certain truths self-evident as they did? We too can appeal to the Righteous Judge, and pledge our lives and sacred honour. In this day it is best to renew our resolves, and pledge ourselves again to the great principles which our fathers proclaimed and fought to defend. In this day we should ever renew those pledges. Let every man cultivate this freedom in his own heart, to be prepared to act, not by a lawless mob, but by well-directed constitutional actions, and then we shall find that our country will rise from

* The subject of the unwarrantable conduct of employers to the employed, &c., will be handled without gloves in a future number.

† It is a common theme with the Federal Whigs, since the famous production of *Sidney*, a change in the Constitution must be made. And now, since "Tyler too" vetoed Clay's U. S. Bank Bill, they say the President ought to be divested of the veto power; of course they mean so long as they have a majority in Congress.

* O, Daniel, what could have induced you to have disgraced your country by succumbing to John Bull. We recollect, on a memorable occasion, a particular friend of yours, now a member of the United States Senate, said, "every man has his price." O, Daniel, we trust that you have not been so base as to receive a fee to give up McLeod without a legal trial. Is it not singular that Mr. Tyler should retain this self-same Daniel in his new Cabinet?

the difficulties in which the enemies of liberty have placed her. If not defeated, a way will be found out for overcoming them, till the glorious mission be fulfilled—what the prophet foresaw that they should not destroy in all the holy mountains of the Lord. Man shall be free to speak the dictates of his own conscience, and there will be none to molest or make him afraid.

“After all, we must bear in mind that it is not the free government which makes the free people; but free people make a free government. Be free yourselves; have the true spirit of Democracy alone in your own hearts—the spirit of Christ; or, if you must die, you can set the world an example that tyrants will for ever dread. Renew your pledges to labour for the cause of Democracy, that declares it to be the duty of government to protect all mankind. When this is done, on this soil the mission of this country will be fulfilled, and the principles of the American Revolution will be carried out: and again shall the sons of God shout for joy as they did on Creation’s morn.”

HON. FERNANDO WOOD,

of New York, on the United States Fiscal Bank Bill.

Our worthy representative in Congress, F. Wood, on the 3d of August, 1841, delivered a speech in Congress on the *Fiscal Bank Bill*, and, agreeable to the modern Whig vocabulary, the “odious Sub-Treasury.” Believing as we do that it is desirable the people should be well informed on these subjects, we have selected the following unanswerable extracts from the speech; with them, and the article next on the Sub-Treasury, &c., our readers will no doubt perceive that the *Federal Whig dreams of the danger of the odious Sub-Treasury*, rehearsed and circulated in every nook and corner of our wide-spread country, for political effect and deception by hired tools, have vanished into thin air. They will also, no doubt, come to the conclusion that the Sub-Treasury was the best plan ever devised to keep and disburse the Public Revenue, and that Martin Van Buren is entitled to the lasting gratitude of the American people for introducing the Sub-Treasury bill to Congress, and his fearless independence in supporting the same.

“The bill before the committee is, in common parlance, a bill to create a national bank as a fiscal agent of the government—a proposition which presupposes the repeal of the law of July, 1840, for the safekeeping and disbursement of the public money, known as the Independent Treasury. Though the question of this repeal was not now directly before the committee, yet, understanding it to be the determination of the administration majority to move the ‘previous question’ immediately upon that repeal, without allowing the minority an hour for discussion, he would take this opportunity of protesting against such tyranny and against the repeal.

“A proposition to strike from the statute-book a law so important in its bearings, and created for purposes of such deep interest, should be accompanied by reasons more cogent than any we have yet heard. Proof should be adduced that it had failed to perform what its friends promised for it; that it had been mischievous in its effects, or impracticable in its operations. They are not produced; nor can it be said any argument based upon its action, worthy of serious notice, has been brought against it. It is safe, then,

to hazard the opinion that no fault can be found with it in practice, although it had such strenuous opponents in theory. It has worked well, answering thus far (save, probably, in few minor details) the objects of its creation. If we revert to the oft-repeated prophecies of the Whig party, of the devastation which the Independent Treasury was to spread with magic speed throughout the land, and now compare them with what has been our condition since its adoption, and with what is at this time our true condition, the falsity of the prophecies will be apparent. If the state of the times is used as an argument against it, it is its triumphant vindication, when compared with those which preceded it. We were told it was pregnant with lamentable consequences; that it would destroy commerce and confidence; reduce wages to ten cents per diem, the profits of agriculture to almost nothing; in short, that all interests were to be annihilated. Has this been so? Have any of these evils overtaken the people? I opine not. Without producing statistics, as I here could, to show, by irrefutable data, that prosperity—true, not false prosperity—has existed with all classes; modified, it is true, but yet has existed since July, 1840, the period at which this bill became a law, I will content myself by referring alone to the mercantile portion of my constituency, boldly making the assertion that they have less cause of complaint this year than for either of the three previous. It is true, unfortunate bankrupts, borne to the earth by indebtedness, have not been relieved; nor can any law having for its object the custody of the public money relieve them; nor has it reproduced the days of adventurous hazard, bringing back to the speculator dreams of glory.”

“But we are told the people have decided against it. Have they, forsooth? I respectfully ask, in what way? at what time? I am referred to the late presidential election, but deny that that election had any reference to the Independent Treasury bill. The issue, then, if there was any, (and if there was, for my life I could not discover it,) was of another kind—made up of different material than anything having a bearing upon any question of national interest, much less the question of in what way the public revenue should be collected and disbursed. When was the subject discussed before the people? Where was a denunciation of the odious Sub-Treasury made the war-cry for the onslaught, as in 1838? Nowhere! Or, if so, in isolated instances by itinerant whig orators, who, having learned their lessons in 1838, like other *starlings* having the faculty of repetition instead of invention, doled forth their lamentations in the old repeated strains of ‘Sub-Treasury! Sub-Treasury!! odious Sub-Treasury!!!’

“Was it made the issue by that illustrious convention of office-seekers who nominated the successful candidate at Harrisburg? It was not. That august body of patriots, after contemplating their act, sneaked to their homes, not daring to make an avowal of sentiments. Or was it made the topic of discussion by the candidate himself (supposed, of course, to embody the principles of his party) in his various addresses to the people? It was not. That respectable old gentleman, as far as I know, never descended upon the subject; or, if so, by the most indirect allusion. Suffice it to say, there was no issue made at that election, involving the repeal of this law; and gentlemen know it. That battle had been fought in 1838. The election for the 26th Congress turned almost entirely upon it. Mr. Van Buren proposed it in his first message in September, 1837, and it at once became the watchword of the Democratic party, as it did the exclusive point of attack

of the Federal party. The bank patriots left our ranks, in which there was no more prospect of plunder, suddenly dropping the reins which they had held with an iron grasp; thus causing dissension and confusion, producing the overwhelming though transient defeats of the fall of that year. The following spring State elections, contested upon the same ground, showed a slight reaction; but the canvass for the 26th Congress, in the fall and following summer, fought upon the broad platform of Jeffersonian democracy—the divorce of Bank and State against a National Bank—Sub-Treasury, or no Sub-Treasury—between the purified and unterrified Democracy upon one side, and an unholy alliance of old Federalists and bank-rag aristocracy upon the other; an election, it may be said, held with express reference to this point of Mr. Van Buren's policy—resulted in a glorious triumph, by returning a majority in its favour, although the city of New York was defrauded, by pipe-laying, out of her representatives. Here was the issue—the only one ever made involving this question; and it is a vain subterfuge to transfer it to the late election, because you were fortunate enough to secure—no matter how—a majority of numbers against it.”

“If the Sub-Treasury contains errors of detail, amend, and alter, regulate, but not destroy. An error of detail is not an error of principle. Give our system the same chance of developing itself that we have given a bank; and if it prove to possess any of its fatal influence, I pledge myself the Democratic party will go with you for its repeal. We never sought to wrest from the United States Bank its charter, even after its corruption had become manifest. In fact, at a time when it was notoriously subsidizing the press and squandering its money in a war upon General Jackson's administration, we never attempted the annulling of its charter. It had for years previous to its expiration proved unsafe as a public depository, unsound as a bank of emission, and a deranger instead of a regulator of the exchanges; yet we never dreamed, in the plenitude of our power, of laying hands upon it. I contend that the charter of that bank was violated, and yet General Jackson never proposed its demolition. It was at one time spoken of, in the political circles opposed to it; but the friends of the institution cried for quarter, and quarter was given. And so with our nine hundred State banks, which have been for years preying upon the vitals of the people, putting at defiance all law, human and divine. We have not sought their destruction, nor do we now; their friends admit there are errors in their system, but ask us to regulate, not destroy them. We make no admissions of errors in our system; but if there are errors of detail, regulate, but not destroy. For forty years this government has tried a national bank as its fiscal agent: what has been our financial condition for these forty years? We have been periodically visited by panics, revulsions, and distresses, inflations and reactions, astounding exposures of defalcations and forgeries, agricultural killing low prices, and mechanical and operative killing high prices; a see-saw between inflation and depression, aptly represented by Daddy Lambert times and Calvin Elson times. But, sir, have any of these delectable bank followers visited us since the adoption of our plan? They have not. I shall be answered, it has not been in existence long enough. Very well: it is admitted. Give it a trial of ten years—one quarter the period you have had for yours; and if it harasses and beggars the people in the same manner, we will give it up, and strike our colours.

“The truth is, no argument based upon common

sense can be adduced against the Independent Treasury. There are two motives actuating its opponents; the one, malice—the other, to rear in its place a political institution, which will enable them to comply with certain promises made previous to the late election. There is a class of the Whig party not provided for by the distribution of the spoils; the wheel does not revolve fast enough for them; and another, who look for payment in a less laborious manner, by moneyed facilities. There is an interest also across water, too powerful to be denied, and to whom, if report speak true, the dominant party is somewhat indebted. But if these exist only in the imagination, I repeat, malice—deep and unrelenting malice—has much to do with this repeal; a motive the more unmanly and contemptible, as it is veiled under pretexts of what the public good requires. By deception was the power obtained to do this deed, and by deception is the deed perpetrated. As the pirate decoys the merchantman under a friendly flag, until the sides of the victim is scaled and the deck is in his possession—so did the Whig leaders decoy the people, until, having them fast bound and powerless, as far as their action here is concerned, they unfurl the red banner, bring forth the bloody instruments of torture, exhibit the portentous engine yeclipt a bank, and prepare the manacles and chains. But, thank God, here the simile fails; for, unlike the victims of the corsair, they shall be freed from this subjugation, and deal a just retribution upon the actors in this treachery—ay, sir, reaching the pirate captain himself, whether enveloped in robes of senatorial dignity, (Mr. Clay,) or doffed in the *brown* habit of a puritan secretary, (Mr. Webster.) These dazlingly bedecked chieftains wear but the people's livery. Is it not enough that you should have purchased popular support by allying yourself to popular passions; but must you now exercise your ill-gotten power without dignity and without respect, by indulging this spirit of pitiful vindictiveness! But what can be expected of an administration coming into existence as it did, and controlled by the men it is; men, whose object was to obtain office; and until they are stripped of this power, standing forth as naked of government patronage as they are naked of principle, there is no rest for an abused and deluded people.”

“Sir, if the people of this country decided in the late election against the Sub-Treasury, (which I deny,) did they decide in favour of a National Bank? They did not. That issue was never made; the question was never raised; nor are they now in favour of such an institution. I am aware efforts are being made to foist upon Congress the interested action of a handful of brokers, bankers, and speculators, as the popular voice. But the mantle of deception is too flimsy. Gentlemen refer me to what they are pleased to term the mammoth petition from New York, presented to the Senate a few week since. Sir, they may term it the mammoth petition; but I christen it the bastard petition; ay, sir, the illegitimate offspring of illegitimate parents. Sir, it purports to have been signed by some fifteen or twenty thousand petitioners; whereas, if my information be correct, it did not contain eleven thousand; and four thousand of them were purchased by hired loafers at the corners of streets, at four dollars per hundred. Thus will the mammoth, which took three persons to bring it to the capital, lose more than half of its rotundity, and all of anything formidable in its appearance. I have alluded to three persons who assumed the responsibility of acting as its guards and escorts; I should have said *committee*, for they were dignified by such official cognom-

men by their wire-pullers in Wall-street. And who were the members of this committee? The same gentlemen who went, 'cap in hand,' to Mr. Biddle, in March, 1837, begging him to save New York from annihilation; and who, in October, 1839, advocated a suspension of specie payment by our banks—fit instruments to be the tenders of such a petition. There has also been presented a memorial from the Chamber of Commerce of New York, praying for a similar favour. I have a word to say as to this memorial. Unsophisticated gentlemen, unacquainted with the way in which *cliques* contrive to manufacture public sentiment, would not think it possible that a memorial coming from such a source could be any other than a representation of the opinion of commercial men; but, sir, in this instance it is not so. Our Chamber of Commerce is an association of about two hundred gentlemen: there were but fifty-six present, when a resolution was passed to memorialize Congress for a bank: thirty-six voted in favour, and twenty against it. Under this resolution, a committee of five was appointed to draught a memorial—and were they merchants? No, sir, there was but one merchant upon that committee. This is not an empty assertion, without authority; but is the fact, as I will convince the House, by producing their names and occupations. The first-named gentleman was James G. King, senior partner of the house of Prime, Ward, & King, an old established Wall-street *banking-house*, largely connected with British capitalists and British interests—a banker, (or, in common parlance, a *broker*), and not a merchant. I intend no disrespect when I characterize him as a broker. This word, in its original and true definition, has nothing disreputable in it; its present taint has arisen from the fleecing propensities of the modern order of that profession. Among them are many honourable exceptions, and I believe him (Mr. K.) to be one; but he is not a merchant, and, consequently, is not the proper person to speak through the Chamber of Commerce what the mercantile interests of New York require. The next is Mr. James Brown, of the house of Brown, Brothers, & Co., another *banking* establishment, largely connected with capitalists across the Atlantic, and, as I believe, a partner in a similar firm in Liverpool or London. As a representative of the commercial classes, he is in the same category with the former gentleman. I intend no disrespect. Well, sir, the third is Mr. James Deppeyter Ogden—not a banker, it is true, but a cotton operator—or, in other words, a cotton speculator. This gentleman (whom I understand to be a very worthy man) is the author of several laboured treatises in favour of a bank, and is the reputed author of the memorial. He is not a merchant, and cannot speak for the merchants of New York. The fourth is Mr. John R. Hurd, president of an insurance company, who is also a gentleman of respectability, but not a merchant; nor can he with propriety speak for the merchants of New York. The fifth, and last, is Mr. William H. Aspinwall, a *bona fide* merchant, practically and theoretically, and one of the most enlightened and prosperous of the class. He was the only merchant upon the committee. In connexion with this point, I will add, that, at the time this cheat was in preparation—this merchants' petition being drawn up by brokers and speculators for the Congressional market—there were conspicuous British bankers in Wall-street, anxious observers, if not co-labourers, in the movement. Among them might be named Mr. Bates, partner of the celebrated house of Baring, Brothers, & Co.; Mr. Cryder, of the equally celebrated house of Morrison, Cryder, & Co.; Mr. Pal-

mer, jr., son to Horsley Palmer, now (or late) *Governor* of the *Bank of England*. Nor, Mr. Chairman, were these "allies" seen alone in Wall-street; their visits were extended to the capitol; and since the commencement of the debate upon this bill in the other House, they have been in the lobbies, attentive and apparently interested listeners. I make no comment: comment is unnecessary. I state facts—undeniable facts; and it is with feelings akin to humiliation and shame that I stand up here and state them."

"We need not a government bank to regulate exchanges; they are regulated by the immutable laws of nature—by supply and demand. Artificial remedies for currency disorders are alike artificial stimulants to the prostrate animal—the resuscitation, to be permanent and healthful, must be produced by the inherent vigour of the system, which depends upon the internal vitality of itself. What is exchange? It is simply the transfer of property or its representative. If banks confine their business to the legitimate objects of their creation—making loans upon short bona fide business paper, and no other—exchanges cannot be deranged, because then the notes discounted represent commodity; capital is loaned, and not credit—which, as all writers on commercial banking agree, is the only thing a bank should loan. We require nothing to regulate exchanges, if our nine hundred banks do their duty; but if they will only in part perform it—one portion of the country suspending, and the other paying specie—the exchanges will become disturbed, and human ingenuity cannot devise a National Bank to remedy the difficulty.

"But, sir, granting that every merit you claim for a National Bank was well founded, and that it would perform all the beneficent action promised, it cannot be put into successful operation, nor can it ever obtain public confidence. The people of our country have had a surfeit of their banking system. Of all the evils of corrupt legislation, the creation of banks, whether State or national, has been the worst. I think the assertion can be established, that nearly, if not all, the periodical derangement in our monetary affairs has had its origin in it. Banks appear to be the instruments selected by man to subvert God's blessings. Look abroad upon the face of our beautiful country; see its expanse of empire stretching almost from the rising to the setting of the sun; its climate of every variety—the soft zephyrs of the South, and stern frigidity of the North; its soil sending forth spontaneously, almost without the force of man's labour, the richest products of earth's bosom; its bounteous supply of rivers for navigation, and watering streams for tillage; its mighty oak, for the construction of the world's commerce, and the skill and energy for its speedy monopoly. And were these not given—had God not lavished upon us these gifts—look at the governmental fabric bequeathed to us by 'the sires of whom we are the degenerate posterity!' See its adaptation to our physical and mental being; its invisible operation upon our cohesion and fraternity. Again: see the resources of our strong arms, native intellects, and indomitable enterprise, raising us aloft in all the attributes of gifted man; but, alas! turned upon ourselves the weapons of our own destruction—the engines by which we perpetrate a suicide upon our own prosperity. It is ourselves, then, and not God, who produce, by the creation of credit, and not capital, the evils of which we complain. The munificent Bestower of all blessings has allotted to our portion of his domain fair verdure, congenial climate, and individual adaptation of character; but by our own hands have we fallen, victims to the abuse of what was intended as blessings, sacrificed by legislation, destroyed

by turning our back upon the benevolence of God, looking to banks and not industry.

"Sir, do you know what banks have cost the people? I will show you.

"In a report made to this House by the Committee of Ways and Means in 1830, it was estimated that, previous to 1817, the government lost by loans made to it in depreciated currency, and paid in specie \$33,000,000

"The late Secretary of the Treasury, in a report to the Senate, tells us that, since then, the government has lost - 15,492,000

"That the people have lost directly by bank failures - 108,885,721

"Losses by suspensions of specie payments by banks, and consequent depreciation on their notes - 95,000,000

"Losses by destruction of bank-notes by accidents - 7,121,332

"Losses by counterfeit bank-notes, beyond losses by coin - 4,444,444

"Losses by fluctuations in bank currency affecting prices, extravagance in living, sacrifices of property, and by only a part of the other incidents to the banking system, not computed above, at least 150,000,000

413,943,497

"But, sir, we do not stop here. This is an enormous aggregate, but this is not all. The losses by fictitious banks and their notes—operations of mere swindling—are very considerable; and they are justly chargeable to our system of paper currency. Besides, there are the frauds, robberies, and defalcations connected with the banks, which might be properly set down under this head; but these are not easy to compute.

"The amount paid by the country to the banks, during the last ten years, for the use of their agency and their notes, after deducting six per cent. interest for the use of bank capital and the reasonable expenses of managing the banks, is computed at \$94,000,000

"Being an annual sum of - 9,400,000

"Of the aggregate losses sustained by the community since 1789, Mr. Woodbury computes that there must have happened, within the last ten years, an amount of - \$200,000,000

"Which is at the annual rate of 20,000,000

"Is not this a frightful exhibit of what banks have cost the people? But it is not all. Where is the gatherer of statistics who will attempt to compute the losses sustained by men who, seduced from the small earnings of an honest avocation, have been ensnared into the temptation of a bank discount? What master-hand shall delineate the wreck of morals and loss of character, to say nothing of domestic happiness, produced thereby? Who will furnish us a record of the defalcations, forgeries, dishonest self-appropriations, with which our press is almost daily teeming? Sir, these are evils of the system. The wisdom of this, or any other country, never created banks, as such, without these concomitants. These evils appear to be a necessary consequence—a certain result. Is it not strange, then, we find in this House advocates for a bank as an agent of the government—as a keeper of the public finances—men willing to strike from existence a law with which they have not, and cannot, justly find fault; and place in its stead one, the result of which all experience proves is pregnant with the worst of evils—the very impersonation of national disaster?

"But, sir, in conclusion, let me say, Go on—pass

this bill—charter your bank—fasten this iniquity upon the country; the mighty shout of *repeal* has gone forth from my lion-hearted constituency. Ay! *repeal! repeal!! repeal!!!* From that ground from whence first floated to the winds the bright banner of '*Divorce of Bank and State*'—borne aloft by the stout arms and honest hearts of the down-trodden but indignant masses—now is heard, trumpet-tongued, the cry of *repeal*. New York has spoken—she never speaks in vain. I echo her voice in these halls. It is the proudest moment of my life that I have been the first in this debate to ring into the ears of great men's satellites—'Bind the chains of this bank upon us, and the Democracy will rend them asunder by a speedy repeal of its charter.'

Copy of a letter from † John, Bishop of Charleston, South Carolina.

From facts and circumstances within our knowledge during the *past* several years, the Federal Whig party have resorted to all kinds of manœuvring and tricks, promises, &c., to withdraw from the Democratic party Catholic citizens, and induce them to cast their votes for the modern Whigs: failing in this, their first attempt, another plan was resorted to, to deprive at least the labouring portion of their votes, and that, too, through the odious *Registry Law*; and, failing in this, they now again resort to promises, &c.; what shall be done for them at the next session of the legislature? We would respectfully say to our Catholic friends, do not trust these modern Whigs; "depend upon it, they will prove *snares to your feet*, and compel you to assist to complete the *chains* they have so long been forging for the working classes. That you may have other opinions than our own on this momentous subject, we annex the following letter, whose author is unimpeachable, both morally and religiously.

"Charleston, S. C., Sept. 17, 1840.

"Gentlemen—I was yesterday honoured with your invitation of August 26, to meet the Vice-President of the United States on the 28th inst., at Detroit.

"The compliment which you pay him is one of those political movements from which I have kept aloof, though, I am free to confess, my opinion is, that the administration of which he forms so conspicuous a part, has acted for the benefit of our Union, and does not deserve the vituperation with which it is assailed.

"It may perhaps tend to show the spirit of some of its opponents, when so humble an individual as I am, and for so many years a citizen, though I must confess to the crime of having been born in a distant land, and of having voluntarily come hither, dare not express this simple opinion without being denounced in unmeasured terms, and the persons whose religion I teach, threatened with extermination if it be discovered that FROM ANY CAUSE there shall be found a majority in favour of Mr. Van Buren, in any district where Catholics are numerous.

"I have suffered insult and oppression under the penal code against my religion in Ireland, and I came hither, flattering myself with the expectation that there existed at least freedom of thought, and liberty for any citizen to express his opinion that the public officers of the Union were not guilty of that mal-administration which was imputed to them by their competitors. I

have more than once been convinced of my mistake; and if my religion and its professors are to be made the victims of my imagining that, in our republic, Catholics, like other citizens, had liberty of political opinion, expression, and action, I would far prefer being again in my former position; for the Orangeism of Ireland is mercy compared to the insolence of those who here insult us by their expressions of kindness and condescension, while they threaten us with extermination unless we stoop to be their slaves.

"I am aware, gentlemen, that they who are thus disposed in our regard, do not form the American people, but I know that they are numerous and active, and I should regret, for the sake of our republican institutions, that they had the power to work their will. They would indeed begin with the Catholics, but others would soon feel the effects of their success.

"I take the liberty of sending you a couple of papers, which will show the occasion of my remarks.

"I have the honour to be, gentlemen,

"With great respect,

"Your obedient, humble servant,

"† JOHN, Bishop of Charleston."

After the above, is there a Catholic who will for a moment *falter* in giving in his vote for Democracy and Equal Rights.

Assumption of State Debts by the Government of the United States.

We have often been told that the leading Federal Whigs never *devised* nor *wished* the State debts to be converted into United States stock—had we no other evidence, the late proceedings of Congress, in the distribution of the public land bill, is sufficient to substantiate what the Democratic party have said on this subject: however, be that as it may, the following, from a publication issued last fall, settles the question; also shows the part British fund-holders, and leading newspapers, &c., took in the affair, also the deep interest they felt in England for the election of General Harrison, and the defeat of Martin Van Buren, &c.:

In the month of October, 1839, the National Intelligencer broaches this magnificent scheme of corruption, by announcing that "distrust has reached our State engagements, and the bonds of some of them are down at a very low price," and it then makes this pregnant intimation of the plan that Federalism had already concocted: "Would it not be a wise provision if Congress were to set aside certain amounts of the public lands for their ultimate redemption?" That is, take away the portion of revenue derived from the public lands which is now used in defraying the expenses of government; apply it to redeem the debts of particular States, and impose new taxes on the whole people to make up the deficiency!

In November—the next month—the scheme was more fully developed by the leading party organs at New York. "This plan," says the New York Herald, "is so far matured by the leaders of the Whig party, as to be officially promulgated in the Courier and Enquirer."

The Courier and Enquirer—the special supporter of Nicholas Biddle, Harrison's intended Secretary of the Treasury, the purchased stipendiary of the defunct National Bank, and the acknowledged organ of Harrison—accordingly promulgates the matured plan as follows:

"Let the government of the United States—which means the people's immediate representatives in both Houses of Congress—create three hundred millions of stock, bearing an interest of 4 per cent. per annum, and let this be appropriated among the States on the principles of Mr. Clay's land bill."

The New York American, edited by Charles King, a notorious and extravagant aristocrat, now making stump speeches in behalf of Harrison, seconds this suggestion with congenial zeal. It says:

"By no human agency could more immediate relief be effected, than by the conversion of the debts of the States into a United States stock."

The Commercial Advertiser—a newspaper that glories in the avowal of the rankest anti-Republican doctrines, and fights for Harrison as its legitimate chief—says:

"Let the Federal government issue a national stock, bearing say 4 per cent. interest, in exchange for the State stocks.

"As to the other objection—the creation of a new public debt, it has no terrors for us. ~~But~~ But we reserve the discussion for another day."

While these organs at home thus boldly proclaim the new national debt of three hundred millions of dollars, which Harrison is to create, their British allies, with a coincidence which proves a secret but absolute concert, issue in London, in the same month of November, a circular, through the banking house of the Barings, who were for years the confidential agents of Nicholas Biddle, and at the head of which are the present Chancellor of the British Exchequer, and a peer of the realm of Great Britain. In that circular these allies of the supporters of Harrison say, "that a more comprehensive guaranty than that of individual States will be required." "A national pledge," they say, "would undoubtedly collect capital together from all parts of Europe;" and they intimate to their American friends that the works of internal improvement in the States must stop, unless "some general system of combination is adopted." For the fartherance of this "system of combination"—this gigantic scheme of joint international stockjobbing, at the expense of the people of the United States, the election of Harrison is looked to on both sides of the Atlantic. This circular of the Barings has been followed by the establishment of English agents in our large cities, to promote the "system of combination;" an active published correspondence is kept up; and the London newspapers teem with articles in favour of the election of Harrison, because on that they depend for the fulfilment of the "general system of combination"—the establishment of a "national pledge."

The Liverpool Standard, of the 4th of September, 1840, says:

"At present Great Britain exercises a powerful influence over the social, political, and fiscal affairs of the United States."

A letter in the London Morning Herald, of the 3d of September, thus discusses our elections:

"If the people do not now succeed in throwing off the oppressive and humiliating yoke of charlatans and knaves under which they groan, the result will ultimately be a revolution of force. The mass of the community will not consent to tolerate such a combination of *schemers* and *profligates* in any longer dominion."

"The improvement in stocks is to be partly attributed, no doubt, to the abundance of money-seeking investment; but chiefly to the promising results of the western elections, which have given a temporary buoyancy and life to the market. I do not imagine that it

can be permanent, nor do I hope for permanent improvement until the presidential question shall be finally settled. * * *

"I do not believe that there will be any positive change for the better in our affairs, until it is effected by a change of administration, and an entire reform of our financial system."

The next President of the United States.—We regret to see the several nominations that have recently been made, through newspapers, &c., of individuals as Democratic candidates for the next Presidency—we regret it, because we do not think the time is arrived to agitate that subject. For ourselves, we will support the candidate that may be regularly nominated by the great Democratic party with all the means and ability in our power; but we do think it advisable to let the subject rest until that time arrives. It is true, every one has a right to express his opinions and views of the subject—under this privilege we say, that we are decidedly in favour of the re-election of Martin Van Buren, and we feel persuaded that it is now the wish of a large majority of the American people. Nobly have they responded to the "Sober second thought of the people" in the recent elections in Vermont, Maine, Maryland, Georgia, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Ohio, &c.

State Prison Labour Monopoly, &c.—We, in common with the Democratic party, are opposed, not only to State prison labour and monopoly, but to all other kinds of monopolies. What is to be done to prevent State prison labour coming in contact with the labour of regular mechanics, &c., is perhaps a difficult *problem to solve*: we regret not having seen some feasible plan to remedy the evil so justly complained of, published by mechanics themselves. If this were done it would undoubtedly aid members of the legislature in their deliberations on the subject—we did expect to have seen this embodied in an "Appeal of the Whig Mechanics" of this city; but, lo! we find it nothing more or less than a Federal Whig *trick to catch* the votes of mechanics at the approaching election. *These distinguished appealeers* acknowledge that they, the modern Whigs, have for the last "four years" had "the ascendancy in our State councils," and now, on the fifth years' sufferings of the mechanics from State prison labour, call on mechanics for their votes to "overthrow" State prison monopoly: why did not these Federal Whig friends!!! to mechanics overthrow State prison labour when they have for four years had the power to have done so? But now forsooth, when they find that the "Sober second thought of the people" is withdrawing power from them, they call on the mechanic for help!!!

A friend, devotedly opposed to State prison labour, has suggested the following plan to prevent State prison labour from coming in contact with regular mechanical labour, which is this: "let all the articles made or manufactured in the State prison, be sent to a market out of the United States, and there be disposed off to the best advantage, and the proceeds credited to the State, on account of State prison labour." We think the above plan a feasible one, and, if carried into effect, would remedy the evil, at least as far as State prison labour is concerned.

Democratic Mass Convention, composed of the real bone and sinews of the river counties, held at Kingston, Ulster Country, N. Y., a few days since, the following is one of the resolutions passed with great applause at that meeting, which shows the feelings of the Democratic party in relation to State prison labour, &c.:

Resolved, That we respond with applause and enthusiasm to the earnest and general voice of the people, in favour of abolishing the odious State prison monopoly; that we rejoice to see the too long neglected claim of the mechanics of our State, for a prompt and radical reform of this system, rightly understood, and energetically met by the people. That we believe the present State prison policy to be a kind of trading that transcends the just limits of government—as a violation of that equal providence which every State should show alike toward all classes—and, therefore, is not equal right and equal justice to all men. We believe it to be a sacrifice of the great interests of the mechanics to a mistaken idea of criminal reform—that it is contrary to the true principles of a broad morality—because it fills our workshops with poor, deprived, unreformed convicts—that it is alike insulting to the feelings and the self-respect, and contrary to the best interests of the working men. And, finally, it is not in accordance with the maxim of the "greatest good to the greatest number," and therefore ought to be reformed.

Federal Whig tricks to obtain votes.—The day before the last fall election the modern Whigs sent shoals of notices to voters in each ward; the following are extracts from one we received:

"A course of policy has been pursued during the last few years, by the administration at Washington, which almost every man in the country, except the office-holder, has found to be not only injurious to his individual interests, but hurtful to public and private morals. The labourer finds it difficult to get work, and when obtained he generally receives but half or three-quarters pay. The mechanic finds that his avocation cannot flourish when commerce, its twin-sister, is stricken down. Every man who will reflect calmly and without prejudice, must say that WE NEED A CHANGE."

"WE WANT A CHANGE, and a change we must have, or we shall all be beggars together. If you have been a supporter of Mr. Van Buren, and have felt the general distress, or observed it in others, will you not try the candidate opposed to him?"

Well, Federal Whigs, by frauds, &c., you got "a change;" and what have you done for "the principles of Reform" and "prosperity of the country," you so *boastingly promised immediately* on the change being made? it is now evident the promises, &c., were manufactured for the purpose of deceiving the people, and making them "all be beggars together."

Col. Hamilton, of "a strong government" memory, his plan for electing electors of President of the United States.—"Which Electors shall be chosen by the citizens of such States having an estate of inheritance, or for three lives, in land, or a clear personal estate of the value of one thousand Spanish milled dollars of the present standard."—*Madison Papers*.

This plan is rather more modest than the one of Squire Sidney. Working men, reflect and consider well what you are to expect at the hands of the modern Whigs, if you listen to their *insidious promises, smiles, &c.*, and suffer them to put the chains they have so long been forging round your necks.

Definition of Aristocracy by Col. Mason, a Virginia Democrat.—"His idea of an Aristocracy was, that it was the government of the few over the many. An aristocratic body, like the screw in mechanics, working its way by slow degrees, and holding fast whatever it gains, should ever be suspected of an encroaching tendency. The purse-string should never be put into its hands."—*Madison Papers*.

THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC GUIDE



THE blessings of Government, like the dews of Heaven, should be dispensed alike on high and low, the rich and the poor.
 JACKSON.
 The privilege of self-government is one which the people will never be permitted to enjoy unmolested. Power and wealth are continually stealing from the many to the few.
 WILLIAM LEGGETT.

VOL. I.

DECEMBER, 1841.

No. II.

PRIZE DISSERTATION ON POLITICAL ECONOMY, &c.

WE being sincerely desirous to promote and extend all possible useful information to the producing and working classes, offered a premium of fifty dollars for the best Dissertation on Political Economy and its collateral branches.

It affords us pleasure to state, that several Dissertations, embracing the topics mentioned in the published proposals, have been received, from which one has been selected, and is now published, with the following note from the author :

"Agreeable to the offer made, through the columns of the public prints, for a Dissertation on Political Economy, &c., deeming the subject to be of the highest importance to Democratic principles, &c. ; although my time is pretty much taken up in toiling for the support of my family—leaving me little time for reflection to digest and compile a Dissertation on the plan you suggest; besides this, my literary acquirements, to say the most, are only on a par with many of my fellow-labourers; these facts, and being fully aware that a production from the pen of a working man (if not rejected) would be liable to criticism, almost deterred me from attempting to write; but on reflecting upon the ever memorable words of Martin Van Buren, viz., "the sober second thought," I made up my mind to go on and present for your consideration such a document as I felt capable of producing—which document accompanies this note. Although I am willing to confess that it is nothing more or less than a common-place production,

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yet permit me to say, that I have the vanity to think it is not void of common-sense principles in relation to Political Economy, &c. Should it meet with a favourable reception, and be published in your Journal, an opportunity will be given me to present you with such additional matter or corrections, touching the several subjects, as may be deemed necessary. For this purpose, I beg leave to say, you will confer a favour by saying to our Democratic friends, that if they will leave with you any additional matter that may be calculated to make the Dissertation more perfect, it shall be embraced in my future communications on the subject.

"I am, gentlemen,

"Yours respectfully,

"A WORKING MAN."

To the conductors of The People's Democratic Guide.

1st. "The course a republican nation and its people ought to pursue to the best advantage of the many."

No citizen of a "republican nation," under any circumstances whatever, can consistently claim prerogatives over his fellows, independent of those, the gifts of Providence, as they may be associated with the natural results of industry, economy, and true conservative action. This position of necessity abrogates at one blow all legislative acts of preference in conformity with the constitution; excepting the protection given "to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries."

Necessarily the true position and policy of a citizen

of a republican nation, as far as I can understand it, is based on the undivided rights of all within the bounds of its compact, without regard to country or birth. The duties of such a citizen must be glorious and immortal, as its final object is to elevate the depressed as regards mental and physical powers; not an equalizer of men, as to natural endowment or attainment, because nature has denied such a result, but an equalization of happiness, as far as labour can equally be rewarded in the just products of each individual person; this desideratum can only be approached in proportion to the intelligence and virtue of the popular mass. This proposition ought not to be scorned or deprecated by the knowing ones, with whom is intrusted all "the knowledge, piety, good breeding," &c., for this simple reason, that the government of such a nation is the government of the people; and farther, through the people's primitive influence on their public servants, the nation is to be propelled to its final destiny, either for good or for evil.

In order to write more familiar on this subject, localities and reference are desirable; therefore, I shall hereafter substitute the United States for the "republican nation and its people," for the propriety of which no one will probably object, as the general subject matter is in strict reference to our practical position.

With the above premises, I am induced to make a few remarks in connexion relative to the public press, where I witness a constant disposition, (under the influence of either of the grand political parties,) at the expense of justice and common sense, to implicate the policy and results of each in many instances beyond their true bearing.

In this charge it is not for me to give a preference to either party as a whole; but the inference is this, (with just exceptions to both parties,) and in particular to the neutral prints, that the editorial gentry are under the influence that misrepresentation and distortion are equivalents for demonstrable facts, with the majority of our people! Solitary instances might be cited operating generally for a season to justify their licentious faith, but I trust such instances are few and far between. Indeed, I knew within my observation, that the editorial gentry are more justly appreciated by the people than is ordinarily imagined by this formidable corps. The result in particular is, that the editorial influence is small, as it ought to be, where political economy is the object. A newspaper is looked at simply as a chronicle of events; but as to state policy, the people are *driven* more than ever to the resources of their own minds, in order to arrive at true results. In one respect, however, the dominant political or administration party press have a preference with the honest man, providing the positions of the party are defensible on true principles of national economy, and under such circumstances may have the preference, as they must be driven to facts, in order to finally main-

tain position; when sophistry is relied on, the contrary must be the result—while the minority, not responsible, have been known to attack the executive legislative and judiciary, in many instances, as one combined mass of iniquity, and under circumstances that can have no influence but with the ignorant and credulous, and all for party interest.

Perhaps no matters before us will warrant our position better than those of finance, as generally understood under the head of banking, a branch of political economy as it has presented itself for the last fifty years—on which so little is agreed to—on which men of high standing have so materially changed positions, and on which so little appears to be understood correctly; and yet, if I am right in my humble opinion, these words "finance" and "banking," as connected with the political economy of the country, constitute the whole matter in dispute, which now divides more than any other cause the American people politically—if not in their moral and social relations? With banking we may, and we must, associate *wealth* and *credit* as relative terms, and necessary elements or principles requisite under all circumstances to sustain the fabric. Wealth being the product of labour, and credit faith in acts to be performed more or less agreeable to contract. Now it is an acknowledged axiom, that what people know and admit by positive evidence, requires no farther debate. In other words, demonstration to all necessarily imparts equal knowledge to all, and knowledge allows of but one conclusion. Banking, as generally understood, ordinarily implies wealth or capital, latent or active. A bank, notwithstanding, may not possess one cent of capital, yet carry on a profitable business, by confining its exchanges of credit to solvent operators; then the solvency would be all on the one side of the contract of exchange, and one of the parties, without wealth, would be making money on the wealth of the other; yet solvency, in commercial action, depends on the equality of prices of products, for which credit, as an agent, is legitimately exercised to exchange, transport, &c., and the grand object to be arrived at in this free country, is simply an equal and regular value on all necessities of life, in particular in reference to individual labour, both mutually aided by a legal currency in the precious metals, bearing as near as may be, and as it now does, a corresponding value with the commercial world, entirely governed by the expense and labour of its procurement, without an intrinsic character in itself to sustain life. With this view of the subject (bank-bills)—bank credits—never ought to be exchanged for other credits—upon the uncertainty of the value and quantity of products, or the actual fruits of labour prepared for exchange, export, and import. This must depend on free trade more than on any other circumstance. But no trade is free when governed by restrictions or retarded by monopolies. We have no restrictions in this country,

except duties on imports, which are comparatively of but small moment. But our *banking system*, as chartered privileges, have become so numerous, and in many instances superfluous, that we are constantly inundated with false equivalents, a prerogative exercised, without any apparent limits, by every state in the Union. This is certainly a calamity, or at least an evil, which every one allows, or begins to recognise, and which ought to be avoided.

The great desideratum is the remedy. But, before I offer one, I will state what is becoming popular every day as a fundamental truth; that no bank charter in the United States is, or ever was, constitutional; and farther, that if every bank charter should expire to-morrow, and not one more ever be chartered or re-charted, that the wealth of this nation would not be augmented or diminished, by such an event, one farthing; unless bank-officers and sinecures, to the number of thousands, should, in the result, become producers, in which case a public advantage would be the result.

Admitting the facts, that banks are unconstitutional as well as a public evil, who is to blame? The government; and the government is the people's, and they have the power to correct the abuse through the ballot-box. But, "ah! ah!" cry the bank-officers, directors, and stock-holders, "don't violate contracts—don't, O don't destroy the banks!" Very well, agreed. Let the banks expire with the limitations of their respective charters; and, in the meantime, let *us, the people*, begin calmly but positively to prepare the banks for a peaceable and calm extinguishment. In the first place, let every man withdraw his deposits gradually, according to his connexion and convenience. Every *solvent man* can effect this from one to three years; and, in like manner, let him avoid all bank accommodations (*i. e.*, exchange of credits) within the same period, aided by rigid economy in every domestic expense, particularly in making use of any foreign products that can conveniently be substituted by American industry, which would reduce our imports within three years, in all probability, \$100,000,000, and bring Europe to a state of annual indebtedness to us for our crude materials. Such a course of events would, of themselves, make banking unprofitable; they would of necessity meet with a timely death, without violence or corporeal coercion. They could not complain; besides, no venal press would be employed to sustain rotten and expiring charters at the expense (any longer) of a confiding but deluded people!

Such a course would result in making manifest the insolvency of many individuals, as well as some sovereign states, no doubt; particularly as the latter have been so improvident as to mortgage the labour of posterity to carry forward expenditures that probably will never become available. Such profligacy

is not the object for which government was instituted; consequently, with a free and enlightened people, such contracts are null and void, and must be considered so the moment that the industry of the country feels the imposition; and that moment will have arrived the instant that taxation is felt for the purpose of sustaining demagogues, stock-jobbers, paupers, hypocrites, and non-producers, *foreign* or domestic, through a course of licentious legislation.

The final result of this course of events will restore us to the happy primitive position for which our fathers fought, and which is guarantied to us by the constitution. Less money will have to be counted in paper shin-plasters, but more in gold and silver. Less interest will have to be paid, products being more, in shin-plaster value; but more of them, and of more intrinsic value in specie, as we could export to advantage, ~~the~~ the stimulant to production! The expansion and contraction (alias, kiting) of equivalents would be done away; fluctuations in trade will cease; extravagance and villany, its concomitants, will be reduced; swindling will not be an attribute of financial tact; vanity will not pass for merit; and such a one as Nicholas Biddle will not have the assurance to address a letter to a certain quarter, that he has sent an agent to Europe "*to protect the commerce and maintain the credit of the United States.*"

2d. "What must be the final result of a nation or country that, from year to year, imports largely, our exports causing a large balance against the exporter?"

3d. "What may be expected to follow the sale of stocks of various kinds to foreign capitalists, and the draining the country of specie to pay interest?"

The subjects embraced in the 2d and 3d propositions have both been, and are now, experienced in this country. If the production or income of an individual or nation is sufficient for his or their happiness and subsistence, then no cause exists to justify an expenditure beyond the income—yet either may make foolish bargains, and ultimately be deprived of their property or inheritance, and necessarily of an independent state.

No one is prepared to say but that the products of the United States, for the last seven years, (or any seven years since the Union was formed,) have been abundant for all the necessities and conveniences of life, through the exchanges of commercial action, both foreign and domestic. In our intercourse with foreign nations, we have delivered to them the whole amount of all of our surplus production, in exchange for theirs, that we did not in general produce or manufacture, and this ought to have embraced all legitimate trade.

It must, however, be taken into consideration that, since 1834, under the influence of internal improvement, State scrip to the amount of several hundred millions has been disposed of in England, for which we have received the products of England. This scrip

has been purchased by the Banks, and transmitted to England for sale; the Banks have sold drafts to the importers to pay for imports. May, 1836, found (independent of the scrip sold) the American houses in London and Liverpool indebted to the Bank of England \$100,000,000. In November this debt was reduced to about \$40,000,000; when, through the operation of the Bank Parlour in London, these very American houses were noticed that no farther accommodation could be extended to them by the Bank. The immediate result was the suspension of the American houses in England; the dishonouring, by them, of all American bills, which caused the drafts on the Banks here for specie from January, 1837, to May of that year, when a general suspension took place throughout the United States. This suspension in a measure enabled the Banks to maintain their circulation; a circumstance alone which kept up the prices of our products.

Speculators held on to cotton and flour; the former was stored in Liverpool and Paris—the latter disposed of here in paper, at \$12 to \$14 per barrel. The result was, we became importers of wheat from Europe, then partly in bond, to the amount of nearly \$6,000,000, paid in specie, for less than one month's supply; when, from the want of statistical facts, there was no evidence on the average day of harvest in the United States; but that we had a surplus equal to all we had imported in a panic—if so, we imported what was not required, which found us, in January, 1839, with a reduced circulation of bank-bills of \$30,000,000, besides the loss in the aggregate of all we had paid for flour the former year, not consumed.

The debts we had incurred abroad were for foreign products, and were liquidated by State, Bank, and other stocks. These products were purchased at high prices; for instance, iron to the amount of \$56,000,000 was imported in six years, ending in 1838, at an advance of more than 50 per cent. on old prices previous to our inflated system of 1834, 1835, and 1836. Our whole amount of imports for six years, ending in 1839, was \$180,000,000 over our exports—this made our indebtedness to England, ~~of~~ cancelled by stocks. In the meantime our products fell in price—cotton, our principal product, to meet the balance of trade, in those years averaged 16 cents per pound. England trusted us on these inflated prices; it has since averaged say 10 cents per pound; our crop now averages 1,800,000 bales—the difference of six cents per pound on the annual crop is \$43,200,000.

Five crops, inclusive, from 1837 to 1841, at the prices we run in debt, would make a difference of \$216,000,000, a difference which would have cancelled all claims of England against us at this moment; a circumstance that would have kept solvent our Southern Banks. No demand would have been made for more security by English stock-holders of American

stocks. An Extra Session of Congress would not have been called to relieve the country by giving the public lands to the States, equal to \$4,000,000 per annum, and to raise the import duties to \$8,000,000. And besides, the distribution of the surplus revenue would never have taken place, of \$30,000,000, in 1837—because, but for the inflation of the State and Bank credit systems, which was the sole cause of over-trading and extravagance, no surplus would have been created. If the question should be asked, after taking this short and retrospective view of our miserable position, how the foreign capitalists could afford to hold such claims against us by such vast advances? I should answer, it is the product of others—not morally their own. It is the fruit of monopoly and over-reaching in the exchange of the product of labour, and, independent of the fact, necessarily acknowledged as the law and privilege of commerce, sustained by custom from time immemorial. Thus has the English commercial policy robbed and subjected us. In truth is America the best farrow cow to Old England; and, after stripping us, she now threatens to kick us, if we do not give down more milk. But I will ask, shall a free people any longer become the dupes of such a policy, led on by ambitious men, who have lost sight of first principles in the momentary hope of private gain, created by duplicate commissions in multiplying the action of public funds, whose ideas of honour and patriotism must be imaginary or hypocritical? if the latter, then are they traitors!

The motto of this Nation once was, "Millions for defence, but not one cent for tribute." Who can question but that we are becoming ruinously tributary to foreigners through this funding system? The parallel cannot be found in history. I am not disposed to enter largely on the subject. Every one knows the fact, that the interest on two hundred millions of dollars, at 5 per cent., is ten millions of dollars; besides, if payable in Europe, commission, freight, and insurance will add to the sum. It is perfectly immaterial to us through what channel it is paid, as long as it comes out of the product of labour. And I would ask, what product have we to spare to pay it in? The main staples of the South are cotton, rice, and tobacco. If these articles alone go to pay the debt, it necessarily follows that the Northern and Western States must, in their proportion, repay the South in manufactures and produce. It may be said that the Northern and Western States have ever a surplus of bread stuffs. I answer, that Europe produces her own bread generally in times of peace, and that the wealth of a nation depends much on the consumption of her own agricultural products. This is a principle of political economy, predicated of the law of nature, which requires, in order to maintain the annual benefit of the soil, that its products must be consumed in its own limits, otherwise in time it becomes barren. These facts

have been acknowledged in reference to Egypt and other places, and are strikingly manifest in the Southern States, by abandoning the once virgin soil, where the land has become unproductive, by raising continuous crops of tobacco and cotton, and not resuscitated by the home consumption in its results of manure. This may appear to many to be foreign to our subject, yet it is true. England at this time presents the highest state of agriculture of any nation in Europe. She sustains, including Scotland, rising 16,000,000 of inhabitants, double her population in 1660; and she raises more than double the quantity of wheat and other products in proportion, than at that period. And this is the result of consuming her own agricultural product. She goes farther, by importing the offal from the continent to the amount of \$1,000,000 per annum. Consumption, to be healthy, must be equal to production. It strikes me, to carry out our present policy—to pay even the interest of our debt—we must ultimately impoverish our soil, and become a poor people. Our situation is alarming to our happiness, liberty, and independence. If our legislatures persist, I have to advise the present generation to act on their own account—i. e., work man, woman, and child on your own account—avoid the use of foreign products—retire on your own resources as much as possible—become farmers and mechanics—exchange product direct for product—to preserve our liberty and independence.

4th. "What right has the general government to sell or dispose of the people's public lands to pay either the interest or principal of stocks created by States' stock-jobbers, speculators, &c.?"

I answer, the general government has no such right. Mr. Tyler, in his inaugural, admits that such a disposal would be wrong, provided that such a measure would interfere with the tariff compromise. Notwithstanding, such a law has passed Congress, subject to his scruples—as an entering wedge—giving away the people's land to the amount of \$4,000,000, and another law taxing them on imports, \$8,000,000—besides borrowing \$12,000,000, and proposing to borrow \$16,000,000 more next winter; while the States hold on deposit, without interest, \$28,000,000 of the people's money. The whole ramification tends to create offices, and double and treble the commissions, by taking money from one pocket, to place in another, and another, all diminishing the people's substance. I consider no farther remarks necessary on such palpable absurdities.

5th. "What are the consequences of over-trading, living beyond receipts of income, and of speculations which raise the price of land, lots, and various kinds of property far above the real value?"

Speculation, as has been exercised here for several years, in connexion with banking—making paper money—is but a substitute for gambling and robbery, without responsibility to the laws, and an attempt to put at defiance the law of God and of nature; both

have said, "Man shall eat bread in the sweat of his face." The disobedience to this law, and its reward, we hear of every day, in bank frauds of every kind, in breaches of trust, violations of oaths, suicides, arson, and every crime; besides the ruin brought on the widow and orphan, the infirm and the young. The loss of \$35,000,000, the capital of the United States Bank, justifies all I say. Gold is said to be the root of all evil: we have multiplied the evil in this country from three to six hundred per cent. in paper representations; we have counterfeited the evil by representing it to exist in paper equivalents several times over the actual amount. For instance, I herewith give the result of the Secretary of the Treasury's report of the Banks of the United States in December, 1838. I give whole numbers:

Banking Institution of the U. S., Dr.	Contra.	Cr.
For Capital Stock, \$317,000,000	Loans and Discounts, \$485,000,000	
" Circulation, 116,000,000	Stocks, - - -	33,000,000
" Deposites, 84,000,000	Real Estate, - - -	19,000,000
" Due other Banks, 61,000,000	Other Investments, - - -	24,000,000
" Other Liabilities, 60,000,000	Due by other Banks, 58,000,000	
	Notes of other Banks, 24,000,000	
	Specie, - - -	38,000,000
	Specie Funds, - - -	1,000,000
Surplus to Balance, 44,000,000		
\$682,000,000		\$682,000,000

By this statement it appears that the Banks in the United States present a surplus, above all liabilities, of forty-four million of dollars.

From the above statement we make the following, predicated of the supposition that the receivables are thus far, as annexed, received and applied to all obligations, independent of the Capital Stock of \$317,000,000 and the surplus as above, thus,

\$361,000,000

This amount of \$361,000,000, when all of the Bank obligations are cancelled, will rest in the sequel on bills receivable, and, of course, comprise the property of the stock-holders, and payable by the people.

Statement of obligations payable by the Banks, independent of Stocks and Surplus, viz.:	Of the obligations receivable, independent of the \$361,000,000 in bills receivable, covering Stock and Surplus.
Circulation, - - - \$116,000,000	Stocks, - - - \$33,000,000
Deposites, - - - 84,000,000	Real Estate, - - - 19,000,000
Due other Banks, - 61,000,000	Other investments, 24,000,000
Liabilities, - - - 60,000,000	Due by other Banks, 58,000,000
	Notes of other Banks, 24,000,000
	Specie, - - - 38,000,000
	Specie funds, - - - 1,000,000
	Notes paid the balance of \$485,000,000
	After deducting the amount covering Stock and Surplus, } 361,000,000
	\$124,000,000
	Leaves to have been paid, } 124,000,000
\$321,000,000	\$321,000,000

From this analysis it appears that, after the banks shall have cancelled all obligations due the public, nothing will be left in the hands of the public as a tender for debts received from the banks but the \$38,000,000 in specie; which amount is not even equal to the bank surplus of forty-four millions by six millions of dollars. Notwithstanding this extra-

ordinary result, which finds the public indebted to the banks the enormous amount of three hundred and sixty-one millions of dollars—four times the amount of the whole specie computed to be in the United States. The questions which necessarily arise in one's mind are—What have the country received for this heavy burthen? and what have they to liquidate it with? I answer, that these are questions for the country to understand and solve. For my own humble self, I am of the opinion, that a large amount of this sum will be liquidated by the stock notes or accommodation paper of the stock-holders, which, if true, only goes to prove that many of our banks are institutions of form without substance, through whose agency of expansion of false equivalents, “the rich have been made richer, and the poor poorer.” I leave my readers to make farther inferences.

6th. “What agency, if any, has the banking system in the United States had in raising property above its real value? What may be expected from over-banking?”

I shall omit any remarks on this proposition, as I think it sufficiently embraced in some of the others.

7th. “What good or evil may a “National Bank” do for the people of the United States—particularly should such an institution be under the control of British capitalists, and hired or paid domestic stock-jobbers, &c.?”

To make use of the words of Patrick Henry, “we know nothing of the future but by the past.”

A committee of Congress, on the 16th January, 1819, made a report that the then United States Bank had violated its charter in four particulars. Mr. Johnson offered a resolution to repeal the charter, which was supported by thirty members, and opposed by one hundred and thirty-one. Mr. Spencer, chairman of the committee, offered a resolution to cause a *seire facias* to be sued out, but with as little success. “We learn,” says Mr. Niles, “that about forty members are stock-holders, and some of them heavily so. We hope that none of them voted in their own cause.”

So much for the United States Bank in 1819—an institution that had violated its charter at that early period, as a committee of Congress then reported, in “four particulars.” Yet owing to pecuniary interests of members, this modern harlot was excused from justice, at the expense of the people, and in violation of law and the spirit of all our institutions, on the ground that she was necessary as a fiscal agent, and to promote commerce, equalize the currency, and regulate the exchange of the Union, solvent or insolvent, as no distinction was made in the latter.

In the first place, Congress has no power whatever, conferred by the constitution, to create any exclusive privilege or charter. Congress has the power to coin money, &c., but no power to equalize currency. Currency is an indefinite word; it is as applicable to coonskins and hard cider, as to parchment; the former two

were very current in certain quarters not a long time ago, but of late no demand is heard for that kind of currency; even the late extra Session of Congress did not inflate it; possibly the materials had been overwrought. Nothing is current by law in this country but a legal tender to liquidate a contract. Otherwise, in barter or exchange, the parties are the arbitrators as to what shall be current between them—for instance, coon for cider or cider for coon.

“To regulate exchange as an attribute,” &c. Gold and silver are not under all circumstances of intrinsic value; for this reason they do not constitute the elements necessary to sustain animal life. Neither do they represent the true equivalents, at all times, in exchange for the necessities of life; consequently, abstractly considered, they do not constitute national wealth more than any article of commerce that could be dispensed with, and man yet enjoy life as a social being. Yet it is made a lawful tender agreeable to its value, as regulated by Congress, in conformity to the constitution, in payment of debts, (the contract embracing all the conditions,) predicated as near as may be, in reference to the labour necessary to procure it as appreciated throughout the civilized and commercial world. Notwithstanding Congress is under no obligations to transport it from Georgia to Maine, or from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, simply to gratify individual freak or convenience, any more than they are bound to transport salt, ship timber, granite, &c. Yet this is a position, when analyzed, of the friends of a National Bank. It is neither more nor less than what is required by some people when they say government is bound to charter a United States Bank, with the use of the people's money, in order to equalize the exchange and regulate currency. This is the truth—yet we say they are without meaning, if you associate the result with the action. The whole action of the United States Bank has been to exchange her paper for gold and silver, and ship it out of the country—to make fortunes for the select, and subvert the elective franchise, and have this nation ruled especially for English aggrandizement! no one can avoid this consequence and be honest and intelligent.

Trade and commerce is the exchange of the products of a certain country, nation, city, or town with another. If the products and acquirements of New York, in exchange with New Orleans, should be \$2,000,000 in favour of New York—exchange would be in favour of New York, and against New Orleans for \$2,000,000; and this balance, if required according to law, would be payable in specie, as the contracts run at New Orleans or New York; and the party who had to deliver it in New York would have to submit to freight, insurance, and interest, if any, during transportation, which might ordinarily amount to 2 per cent. This would, in time of peace, be about the true rate of exchange, provided New Orleans was in specie

funds. If she had not it, New York would be kept out of her balance until the next crop of cotton, sugar, rum, tobacco, &c. Under such occurrences, in latter years, Mr. Biddle cashed or papered the New York drafts at 30 and 60 days on New Orleans, at $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and interest, with the understanding then that the parties might mutually draw as one concern on Boston, and from Boston to New York, and so on to eternity! averaging, with the interest, 20 per cent. per annum, all waiting on the crop; but the crop in many instances has never been, nor never will be, realized to the bank. The depreciation in the price of cotton has ruined, in many instances, both the drawer and drawee; and the drafts have died in the mail-bags! This is regulating the currency and equalizing exchange against the balance of trade; it is substituting, in form, one vacuum for another—it is an American term in finance, without foundation or common sense to sustain it, as the bank assets in domestic exchange will undoubtedly show to the tune of millions. But the United States Bank has not yet had a *Manhattan* examination.

The only true cause for the derangement of domestic exchange is over-trade and the necessary suspension of specie payments with banks and individuals, independent of from 1-4 to 3 per cent. freight and charges, which is no government business; and this is the simple fact perverted by the United States Bank ever since it doubted the renewal of its unconstitutional charter. Yet we have heard that the Independent Treasury was nothing more nor less than a government bank like the United States Bank! If so, we thank Providence for its *repeal*!!!

The whole principle of a United States Bank, as proposed by Mr. Clay, of Kentucky, is simply this: for Congress to create a corporation as a fiscal agent; to discount and circulate bills of credit for individual benefit; the government to be a minor partner in the business, of its own creation, and, of course, without any influence in opposition to the major partner—alias, stock-holders, speculators, jobbers, and expansionists of true equivalents for black-leg benefit, with the privilege of as many offices, (alias, gambling-houses,) in any state as the pure majority party may see fit, without regard to government, but at the expense, and even prostration, of the reserved rights of all the sovereign states in the Union.

For the edification of our readers, I herewith copy from the speech delivered by Mr. Clay, in the Senate of the United States in 1811, on the proposed bank charter:

“This vagrant power to erect a Bank, after wandering through the whole Constitution in quest of some congenial spot to fasten upon, has been located at length by the gentleman from Georgia, on that provision which authorises Congress to lay and collect taxes, &c. In 1791 the power referred to one part of

the instrument; in 1811, to another. Sometimes it is alleged to be deducible from the power to regulate commerce. Hard pressed here, it disappears, and shows itself under the grant to coin money.” “The power to charter companies is not specified in the grant, and I contend is not transferable by implication.” “If, then, you establish a Bank, it is a mockery worse than usurpation to establish it for a lawful object, and then to extend it to other objects which are not lawful.” “What is a corporation such a bill contemplates? It is a splendid association of favoured individuals, taken from the mass of society, and invested with exemptions, and surrounded with immunities and privileges.” “I will now proceed to show, by fact and actual experience—records of the treasury—that the operations of that department may be as well conducted without, as with, this Bank.” “The delusion has consisted in the use of certain high-sounding phrases dexterously used on the occasion, ‘the collection of the revenue’—‘the administration of the finances’—‘the conducting of the fiscal affairs of the government.’ I conceive, then, sir, that we are not empowered by the Constitution, nor bound by any practice under it, to renew the charter of this Bank.” “May not the time arrive when the concentration of such a vast portion of the circulating medium in the hands of a corporation will be dangerous to our liberties?”

“By whom is this immense power wielded? By a body who, in derogation of the great principle of all our institutions’ responsibility to the people, is amenable only to a few stock-holders, and they chiefly foreigners.” “Suppose an attempt to subvert this government—would not the traitor first aim, by force or corruption, to acquire the treasure of this company. Republics, above all other governments, ought most seriously to guard against foreign influence.” Mr. Clay voted against this bill. “O! Lucifer, Lucifer, thou son of the morning! How hast thou fallen?”

Notwithstanding the noble and patriotic effort of Mr. Clay in 1811, in support of the Constitution and individual rights, we find him in 1816 an advocate for the U. S. Bank as chartered in that year, and for no other reason than that as Congress had power to *coin money*, and the States had not, his “plain inference was that the subject of general currency was intended to be submitted exclusively to the general government.” “In point of fact, however, the regulation of the general currency is in the hands of the States, or, which is the same thing, the Banks created by them.”

In perusing these two celebrated speeches of Mr. Clay, we come to the conclusion that, in 1811, he attempted to sustain the position that the States have the exclusive power to make contracts and declare capacities for corporations; and, in 1816, that Congress had lost this control, and that it was incumbent on them to recover it by chartering a bank with the aid of the public treasury, to gradually reclaim from the States

the power they had usurped. These are the antipode positions entertained by this distinguished man; and I believe him wrong in both positions, and know him to be so, in fact, for this simple reason, that neither Congress nor the States have the right to grant exclusive privileges.

I believe in a general right to banking, and in particular appreciate the remarks of Gov. Seward, when he says, "It ought not to excite surprise that the system of free banking should, in its commencement, have been embarrassed by difficulty. When we reflect that we have been for thirty years improving the system of banking, (affording the best currency in the world,) we ought to exercise forbearance toward one which has just come into existence—one so much less liable to be perverted to political designs."

If our general improved banking law is to be general—and if we believe it to be the best in the world—then both of Mr. Clay's positions fall, and he will go with them: he was never right on this subject; and to these prevailing errors about currency and corporations may we attribute the whole trouble about our currency, exchange, &c., &c. It is these errors that have continued to darken our minds, and confuse, distract, and impoverish this nation.

They are so much implicated, that no calculation can be made for impartial legislation on the subject. The influence of broken banks are felt everywhere—the law for them is dead; people, in many instances, have been petitioned to by their representatives, to be excused from fulfilling their pledges—that suspensions are in particular for the good of the people; such humbug cannot pass for "currency" much longer; the public voice will demand satisfaction at the expense of a revolution; we approach a crisis in finance!

8th. "Among the various classes of society, which of the classes do, or is calculated, most to benefit our country and the community at large?"

That state of society is best where the greater happiness is produced with the least inconvenience, depending, of course, on the united efforts of every individual. Agriculture is the basis of all other arts—and most of the other arts are auxiliaries to it, on mutual principles of general advantage. United efforts of all will require the greatest benefit. These principles will exclude monopolists and non-producers; of course the object of human happiness will have arrived at its greatest desideratum, under a general action of virtue and knowledge.

9th. "Are the chances of having a good Chief Magistrate by birth equal to the chances of obtaining one by popular election?"

An elective government is predicated on the virtue and intelligence of the people. Slaves must have existed before masters. It follows that if a people are capable of self-government, then that such a government is best; otherwise they must depend on what they

have no agency in—i. e., a government of others—dependent on contingencies. Alfred was a good king—but where we have the record in history of one such, we have scores of another class.

10th. "In what manner, shape, or form can all, or any, of the above subjects effect, either for good or bad, the mass of the American people?"

This subject is so general, and yet so much embraced in the whole connexion, that I leave it for the discussion of every one in his own mind, with the remark, that no government is safe that is not influenced by the popular mass; and that the influence of the popular mass is good or bad in proportion to their virtue and knowledge of "the greatest good to the greatest number."

The Spirit shown by Van Buren, Clay, and Webster toward the British Government compared.—

The annals of history do not present a more startling case of unwarrantable aggression upon the territory and rights of a free state and nation, than the burning of the steamboat *Caroline* and the murder of our citizens by British soldiers a few years since; and British arrogance and impudence were never more glaring than when, a few months since, that government, through their minister, Mr. Fox, coolly told us that they assumed the responsibility of the act, and demanded of us the unqualified liberation of one of the murderers whom we had arrested. Well might the people then look to those in power to see if such arrogance would not excite a spirit and indignation becoming a free—an American people. And since the recent most mortifying cringing of Daniel Webster to Mr. Fox, in these matters, the modern Whig party, in hopes to screen him from the odium he so justly deserves, assert that Martin Van Buren was once still more pusillanimous, and that it was for such pusillanimity that his nomination as Minister to England was rejected by the United States Senate. It is astonishing with what adroitness these Federal Whigs labour to conceal, by recrimination and falsehood, their own weakness and folly. And wishing that the people may again know the falsity of this often refuted charge against Mr. Van Buren, we propose to give a brief and correct outline of the affair; in which it will be seen that Mr. Van Buren, by his superior statesmanship and diplomacy, regained to the American people a valuable trade, which had been lost by supineness and bad management during the administration of John Q. Adams and Henry Clay. Thrice did these statesmen, Adams, Clay, Webster, and their coadjutors, strive to regain the West India trade under consideration; and as many times did their very subserviency to aristocratic John Bull defeat their objects. This was the state of affairs when that venerated patriot and "Military Chieftain," Andrew Jackson, became president. To regain this lost West India trade

was one of the first movements of his administration ; and its almost immediate accomplishment, through the aid and advice of the "Little Magician," gave the greatest satisfaction to all the American people, except to the above-mentioned modern *Whig statesmen*, who, from mere chagrin and malignant envy, at finding themselves thus out-generalled, set up the cry that Van Buren had "bowed to the British Lion," &c., in which they were followed by all their trained pack in and out of Congress, and which is now renewed to cover the contemptible cringing of the "Godlike Daniel" in the case of McLeod.

The facts in relation to the West India trade are these : In 1825 the British government adopted certain regulations in reference to the trade of all foreign countries with her West India possessions, to go into operation in 1826. These regulations were tendered on equal terms to all nations that chose to accept of them within a certain period of time. At this time the trade of the United States with the British West India Islands amounted to almost eight millions of dollars per annum in exports, and in imports not much less. The new regulations of the British government did not materially alter or affect the terms on which this trade had been previously conducted ; yet the administration of Adams, Clay, &c., neglected to accept the conditions offered, and the trade was consequently lost, and great injury occasioned to a large portion of our merchants, ship owners, &c., &c. In this situation things remained until our trading people began, with great justice, to complain of the administration, and until Messrs. Adams and Clay foresaw that the loss of this trade was ensuring their political defeat ; when instructions were forwarded by Mr. Clay to our minister, Mr. Gallatin. Space will not permit us to go into a detail of the character and import of these instructions, nor of the quibbles and subterfuges to which Mr. Clay resorted to prevail on John Bull to give back the lost trade. Suffice it to say, they were of an extremely dastardly and succumbing character. Twice did Mr. Gallatin attempt to treat with the British government to regain the trade without success. Then the distinguished Mr. Barbour, of Virginia, was employed for the purpose, and with no better success, the British still refusing even to treat on the subject. Thus, three times in succession, did Mr. Clay solicit to take back the West India trade, on the terms previously offered, and each time was he refused. Who will say that he did not bow to John Bull in this affair ? This was the situation of the matter when Mr. Van Buren became Secretary of State and forwarded his instructions to Mr. McLane to regain the lost trade, and to state to the British government that our administration had been changed, and to demand that we be admitted to this trade on the same terms with other nations. Suffice it to say, that the demand was successful, and this most valuable trade was immediately regained.

It is not a little singular that the same Senate that rejected Mr. Van Buren, by the casting vote of its president, almost unanimously voted to accept the treaty made by Mr. McLane, under Mr. Van Buren's instructions ; and what is more strange, the same Senate confirmed the nomination of Mr. McLane as Secretary of the Treasury after he had, according to the Federal Whig charge, under the instructions of Mr. Van Buren, "bowed to the British Lion." Does not this remove the mantle of hypocrisy with which the modern Whigs would screen the real motives and character of Clay, Webster, and their coadjutors ? Every intelligent person will see at a glance, that jealousy, envy, and malice prompted these men thus to attempt to blacken the character of "New York's favourite son," because he had so signally outstripped them in diplomacy and statesmanship.

Let us now look at the different courses pursued by the present and late administrations, in reference to the McLeod affair, and see who it is that bows to the British Lion. Every patriot was rejoiced to see the dignified and honourable stand taken by Mr. Forsyth and Mr. Van Buren, when answering the insulting letters of Mr. Fox, the British minister ; and the citizens of the Empire State felt that their laws and rights were safe, and would be sustained. But when Mr. Webster became Secretary of State, an immediate change took place. The insulting demands of Mr. Fox were complied with, and the attorney-general of the United States even, was sent by this *Godlike Daniel* to see to the interests of the British government, and in opposition to the offended laws of the State of New York. It is true that he wrote a blustering letter *after he had complied* with the demands of John Bull, but it was evident to every one that it was intended but for the "home market," and would not be noticed by the British government. This subject is one about which, under its present managers, we have the worst of apprehensions ; and we prophecy that the American people will yet have most serious cause to regret that the dispassionate intellect of Van Buren and the energetic patriotism of Forsyth have been exchanged for a President and Secretary of State who, in their recent correspondence with the British Minister, have most conclusively shown themselves inadequate to the crisis.

The late Independent Treasury Bill, giving the principle items of said bill, also observations in relation to its true character, misrepresentations of the modern Whigs, &c.—Never has the political history of our country presented so signal an instance of an indignant people rebuking the course of a profligate and desperate administration, as in the result of the recent elections in every State in the Union. The disgraceful acts of the late extra session speedily opened the eyes of the public to the desperate and untrust-

worthy hands into which our government had fallen. Among the chief of those disgraceful acts thus signally condemned, was the repeal of the Independent Treasury Bill. The confidence of the Democracy in this great measure is by no means shaken. Again we make "a separation of Bank and State" our watchword; and will never relinquish the battle-ground until it is again firmly established, and every antagonist measure prostrate. No measure was ever so villainously slandered and misrepresented. The people have been told, by Whig orators and presses, that it was a very Pandora's box of evils, which would surely destroy all credit, banks, the prosperity of every class, and even our government itself.

One would have supposed that the surest means of destroying so great a monster was by presenting its very self to the view of the people—by publishing the odious features of this most odious measure. But our observation has been, that, except among those "leaders" whose political existence depended upon its destruction, the greatest opposition was found where existed the greatest ignorance in reference to it. The utmost entreaties have seldom been able to induce its enemies to publish the bill itself. Does not this argue, that they knew that it but required to be understood rightly, to be sustained by the people? Ourselves believing such to be the case, we have concluded to publish the bill itself, as it passed Congress and became a law on the fourth day of July, 1840. We give an outline of such parts of it as are immaterial or explanatory, but publish entire all that relates to the principles on which it is based, and to the safe-keeping and disbursement of the public moneys.

It seems to us that no one, who desires the welfare of our country, can wish again to see our government united to such dangerous, demoralizing, and corrupt institutions as the banks have *proved themselves to be*.

Let the fate of the late United States Bank be sufficient warning of the consequences of a re-establishment of such an institution. That, indeed, has proved itself an "odious monster;" and we hesitate not to say that no National Bank can be created, which would not eventually corrupt our government, absorb and concentrate within itself its very power; and at last overthrow and bury it within its own ruins. The deposite system is likewise subject to very great objections. In a word, either system would tend to creating and fostering institutions—every part and feature of whose nature is anti-republican and anti-democratic.

We ask, then, for this bill an attentive and unbiassed perusal. That it cannot be improved in some points we do not say; and the concentrated wisdom of the American people should be called in aid to make it perfect, and thereby quiet for ever this distracting and injurious contention about our fiscal affairs.

We believe it will recommend itself to every one as the most safe and simple (and therefore the most republican) method of conducting the fiscal concerns of our nation.

Before leaving this subject, we will remark that one great objection urged against this bill is, that it does not regulate the currency of the country. It does so far regulate it, that, by keeping up an active demand for specie, it will be a check on the over issues of banks. Sound credit and prompt payment are as necessary to regulate the currency, as breath is necessary to sustain life; and if the banks throughout the Union were forced to sustain their credit and redeem their notes at all times, the currency would regulate itself on the undeviating principles of trade, and Federal Whig politicians would loose one of their most prolific subjects for newspaper paragraphs and stump oratory. If the banks of Philadelphia refuse to redeem their bills, and the merchants to meet their liabilities to the banks and merchants of New York, then will the rates of exchange be against them, exactly in proportion to the poorness of their credit, and neither a National Bank nor an Independent Treasury, nor any power, can make it otherwise; but let them sustain their credit by prompt payments, and the currency at once regulates itself down to the merely nominal charge for transmission.

The Law is entitled "An Act to provide for the safe-keeping, transfer, and disbursement of the public revenue."

SECTION 1st declares that "rooms, vaults, safes," &c., shall be provided for the safe-keeping of the public moneys for the Treasurer in the new treasury buildings in Washington.

SEC. 2d declares that the United States Mint in Philadelphia and the Branch Mint in New Orleans shall be places of deposite for the public moneys; and the Treasurers thereof shall have charge of the same.

SEC. 3d declares that "rooms, safes, vaults," &c., be prepared in the custom-houses in the cities of New York and Boston, for the deposite of the public moneys, under the charge of receivers-general.

SEC. 4th declares that "offices with suitable rooms, vaults, safes," &c., for the deposite of the public moneys, be erected in Charleston and St. Louis, under the charge of receivers-general.

SEC. 5th declares that the President shall nominate, and with the Senate appoint, four receivers-general, to hold their offices for four years, unless sooner removed, and to be located at New York, Boston, Charleston, and St. Louis, and all to give good and sufficient bonds.

SEC. 6th, defining the duties of the officers having charge of the public moneys, we publish entire.

SEC. 6th. *And be it further enacted*, That the Treasurer of the United States, the Treasurer of the Mint of the United States, the treasurers, and those acting as such, of the various Branch Mints, all collectors of the customs, all surveyors of the customs,

acting also as collectors, all receivers-general of public moneys, all receivers of public moneys at the several land offices, and all postmasters, except as is herein-after particularly provided, be, and they are hereby, required to keep safely, without loaning or using, all the public money collected by them, or otherwise at any time placed in their possession and custody, till the same is ordered by the proper department or officer of the government to be transferred or paid out; and when such orders for transfer or payment are received, faithfully and promptly to make the same as directed, and to do and perform all other duties as fiscal agents of the government, which may be imposed by this or any other acts of Congress, or by any regulation of the Treasury Department, made in conformity to law; and also to do and perform all acts and duties required by law, or by direction of any of the Executive Departments of the governments, as agents for paying pensions, or for making any other disbursements which either of the heads of those departments may be required by law to make, and which are of a character to be made by the depositaries hereby constituted, consistently with the other official duties imposed upon them.

SEC. 7th declares that bonds, to be approved by the Secretary of Treasury and President, with sureties to the satisfaction of the Solicitor of the Treasury, must be given by the treasurers and receivers; such bonds to be renewed, strengthened, and increased, as the Secretary of the Treasury and President shall direct.

SEC. 8th declares that all other depositaries under this Act shall give like bonds.

SEC. 9th declares that the collectors and receivers of the public moneys shall pay over all moneys at least *once a week*, to the Secretary of the Treasury, Postmaster-General, mints, or vaults and safes of receivers-general.

SEC. 10th authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to make transfers of the public moneys to the Treasury of the United States, or to other places where he thinks the safety of the public moneys and the convenience of the public service require. The same power is also conferred on the Postmaster-General as to moneys belonging to the Post-office Department.

SEC. 11th declares that moneys in the hands of any of the depositaries shall be held to the credit, and subject to the draft, of the Treasurer of the United States; and each depositary is to make returns at such times, and in such form, as directed by the Secretary of the Treasury and the Postmaster-General.

SEC. 12th authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to cause examinations to be made of the books, accounts, and money on hand of the several depositaries, and for that purpose to appoint special agents.

SEC. 13th, making farther provisions for the safe-keeping of the public moneys, we publish entire.

SEC. 13th. *And be it further enacted*, That, in addition to the examinations provided for in the last preceding section, and as a farther guard over the public moneys, it shall be the duty of each naval officer and surveyor, as a check upon the receiver-general of public moneys, or collector of the customs, of their

respective districts; of each register of a land office, as a check upon the receiver of his land office; and of the director and superintendent of each Mint and Branch Mint when separate offices, as a check upon the Treasurers, respectively, of the said Mints, or the persons acting as such, at the close of each quarter of the year, and as much more frequently as they shall be directed by the Secretary of the Treasury to do so, to examine the books, accounts, returns, and money on hand, of the receivers-general of public money, collectors, receivers of land offices, treasurers, and persons acting as such, and to make a full, accurate, and faithful return to the Treasury Department of their condition.

The next section provides for all the expenses of carrying this Act into effect; and we suggest to all, here to make a comparison between its extreme simplicity and economy, and the great expenditures and cost of either the United States Bank or State Bank Systems. We publish the whole section.

SEC. 14th. *And be it further enacted*, That the said officers respectively, whose duty it is made by this act to receive, keep, and disburse the public moneys, as the fiscal agents of the government, may be allowed any necessary additional expenses for clerks, fire-proof chests, or vaults, or other necessary expenses of safe-keeping, transferring, and disbursing said moneys: all such expenses of every character to be first expressly authorized by the Secretary of the Treasury, whose directions upon all the above subjects, by way of regulation and otherwise, so far as authorized by law, are to be strictly followed by all the said officers: *Provided*, That the whole number of clerks to be appointed by virtue of this section of this act, shall not exceed ten, and that the aggregate compensations of the whole number shall not exceed eight thousand dollars, nor shall the compensation of any one clerk, so appointed, exceed eight hundred dollars per annum.

SEC. 15th requires the Secretary of the Treasury, with convenient promptitude, to withdraw the balances remaining with present depositaries.

SEC. 16th directs the manner of payment of moneys for patents.

The next section, which among other matters makes the embezzlement of public funds a felony, and which seemed to give most extreme offence to the Whig gentry, we publish entire.

SEC. 17th. *And be it further enacted*, That all officers charged by this act with the safe-keeping, transfer, and disbursement of the public moneys, other than those connected with the Post-office Department, are hereby required to keep an accurate entry of each sum received, and of the kind of money in which it is received, and of each payment or transfer, and of the kind of currency in which it is made; and that if any one of the said officers, or of those connected with the Post-office Department, shall convert to his own use, in any way whatever, or shall use by way of investment in any kind of property or merchandise, or shall loan, with or without interest, any portion of the public moneys intrusted to him for safe-keeping, disbursement, transfer, or for any other purpose, every such act shall be deemed and adjudged to be an embezzlement of so much of the said moneys as shall be thus taken, converted, invested, used, or loaned, which

is hereby declared to be a felony, and any officer or agent of the United States, and all persons advising or participating in such act, being convicted thereof before any court of the United States of competent jurisdiction, shall be sentenced to imprisonment for a term of not less than six months nor more than five years, and to a fine equal to the amount of the money embezzled.

SEC. 18th directs that, until the several offices, rooms, vaults, safes, &c., be prepared, other suitable places may be used under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury.

SECS. 19th, 20th, 21st, and 22d, which are the notorious "specie clauses," and which were designed to accomplish that truly Democratic measure "a separation of Bank and State," we give entire.

SEC. 19th. *And be it further enacted*, That from and after the thirtieth day of June, which will be in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty, the resolution of Congress of the thirtieth day of April, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixteen, so far as it authorizes the receipt in payment of duties, taxes, sales of public lands, debts, and sums of money, accruing or becoming payable to the United States, to be collected and paid in the notes of specie-paying banks, shall be so modified as that one-fourth part of all such duties, taxes, sales of public lands, debts, and sums of money accruing or becoming due to the United States, shall be collected in the legal currency of the United States; and from and after the thirtieth day of June, which will be in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-one, one other fourth part of all such duties, taxes, sales of public lands, debts, and sums of money, shall be so collected; and that from and after the thirtieth day of June, which will be in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-two, one other fourth part of all such duties, taxes, sales of public lands, debts, and sums of money, shall be so collected; and that from and after the thirtieth day of June, which will be in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-three, the remaining fourth part of the said duties, taxes, sales of public lands, debts, and sums of money, shall be also collected in the legal currency of the United States; and from and after the last-mentioned day, all sums accruing, or becoming payable to the United States, for duties, taxes, sales of public lands, or other debts, and also all sums due for postages, or otherwise, to the General Post-office Department, shall be paid in gold and silver only.

SEC. 20th. *And be it further enacted*, That from and after the thirtieth day of June, which will be in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-three, every officer or agent engaged in making disbursements on account of the United States, or of the General Post-office, shall make all payments in gold and silver coin only; and any receiving or disbursing officer, or agent, who shall neglect, evade, or violate, the provisions of this and the last preceding section of this act, shall, by the Secretary of the Treasury, be immediately reported to the President of the United States, with the facts of such neglect, evasion, or violation, and also to Congress, if in session, and if not in session, at the commencement of its session next after the violation takes place.

SEC. 21st. *And be it further enacted*, That no exchange of funds shall be made by any disbursing officers, or agents, of the Government, or any grade or denomination whatsoever, or connected with any

branch of the public service, other than an exchange for gold and silver; and every such disbursing officer, when the means for his disbursements are furnished to him in currency legally receivable under the provisions of this act, shall make his payments in the currency so furnished, or when those means are furnished to him in drafts, shall cause those drafts to be presented at their place of payment and properly paid according to the law, and shall make his payments in the currency so received for the drafts furnished, unless, in either case, he can exchange the means in his hands for gold and silver at par, and so as facilitate his payments, or otherwise accommodate the public service and promote the circulation of a metallic currency: And it shall be, and is hereby made, the duty of the head of the proper department immediately to suspend from duty any disbursing officer who shall violate the provisions of this section, and forthwith to report the name of the officer, or agent, to the President, with the fact of the violation and all the circumstances accompanying the same and within the knowledge of the said Secretary, to the end that such officer, or agent, may be promptly removed from office, or restored to his trust and the performance of his duties, as to the President may seem just and proper.

SEC. 22d. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall not be lawful for the Secretary of the Treasury to make or continue in force, any general order, which shall create any difference between the different branches of revenue, as to the funds or medium of payment, in which debts or dues accruing to the United States may be paid.

The next section, which takes measures to prevent the drafts of the government being used as a paper currency, and which received its full share of Whig wrath, we publish at length.

SEC. 23d. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to issue and publish regulations to enforce the speedy presentation of all Government drafts for payment at the place where payable, and to prescribe the time, according to the different distances of the depositaries from the seat of Government, within which all drafts upon them, respectively, shall be presented for payment; and, in default of such presentation, to direct any other mode and place of payment which he may deem proper; but in all those regulations and directions, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to guard, as far as may be, against those drafts being used or thrown into circulation, as a paper currency, or medium of exchange.

The next section, fixing the salaries of officers, &c., we also publish.

SEC. 24th. *And be it further enacted*, That the receivers-general of public moneys directed by this act to be appointed, shall receive, respectively, the following salaries, per annum, to be paid quarterly, at the Treasury of the United States, to wit: the receiver-general of public money at New York shall be paid a salary of four thousand dollars per annum; the receiver-general of public money at Boston shall be paid a salary of two thousand five hundred dollars per annum; the receiver-general of public money at Charleston shall be paid a salary of two thousand five hundred dollars per annum; and the receiver-general of public money at St. Louis shall be paid a salary of two thousand five hundred dollars per annum; the treasurer of the Mint at

Philadelphia shall, in addition to his present salary, receive five hundred dollars, annually, for the performance of the duties imposed by this act; the treasurer of the Branch Mint at New Orleans shall also receive one thousand dollars, annually, for the additional duties created by this act; and these salaries, respectively, shall be in full for the services of the respective officers, nor shall either of them be permitted to charge, or receive, any commission, pay, or perquisite, for any official service, of any character or description whatsoever; and the making of any such charge, or the receipt of any such compensation, is hereby declared to be a misdemeanour, for which the officer convicted thereof, before any court of the United States of competent jurisdiction, shall be subject to punishment by fine, or imprisonment, or both, at the discretion of the court before which the offence shall be tried.

SEC. 25th authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to receive payments in advance for public lands.

SEC. 26th grants \$10,000 for erection of buildings, safes, &c., in Charleston and St. Louis.

SEC. 27th appropriates the necessary funds for carrying this act into effect.

SEC. 28th finishes the Act, and repeals former laws conflicting with it.

Suggestion for the safe-keeping and disbursing public and private money, &c.—We have received from one of our country producing correspondents a communication in the form of two letters, giving his views, &c., in relation to the safe-keeping and disbursement of public and private moneys. Although our correspondent ranks among "mechanics, labourers, &c.," yet we consider his views worthy of attention and regard; and are of opinion that they may tend to aid Captain Tyler in a third contest to head Clay, Botts, & Co. Under this conviction we publish them just as received.

The United States as it should be, and as it would be, if the Constitution was administered according to its letter and spirit.—Under the similitude of a well-regulated family or community, suppose a father to have six sons, all grown up, they choose him as their head or president, and each son to pay him a shilling a week, for certain expenses, to be laid out for the benefit of the whole. He keeps it sacredly for that purpose, leaving each son to his own industry and resources; all now enjoy equal rights, there is no cause for complaint of either. Suppose they afterward become a community and choose a president; as long as he keeps the public moneys to lay out for the benefit of the whole, there can be no strife nor bickering, no one receiving any favours, all is administered on republican principles; if any get poor among them, from misfortune, their brethren will feel a brotherly kindness toward them—and the poor, knowing what their rich brethren possess was honestly come by, will feel no hard thoughts nor begrudge them what they have. This community, having the real measure of value gold and silver for their currency, and having by its

republican simplicity no kingly show or extravagance to support, will be able to undersell all other countries, and send their surplus labour in exchange for other commodities, or gold and silver. Here no tariff nor taxes are required on foreign goods, because they can undersell all other nations. Here the producer can get a full reward for his labour and constant employ; no other labour from foreign countries being able to compete with his. Here are no non-producing drones, in the shape of presidents, cashiers, and clerks, to keep account of paper promises, or of Wall-street shavers to shave them—or of forgers to forge them—all to be supported out of the honest labourer or trader. Neither can there be any stock-jobber to buy when they are low, and sell when they are high, and thus, like other drones, make money, and produce nothing, for there will be no incorporated companies to create stocks, if all enjoy equal rights. A community or country thus governed, will, and may be, a free and happy people for ever; and I maintain that the Constitution of these United States is founded upon the precise principles I have stated above.

In my second letter I shall show what the United States now are, under the administration of its Constitution, by implication, or a forced construction to suit the interests of the non-producing or moneyed few, at the expense of the many, or producing interest.

LETTER SECOND,

Showing what the United States now are, by implication, or a forced construction of the Constitution to suit the interests of the non-producing, or moneyed few, at the expense of the many, or producing classes.—Under the similitude of a bad conducted family or community, suppose a man to have a family of six sons, all grown up; suppose they choose him as their head or president, and each son to pay him a shilling a week, for certain expenses; suppose he makes choice of the richest of those sons and lends him the money so drawn from the six—and that one lends it to the other five at a cent a week for each, putting the interest into his own pocket; herein he gets a tax from each of the five for the use of their own money, for which he pays, no doubt, to enrich himself at their expense. Here is the first commencement of a great social evil: say they afterward become a community and choose a president, he also continues to tax the six and lend it to the one—(the reason I state six sons is, because the government has six interests to take care of, viz.: the moneyed, farming, manufacturing, mechanic, labouring, and different trading interest)—as long as they lend gold and silver to the community, they can draw but a small tax, and the social evil is but small; but afterward they obtain a privilege to issue two or three paper dollars for one of silver, and draw 6 per cent. for these also; the tax now becomes treble what it was, to come out of the pro-

duccr; social evil now is spreading far and wide, for the consequence is, that, with such a bloated currency, everything rises higher in proportion—till though a cheaper government, not having any kingly grandeur or nobility to support, yet they are a dearer market than most other nations, so that now foreign industry begins to come in cheaper than can be made here, and the high paper prices are obtained at auction for those foreign goods; they then go and draw the specie, go home with it, and we find we have neither trade nor money—and so the evil continues. The above-mentioned evil causes many more to spring up under the name of incorporated companies—as the rich find they can amass wealth easier by this means, than by any fair trading or producing. There is now a call for a host of non-producers, in the shape of presidents, cashiers, and clerks, to take an account of paper promises, and a host of Wall-street shavers, to shave them, and a host of stock-jobbers, to live by buying and selling stocks—all to live out of the producers and traders. Social evil is now growing worse and worse; now a protective duty is proposed and laid on, to make the foreign goods as high as our own—to gull the domestic manufacturers; for it is no other than to protect high paper money prices, consequently to benefit the paper money makers; for it brings so much more into the treasury, which is relent again three for one of deposit—and inflates the currency, and everything rises in proportion, enabling the foreigner to get higher prices at auction for his goods, thus acting as a premium to him and defeating the tariff. Over trading has now got to such a pitch, that the merchants are called on for specie to pay the foreign debts. The banks all stop specie payments, a panic ensues, and all the panics can be traced to the above cause.

A producer cannot now get employment, wages fall, and no man scarcely can live by the sweat of his brow. What a miserable picture is here! a country with a cheaper government than almost any other nation in the world, being undersold by almost all other nations. Now social evil is almost insufferable; but it will not stop—it will grow worse and worse, under the same system of government, if the people do not put down the present paper money system. That will put them down till they shall have no vestige of liberty left: the five producing interests begin to see the evil, and are struggling to stop it; but the favoured moneyed interest say our forefathers enjoyed these privileges, and we consider them vested rights. To keep them, they have favoured some of the five, bribed or bought others, and finding they could not succeed, they have at last hired men throughout the country to deposit fraudulent votes, and thus to destroy the purity of our ballot boxes—called pipe laying; and officers have been removed who it was feared might expose the fraud. Is not here an end to liberty? What more steps need be taken to expunge liberty altogether? I

would ask, with a Constitution so framed and intended to prevent all the above evils—where is the boasted capacity of the people for self-government? There is not a state government in the Union but what has departed from a true construction of the Constitution, and helped to bring all the above enumerated social evils upon the country. The only government that is at all reformed is the general; and the late president who was so conscientious to administer and recommend a strict construction of the Constitution according to his oath, to help to put a stop to, and reform, the above evils—what do I see? Why, the people reject him. I am, therefore, I am sorry to say it, almost obliged to doubt the capacity of the producers for self-government—for they being by far the largest number of voters, I consider the government virtually in their hands. But trusting to the operation of “the sober second thought” on the minds of an intelligent, and, at heart, well-meaning people, I yet hope that a reformation of all their evils, and a true support of our Constitution, may be accomplished.

The effects of the paper money system bloating the currency and enabling all other countries to undersell us, have taken away the means of many men to live; many have been induced to steal—hence so many new jails; those who were too honest to steal have become paupers—hence so many inmates for new poor-houses, all at the producer's expense. When and where will this social evil stop? I leave it to the farmers, mechanics, and labourers, employers and employed, to say when.

Harrisburg, Pa., Federal Whig Convention, 1839.

We present to our readers sketches of the Federal Whig Convention held at Harrisburg, Pa., December, 1839, for the purpose of making a President of the United States; also observations, &c., in relation to “heading Captain Tyler”—A National Bank—British Capital—Biddle's loans, or bribes to the State of Pennsylvania—Members of the Legislature, &c. May not Clay & Co. have great powers conferred on them at the next Session of Congress to palm on the country a National Bank, &c.

It will be remembered that, during the summer and fall of 1839, the modern Whigs were actively engaged in various kinds of *manœuvring* to fix on a candidate for President of the United States; there being four Federal Whig gentlemen in the field for this highly important station, viz., Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, General Scott, and General Harrison, each having their presses and friends to support their pretensions and qualifications. It became a difficult matter among themselves to settle which of the above-named gentlemen should be made President. In consequence of this difficulty, it was finally determined to hold a convention, to be composed of delegates chosen out of their “first-rate” ranks, some three or four hundred

of whom met at Harrisburg. When this *distinguished* body became organized and ready for the *great contest*, although the *master wire-workers* had given *positive orders* that there should be no opposition to the nomination of *Harry of the West*, he being the *first choice* of the leaders of the *wealthy, well-born, stock-jobbers, British and American brokers, National Bankmen, &c.* When this fact was made known to the friends of the other candidates, the Webster and Scott men, they, like obedient servants, *bowed* to the will of the *dictator*: but not so the friends of the "*Military Chieftain*;" they, being principally composed of abolitionists and anti-masons, declared that they would not go for Clay, he being a "*slave-holder and mason*," and in addition to which they held the balance of power in the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana; and that, unless General Harrison received the nomination, the four States just named would be lost. This strange announcement came like a *clap of thunder* on the devoted heads of the *creatures* of the dictator; here, as may naturally be supposed, a *tremendous storm* was raised, to abate which was rather a difficult task; however this was soon accomplished by its being proposed, or intimated, that General Harrison should receive the nomination—on condition of his election, that the dictators, or in other words, Clay and Webster, should have the management and control of the national affairs, &c.; of course that of *ordering* Congress to pass such bills as they might deem proper, and that he, Harrison, should be bound to sign them, thus making him a *mere lever* in their hands. These two *distinguished* gentlemen, we have good reason to believe, compelled General Harrison to call the extra Session of Congress, that they might make a National Bank while flushed with political victory, and before the people would have time to take on a "*second sober thought*." This is no fiction or exaggeration; the late proceedings in Congress and the *dictatorial* manner which Henry Clay & Co. recently pursued in the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States are sufficient to substantiate what we have said.

Little did Clay, Webster, Ewing, Bell, Sergeant, & Co. expect to be headed by *Captain Tyler* in preventing them from putting the *chains* they have so long (twelve years) been forging, *round the necks* of the American people. It is evident, from the course Messrs. Clay & Co. and their friends have pursued in and out of Congress, they considered that *Captain Tyler* was *harnessed* in the same *traces manufactured* at Harrisburg for General Harrison, and that he was bound to fulfil the "*bargain*" previously contracted for in the manner above stated.

That this is a correct version of the affair is evident from the fact of their treating him just as the *Federal Whig leaders* did the Pennsylvania rebellion in 1838, viz., "*as though they had not been defeated*," not-

withstanding there was near ten thousand majority against the then *anti-masonic and abolition* governor of that State. Yet this precious governor not only called to his aid the military of the State, but had the impudence to call on the general government for aid to retain him and his friends in power, a power they held by *usurpation*. But the "*assailants of freedom*" were driven back triumphantly by the defenders of the people's Equal Rights and Liberties. In a similar manner Captain Tyler defeated Clay, Webster, Ewing, & Co., viz., by planting himself on the *rock* of the Constitution, and defending the same at all hazards, notwithstanding he was *headed by Botts & Co.*

Although, politically speaking, we are not friendly to Mr. Tyler, yet we, in common with a vast majority of the American people, thank him for carrying out the Democratic principle of Jefferson, Jackson, &c., in relation to the danger and unconstitutionality of a monster National Bank. But while we thus express ourselves in favour of Mr. Tyler, we cannot forego expressing our decided *disapprobation* of his signing a bill to repeal the Sub-Treasury, and the Bankrupt Bill without *including corporations*, also the bill to distribute the *people's public lands*—for these acts of Mr. Tyler, unless, indeed, his future course be more satisfactory, we feel confident he will not receive the confidence and support of the Democracy. To our surprise, we find that the modern Whigs, and many of their presses, charge Mr. Tyler with "*violating a pledge* he gave to carry out the principles of the Harrisburg Convention;" but, on reflection, we ought not to be surprised at anything the leaders of Federal Whiggery will resort to after the numerous tricks they have resorted to, to mislead and deceive the people. But in reference to the pledge Mr. Tyler is said to have made to his party, surely Messrs. Clay & Co. did not anticipate that General Harrison would so soon have been *killed* off, or so anxious have been to obtain the reigns of government, that they asked a pledge from Mr. Tyler, that, in case of the death of General Harrison, he would be willing to step into the shoes of the old general and carry out the course *chalked out* for him; be that as it may, we, in the name and on behalf of the producing and labouring classes, call on the Federal Whig presses, and on that party generally, to name and state the kind of *pledge* John Tyler gave, either at the Harrisburg Convention or any other place. Until that is done, the community at large must, and will, view the statement of Mr. Tyler having given a pledge as a *wilful fabrication* to deceive the public.

We have often asked Federal Whigs to give or explain their principles, without ever once being able to obtain them in a tangible form or shape; however, we have gathered, and heard from them, sufficient to warrant us in stating, that the following is a pretty correct outline of their prominent principles, viz.: "*Take a sponge and wipe off the present Constitution*," and

establish on its ruins a strong government, after the model of that of England; a Chief Magistrate by birth, or a Constitution so formed that none but the wealthy and well-born can vote for President; for election of minor officers a qualification vote, say a voter to be worth at least five hundred dollars or more, as circumstances might admit;* establish a National Bank, principally by British capital, of fifty millions of dollars, with power to extend the same to ten times that amount, and also powers to establish branches all over the country, with a president, manager, &c., headed by *Botts & Co.* There is every reason to believe that renewed and tremendous efforts will be made to carry the National Bank Bill by a *two-third vote* at the next Session of Congress, (unless, indeed, Captain Tyler has promised "better things;") to accomplish this no doubt every stratagem will be resorted to—such as offering a bonus, bribes, &c., after the example of *Nicholas Biddle & Co.*, who gave a bonus of \$5,000,000 to the State of Pennsylvania for a charter for the *collapsed* Bank of the United States, besides, probably, several hundred thousand dollars to members of the legislature to push the bill through.

Quere, What would not Clay, Webster, & Co. be authorized to offer as a bonus to Uncle Sam? Certainly not less than the *twelve million* loan of the last Session; and in case of Uncle Sam having firmness to resist it, no doubt but that more than this sum can be commanded to give to members of Congress to pass the bill by a two-third vote, and thus "head Captain Tyler." That such an attempt may be made at the next Session of Congress we think more than probable. We found this supposition on the fact of the British capitalists holding near *two hundred millions* of dollars in *American stocks, State bonds, &c.*, the value of most of which, we are told by persons deeply interested in them, would, by the establishment of a National Bank, together with a sale of the public lands sufficient to pay the interest, immediately be raised 25 per cent., and in six months probably more than 50 per cent. By this simple statement it will be seen at once that there would be no difficulty in commanding, if necessary, more than twenty millions of dollars to aid in bringing forth the *monster* with which we are threatened. To prevent such a *curse* falling on our beloved country, we call on all the lovers of equal rights and privileges to rally and use all fair and honourable means to prevent the *growth* of the *dreaded monster*.

Quere, What will Clay, Webster, Botts, Sergeant, Ewing, Granger, & Co. now say of the "Sober second thought of the people?" In supporting Captain Tyler for vetoing this bank, and condemning their other mea-

asures, viz., the Bill for the Distribution of the Public Lands; the Bankrupt Bill not being uniform, agreeable to the Constitution; the repeal of the Sub-Treasury Bill, &c., &c.

Message from the President of the United States to the two Houses of Congress, at the commencement of the second session of the twenty-sixth Congress.—

The Message of Ex-President Van Buren, to both Houses of Congress, December, 1840, having been, and still continuing to be, misrepresented by the modern Whigs and their satellites scattered over the country, as to its true character, &c., particularly in reference to the state in which he left the country—the manner in which the public money had been kept and disbursed under the "odious" Sub-Treasury system—encroachments on State rights—the causes of the late embarrassments in trade—a National Bank—banking in general, &c.

The misrepresentations above-named induce us to republish selections from the Message of such portions that embrace or have a bearing on the topics particularly mentioned.

We regret that our limits do not admit of our republishing the whole of the Message, believing as we do that it ought to be in the hands of the people generally. However, we have given from it sufficient to confront many of the *slanders* and *false statements* brought against Mr. Van Buren, regarding the course he pursued in the National Administration of our common country.

"A rigid and persevering abstinence from all interference with the domestic and political relations of other States, alike due to the genius and distinctive character of our government and to the principles by which it is directed; a faithful observance, in the management of our foreign relations, of the practice of speaking plainly, dealing justly, and requiring truth and justice in return, as the best conservatives of the peace of nations; a strict impartiality in our manifestations of friendship, in the commercial privileges we concede, and those we require from others: these, accompanied by a disposition as prompt to maintain, in every emergency, our own rights, as we are from principle averse to the invasion of those of others, have given to our country and government a standing in the great family of nations, of which we have just cause to be proud, and the advantages of which are experienced by our citizens throughout every portion of the earth to which their enterprising and adventurous spirit may carry them. Few, if any, remain insensible to the value of our friendship, or ignorant of the terms on which it can be acquired, and by which it can alone be preserved.

"A series of questions of long standing, difficult in their adjustment, and important in their consequences, in which the rights of our citizens and the honour of the country were deeply involved, have, in the course of a few years, (the most of them during the successful administration of my immediate predecessor,) been brought to a satisfactory conclusion; and the most important of those remaining are, I am happy to believe, in a fair way of being speedily and satisfactorily adjusted."

* For more particulars of a change of the Constitution, &c., see Squire Sidney's *Monarchical Doctrines*, published in our last number, pages 18 and 19; and for a qualification vote of the Federal stamp see Col. Hamilton's plan in our last number, page 32.

"When I entered upon the discharge of my official duties in March, 1837, the act for the distribution of the surplus revenue was in course of rapid execution. Nearly twenty-eight millions of dollars of the public moneys were, in pursuance of its provisions, deposited with the States in the months of January, April, and July of that year. In May there occurred a general suspension of specie payments by the banks, including, with very few exceptions, those in which the public moneys were deposited, and upon whose fidelity the Government had unfortunately made itself dependent for the revenues which had been collected from the people, and were indispensable to the public service. This suspension, and the excesses in banking and commerce out of which it arose, and which were greatly aggravated by its occurrence, made, to a great extent, unavailable the principal part of the public money then on hand; suspended the collection of many millions accruing on merchants' bonds; and greatly reduced the revenue arising from customs and the public lands. These effects have continued to operate, in various degrees, to the present period; and, in addition to the decrease in the revenue thus produced, two and a half millions of duties have been relinquished by two biennial reductions under the act of 1833, and probably as much more upon the importation of iron for railroads, by special legislation.

"While such has been our condition for the last four years in relation to revenue, we have, during the same period, been subjected to an unavoidable continuance of large extraordinary expenses necessarily growing out of past transactions, and which could not be immediately arrested without great prejudice to the public interest. Of these, the charge upon the Treasury, in consequence of the Cherokee treaty alone, without adverting to others arising out of Indian treaties, has already exceeded five millions of dollars; that for the prosecution of measures for the removal of the Seminole Indians, which were found in progress, has been nearly fourteen millions; and the public buildings have required the unusual sum of nearly three millions.

"It affords me, however, great pleasure to be able to say, that, from the commencement of this period to the present day, every demand upon the Government, at home or abroad, has been promptly met. This has been done not only without creating a permanent debt, or a resort to additional taxation in any form, but in the midst of a steadily-progressive reduction of existing burdens upon the people, leaving still a considerable balance of available funds which will remain in the Treasury at the end of the year. The small amount of Treasury notes, not exceeding four and a half millions of dollars, still outstanding, and less by twenty-three millions than the United States have in deposit with the States, is composed of such only as are not yet due, or have not been presented for payment. They may be redeemed out of the accruing revenue, if the expenditures do not exceed the amount within which they may, it is thought, be kept without prejudice to the public interest, and the revenue shall prove to be as large as may justly be anticipated.

"Among the reflections arising from the contemplation of these circumstances, one, not the least gratifying, is the consciousness that the Government had the resolution and the ability to adhere, in every emergency, to the sacred obligations of law; to execute all its contracts according to the requirements of the constitution; and thus to present, when most needed, a rallying-point by which the business of the whole country might be brought back to a safe and unvarying stan-

dard—a result vitally important as well to the interests as to the morals of the people. There can surely now be no difference of opinion in regard to the incalculable evils that would have arisen if the Government, at that critical moment, had suffered itself to be deterred from upholding the only true standard of value, either by the pressure of adverse circumstances or the violence of unmerited denunciation. The manner in which the people sustained the performance of this duty was highly honourable to their fortitude and patriotism. It cannot fail to stimulate their agents to adhere, under all circumstances, to the line of duty; and to satisfy them of the safety with which a course really right, and demanded by a financial crisis, may, in a community like ours, be pursued, however apparently severe its immediate operation.

"The policy of the Federal Government, in extinguishing as rapidly as possible the national debt, and, subsequently, in resisting every temptation to create a new one, deserves to be regarded in the same favourable light. Among the many objections to a national debt, the certain tendency of public securities to concentrate ultimately in the coffers of foreign stock-holders, is one which is every day gathering strength. Already have the resources of many of the States, and the future industry of their citizens, been indefinitely mortgaged to the subjects of European Governments, to the amount of twelve millions annually, to pay the constantly accruing interest on borrowed money—a sum exceeding half the ordinary revenues of the whole United States. The pretext which this relation affords to foreigners to scrutinize the management of our domestic affairs, if not actually to intermeddle with them, presents a subject for earnest attention, not to say of serious alarm."

"Never should a free people, if it be possible to avoid it, expose themselves to the necessity of having to treat of the peace, the honour, or the safety of the Republic, with the Governments of foreign creditors, who, however well disposed they may be to cultivate with us in general friendly relations, are, nevertheless, by the law of their own condition, made hostile to the success and permanency of political institutions like ours. Most humiliating may be the embarrassments consequent upon such a condition. Another objection, scarcely less formidable, to the commencement of a new debt, is its inevitable tendency to increase in magnitude, and to foster, national extravagance. He has been an unprofitable observer of events, who needs at this day to be admonished of the difficulties which a Government, habitually dependent on loans to sustain its ordinary expenditures, has to encounter in resisting the influences constantly exerted in favour of additional loans; by capitalists, who enrich themselves by Government securities for amounts much exceeding the money they actually advance—a prolific source of individual aggrandizement in all borrowing countries; by stock-holders, who seek their gains in the rise and fall of public stocks; and by the selfish importunities of applicants for appropriations for works avowedly for the accommodation of the public, but the real objects of which are, too frequently, the advancement of private interests."

"Practical economy in the management of public affairs can have no adverse influence to contend with more powerful than a large surplus revenue; and the unusually large appropriations for 1837 may, without doubt, independently of the extraordinary requisitions for the public service growing out of the state of our Indian relations, be, in no inconsiderable degree, traced to this source. The sudden and rapid distribu-

tion of the large surplus then in the Treasury, and the equally sudden and unprecedentedly severe revulsion in the commerce and business of the country, pointing with unerring certainty to a great and protracted reduction of the revenue, strengthened the propriety of the earliest practicable reduction of the public expenditures.

"But, to change a system operating upon so large a surface, and applicable to such numerous and diversified interests and objects, was more than the work of a day. The attention of every department of the Government was immediately, and in good faith, directed to that end; and has been so continued to the present moment. The estimates and appropriations for the year 1838 (the first over which I had any control) were somewhat diminished. The expenditures of 1839 were reduced six millions of dollars. Those of 1840, exclusive of disbursements for public debt and trust claims, will probably not exceed twenty-two and a half millions; being between two and three millions less than those of the preceding year, and nine or ten millions less than those of 1837."

"The available balance in the Treasury on the 1st of January next is estimated at one million and a half of dollars. This sum, with the expected receipts from all sources during the next year, will, it is believed, be sufficient to enable the Government to meet every engagement, and leave a suitable balance in the Treasury at the end of the year, if the remedial measures connected with the customs and the public lands, heretofore recommended, shall be adopted, and the new appropriations by Congress shall not carry the expenditures beyond the official estimates.

"The new system established by Congress for the safe-keeping of the public money, prescribing the kind of currency to be received for the public revenue, and providing additional guards and securities against losses, has now been several months in operation. Although it might be premature, upon an experience of such limited duration, to form a definite opinion in regard to the extent of its influences in correcting many evils under which the Federal Government and the country have hitherto suffered—especially those that have grown out of banking expansions, a depreciated currency, and official defalcations; yet it is but right to say that nothing has occurred in the practical operation of the system to weaken in the slightest degree, but much to strengthen, the confident anticipations of its friends. The grounds of these have been heretofore so fully explained as to require no recapitulation. In respect to the facility and convenience it affords in conducting the public service, and the ability of the Government to discharge through its agency every duty attendant on the collection, transfer, and disbursement of the public money with promptitude and success, I can say, with confidence, that the apprehensions of those who felt it to be their duty to oppose its adoption have proved to be unfounded. On the contrary, this branch of the fiscal affairs of the Government has been, and it is believed may always be, thus carried on with every desirable facility and security. A few changes and improvements in the details of the system, without affecting any principles involved in it, will be submitted to you by the Secretary of the Treasury, and will, I am sure, receive at your hands that attention to which they may, on examination, be found to be entitled.

"I have deemed this brief summary of our fiscal affairs necessary to the due performance of a duty specially enjoined upon me by the Constitution. It will serve, also, to illustrate more fully the principles by which I have been guided in reference to two con-

tested points in our public policy, which were earliest in their development, and have been more important in their consequences, than any that have arisen under our complicated and difficult, yet admirable system of government: I allude to a national debt and a national bank. It was in these that the political contests by which the country has been agitated ever since the adoption of the Constitution, in a great measure, originated; and there is too much reason to apprehend that the conflicting interests and opposing principles thus marshalled, will continue, as heretofore, to produce similar, if not aggravated, consequences.

"Coming into office the declared enemy of both, I have earnestly endeavoured to prevent a resort to either.

"The consideration that a large public debt affords an apology, and produces, in some degree, a necessity also for resorting to a system and extent of taxation which is not only oppressive throughout, but likewise so apt to lead, in the end, to the commission of that most odious of all offences against the principles of republican government—the prostitution of political power, conferred for the general benefit, to the aggrandizement of particular classes, and the gratification of individual cupidity—is alone sufficient, independently of the weighty objections which have already been urged, to render its creation and existence the sources of bitter and unappeasable discord. If we add to this, its inevitable tendency to produce and foster extravagant expenditures of the public money, by which a necessity is created for new loans and new burdens on the people; and, finally, if we refer to the examples of every Government which has existed, for proof, how seldom it is that the system, when once adopted and implanted in the policy of a country, has failed to expand itself, until public credit was exhausted, and the people were no longer able to endure its increasing weight, it seems impossible to resist the conclusion, that no benefits resulting from its career, no extent of conquest, no accession of wealth to particular classes, nor any, nor all its combined advantages, can counterbalance its ultimate but certain results—a splendid Government and an impoverished people.

"If a National Bank was, as is undeniable, repudiated by the framers of the Constitution as incompatible with the rights of the States and the liberties of the people; if, from the beginning, it has been regarded by large portions of our citizens as coming in direct collision with that great and vital amendment of the Constitution, which declares that all powers not conferred by that instrument on the General Government are reserved to the States and to the people; if it has been viewed by them as the first great step in the march of latitudinous construction, which, unchecked, would render that sacred instrument of as little value as an unwritten constitution, dependent, as it would alone be, for its meaning, on the interested interpretation of a dominant party, and affording no security to the rights of the minority; if such is undeniably the case, what rational grounds could have been conceived for anticipating aught but determined opposition to such an institution at the present day?

"Could a different result have been expected, when the consequences which have flowed from its creation, and particularly from its struggles to perpetuate its existence, had confirmed, in so striking a manner, the apprehensions of its earliest opponents; when it had been so clearly demonstrated that a concentrated money-power, wielding so vast a capital, and combining such incalculable means of influence, may, in those peculiar conjunctures to which this Government is un-

avoidably exposed, prove an overmatch for the political power of the people themselves; when the true character of its capacity to regulate, according to its will and its interests, and the interests of its favourites, the value and production of the labour and property of every man in this extended country, had been so fully and fearfully developed; when it was notorious that all classes of this great community had, by means of the power and influence it thus possesses, been infected to madness with a spirit of heedless speculation; when it had been seen that, secure in the support of the combination of influences by which it was surrounded, it could violate its charter, and set the laws at defiance with impunity; and when, too, it had become most apparent that to believe that such an accumulation of powers can ever be granted without the certainty of being abused, was to indulge in a fatal delusion?

"To avoid the necessity of a permanent debt, and its inevitable consequences, I have advocated, and endeavoured to carry into effect, the policy of confining the appropriations for the public service to such objects only as are clearly within the constitutional authority of the Federal Government; of excluding from its expenses those improvident and unauthorized grants of public money for works of internal improvement, which were so wisely arrested by the constitutional interposition of my predecessor, and which, if they had not been so checked, would long before this time have involved the finances of the General Government in embarrassments far greater than those which are now experienced by any of the States; of limiting all our expenditures to that simple, unostentatious, and economical administration of public affairs, which is alone consistent with the character of our institutions; of collecting annually from the customs, and the sales of public lands, a revenue fully adequate to defray all the expenses thus incurred, but, under no pretence whatsoever, to impose taxes upon the people to a greater amount than was actually necessary to the public service, conducted upon the principles I have stated.

"In lieu of a National Bank, or a dependence upon banks of any description, for the management of our fiscal affairs, I recommended the adoption of the system which is now in successful operation. That system affords every requisite facility for the transaction of the pecuniary concerns of the Government; will, it is confidently anticipated, produce in other respects many of the benefits which have been from time to time expected from the creation of a National Bank, but which have never been realized; avoid the manifold evils inseparable from such an institution; diminish, to a greater extent than could be accomplished by any other measure of reform, the patronage of the Federal Government—a wise policy in all Governments, but more especially so in one like ours, which works well only in proportion as it is made to rely for its support upon the unbiassed and unadulterated opinions of its constituents; do away, for ever, all dependence on corporate bodies, either in the raising, collecting, safe-keeping, or disbursing the public revenues; and place the Government equally above the temptation of fostering a dangerous and unconstitutional institution at home, or the necessity of adapting its policy to the views and interests of a still more formidable money-power abroad.

"It is by adopting and carrying out these principles, under circumstances the most arduous and discouraging, that the attempt has been made, thus far successfully, to demonstrate to the people of the United States that

a National Bank at all times, and a national debt, except it be incurred at a period when the honour and safety of the nation demand the temporary sacrifice of a policy, which should only be abandoned in such exigencies, are not merely unnecessary, but in direct and deadly hostility to the principles of their Government, and to their own permanent welfare.

"The progress made in the developement of these positions, appears in the preceding sketch of the past history and present state of the financial concerns of the Federal Government. The facts there stated fully authorize the assertion, that all the purposes for which this Government was instituted have been accomplished during four years of greater pecuniary embarrassment than were ever before experienced in time of peace, and in the face of opposition as formidable as any that was ever before arrayed against the policy of an administration; that this has been done when the ordinary revenues of the Government were generally decreasing, as well from the operation of the laws, as the condition of the country, without the creation of a permanent public debt, or incurring any liability, other than such as the ordinary resources of the Government will speedily discharge, and without the agency of a National Bank."

"That embarrassments in the pecuniary concerns of individuals, of unexampled extent and duration, have recently existed in this, as in other commercial nations, is undoubtedly true. To suppose it necessary now to trace these reverses to their sources, would be a reflection on the intelligence of my fellow-citizens. Whatever may have been the obscurity in which the subject was involved during the earlier stages of the revulsion, there cannot now be many by whom the whole question is not fully understood.

"Not deeming it within the constitutional powers of the General Government to repair private losses sustained by reverses in business having no connexion with the public service, either by direct appropriations from the Treasury, or by special legislation designed to secure exclusive privileges and immunities to individuals or classes in preference to, and at the expense of, the great majority necessarily debarred from any participation in them, no attempt to do so has been either made, recommended, or encouraged, by the present Executive.

"It is believed, however, that the great purposes for the attainment of which the Federal Government was instituted have not been lost sight of. Intrusted only with certain limited powers, cautiously enumerated, distinctly specified, and defined with a precision and clearness which would seem to defy misconstruction, it has been my constant aim to confine myself within the limits so clearly marked out, and so carefully guarded. Having always been of opinion that the best preservative of the union of the States is to be found in a total abstinence from the exercise of all doubtful powers on the part of the Federal Government, rather than in attempts to assume them by a loose construction of the Constitution, or an ingenious perversion of its words, I have endeavoured to avoid recommending any measure which I had reason to apprehend would, in the opinion even of a considerable minority of my fellow-citizens, be regarded as trenching on the rights of the States, or the provisions of the hallowed instrument of our Union. Viewing the aggregate powers of the Federal Government as a voluntary concession of the States, it seemed to me that such only should be exercised as were at the time intended to be given.

"I have been strengthened, too, in the propriety of this course, by the conviction that all efforts to go be-

yond this, tend only to produce dissatisfaction and distrust, to excite jealousies, and to provoke resistance. Instead of adding strength to the Federal Government, even when successful, they must ever prove a source of incurable weakness, by alienating a portion of those whose adhesion is indispensable to the great aggregate of united strength, and whose voluntary attachment is, in my estimation, far more essential to the efficiency of a government strong in the best of all possible strength—the confidence and attachment of all those who make up its constituent elements.

“Thus believing, it has been my purpose to secure to the whole people, and to every member of the confederacy, by general, salutary, and equal laws alone, the benefit of those republican institutions which it was the end and aim of the Constitution to establish, and the impartial influence of which is, in my judgment, indispensable to their preservation. I cannot bring myself to believe that the lasting happiness of the people, the prosperity of the States, or the permanency of their Union, can be maintained by giving preference or priority to any class of citizens in the distribution of benefits or privileges, or by the adoption of measures which enrich one portion of the Union at the expense of another; nor can I see in the interference of the Federal Government with the local legislation and reserved rights of the States a remedy for present, or a security against future dangers.

“The first, and assuredly not the least, important step toward relieving the country from the condition into which it had been plunged by excesses in trade, banking, and credits of all kinds, was, to place the business transactions of the Government itself on a solid basis; giving and receiving in all cases value for value, and neither countenancing nor encouraging in others that delusive system of credits from which it has been found so difficult to escape, and which has left nothing behind it but the wrecks that mark its fatal career.

“That the financial affairs of the Government are now, and have been during the whole period of these widespread difficulties, conducted with a strict and invariable regard to this great fundamental principle, and that by the assumption and maintenance of the stand thus taken on the very threshold of the approaching crisis, more than by any other cause or causes whatever, the community at large has been shielded from the incalculable evils of a general and indefinite suspension of specie payments, and a consequent annihilation, for the whole period it might have lasted, of a just and invariable standard of value, will, it is believed, at this period, scarcely be questioned.”

The ever memorable Extra Session of Congress,

1841.—We take from the *Globe* the following review of the late Extra Session of Congress, which, no doubt, will be read with great interest, for the information it contains respecting the “sayings and doings” of the members of that distinguished body:

Review of the late Session.—A correspondent furnishes us with a caustic review of the late session. He chooses to consider Mr. Webster—as premier to General Harrison—responsible for the call of the extraordinary Congress, as well as for the measures to which it gave birth. Mr. Webster, upon the British principle which he would have prevail among us, cannot escape such animadversion while he holds his present position, and, especially when he puts out letters boasting of the session as “fruitful of impor-

tant acts—forming a mass of legislation more important than all the proceedings of Congress for many years,” concluding with gratuitously saying, “in all of which the President cordially concurred.”

REVIEW OF THE LATE EXTRA SESSION.

To Daniel Webster, Esq., Secretary of State:

You, sir, attested the Proclamation to convene the late extraordinary session of Congress. The other name affixed to it is the shadow of one who is now in the land of shadows; while you linger behind, responsible to the people for the consequences of a measure which had both your approval and co-operation. There is an end of the session, but we are far from the end of its evil influences. We are now able to judge with some correctness what will be its character and fruits. Attend, then. Let you and your party listen to the rebukes of an indignant public. The session was avowedly convened on account of “sundry important and weighty matters, principally growing out of the condition of the revenue and finances.” But how hollow was most of this pretence! Near half the time has been devoted to the waste rather than supply of revenue, and much of the other half to the creation of a gigantic, privileged Bank monopoly, few of whose powers—none of whose capital—and scarcely any of whose operations, would have had the slightest reference whatever to our finances, except to pervert them to usury.

Besides this, it was believed by many, and among them your own chief magistrate, to be unwarranted by the Constitution, and imminently dangerous as well to public liberty as to public virtue. Indeed, sir, the details of the whole session will be found full of either wrongs, follies, or abortions.

Called here at a season of the year unusual and hazardous, the first business should have been the general relief, (professedly to the finances,) and that in the promptest manner consistent with due deliberation. Yet, in truth, the first measure of your party was to burden the finances by a large civil pension or gift on account of political party services. The donation to Mrs. Harrison was, also, to a person in affluence rather than indigence; and, instead of being moderate in amount, equalled twenty-five thousand dollars, or, from half to the whole amount of some of the yearly State taxes.

What was the next “important and weighty matter” proposed by you and your friends in view of the pretended dilapidation of the public resources, at a period represented as dark with the prospect of a speedy war? When the embarrassments of the public Treasury were ridiculously exaggerated by your friend at the head of that department, and stated to require the utmost vigilance to avert national bankruptcy, you proceeded to give away, chiefly for the benefit of British fundholders, millions upon millions of the richest domain which has ever, in the long tide of time, blessed the people of any country on the face of the globe. At the same moment you ordered the borrowing of twelve millions of dollars to meet the current expenses of the government! Was this the course of a statesman desiring to preserve public credit, or the profligacy of a spendthrift who had squandered his own earnings, and could only hope to support his dissolute career by appropriating those of more prudent and industrious men? This was done in the face of the experience of other governments and the previous practice of our own, never to borrow money without fixing or pledging definite funds for its payment. In no other mode can the finances of any people be preserved upon a secure

foundation. During the last war the public lands were expressly pledged for the redemption of the loans which you vituperated with so much zeal, because they were to be expended in the defence of the country against the common enemy. But your administration, which was to create confidence, began its boasted reform of the finances by lavishing the best security which could be tendered to the prudent capitalist, upon speculators, who had seduced individual States into the gulf of debt, without regard to the means of payment. Determined that the Treasury of the Union should become involved by the same improvident course, and the public credit reduced to the same level, you wantonly impaired the means of raising the money which your projected measures required to be borrowed. This rashness and profligacy has already weakened the confidence of real capitalists at a most important crisis. You have since increased the burdens of taxation on the community at large, and especially the poorer classes, to supply, in some degree, your waste. You have made the distributions and burdens unequal; and, by such rank injustice, as well as by the new corrupting and disturbing forces you have brought to bear on our political system, you have sown deep and wide the seeds of alienation between the States, and endangered, it is feared, fatally, the holy bond of their Union.

After all this, sir, you and your adherents then proceeded to seize on the general revenue, and, instead of relieving the Treasury, sequestered from it, for the first time in our history, nearly half a million of dollars, to aid the operations of the Post-office Department. So far from requiring—as all precedent and sound principle demanded—that those who are benefited by the mails should defray the expense of them, you compelled the people at large to pay, by a tariff on the necessities of life, not only for the transportation of their own letters, like angel visits, *few and far between*, but for the daily and voluminous correspondence of the wealthy.

Not content with all these innovations, so wasteful and appalling, your next aid to the finances was, for the first and only time in the half century since our government began to impose as a charge on the general Treasury, the payment of the whole navy pensions of the country.

They had always before been charged upon trust funds, and had no right to any other.

Other and different modes of Whig relief to the Treasury in this emergency are calculated to excite equal astonishment for their want of wisdom, as well as economy and judgment. If they do not all look like the deeds of bold, bad men, *feeling power and forgetting right*, they at least exhibit a total want of that tact, skill, and ordinary prudence which are indispensable to the good government of a great country. Besides the absence of these, we search in vain, also, for that far-reaching sagacity in measures—that sensitiveness to national honour—that statesmanlike honesty of purpose in small, as well as in large concerns, which can alone command confidence or insure permanent success.

Thus, in a period of fiscal embarrassment, your party has been busy in voting additional charges for new outfits and higher salaries to foreign ministers. In several of these cases no excuse can be pretended, except personal favouritism or to fill removals, made solely for differences in political opinion, under a system of relentless proscription by those elevated to power in March last. Yes, sir, by those, among whom you, conspicuously as the rest, were solemnly pledged to proscribe proscription; you, who were the first to

falsify every profession, and, before even you were sworn into office, made a removal of a most intelligent and talented clerk, merely for the shameful purpose of filling the vacancy with your own son; you, who have followed up this system of foreign and monarchical despotism so far as to possess scarcely a relative within any of the Levitical degrees of consanguinity who was not provided for in six brief months, by first cutting off the heads of worthy incumbents, who happened to possess a little less faith than yourself in the atrocious principles of the Hartford Convention. The proscription immediately adopted under your auspices, and pushed farthest in some classes under your immediate supervision, has been so insatiate, as to have spared neither age, want, nor worth; and, not finding victims enough at home, crossed the Atlantic to glut its voracity on our diplomatic and consular agents abroad.

Passing by more on this topic for the present, allow me to say, that you and your friends, instead of seeking relief at once to the finances, and then stopping the expenses of the session by an early adjournment, have spent weeks in the most local and thriftless legislation on other matters. You have made it a prominent measure, by renewing suspended bank charters here, to legalize the use of depreciated paper in the capital of the whole Union. You have wasted important time and money in making large donations here to rebuild bridges, and maintain paupers; and whether measures like these are right or wrong in themselves, how shameful is it, in a public view, for the promotion of such narrow objects, to detain members unseasonably and expensively, so many thousand miles from the rocky East—the far West—and the distant valleys of the South? But turn a moment to matters of a more general character. Rather than effecting retrenchment and relief to the Treasury in these, you have helped, in several such instances, to impose new burdens, neither necessary nor judicious.

Your adherents, or rather you, through them, have voted new millions to fortifications, while much of the old appropriations remained unexpended. You proceed to finish some works that have evidently become worthless, in a national view, and refuse money for others at points most important exposed. You vote many thousands for home squadrons, when, for ten years past, we have seldom been without vessels afloat at home, either on our own coast, or returning or departing, and when the most common complaint has been that naval officers are kept too much at home. You appropriate for ordnance and ordnance stores for the navy, what will, in the end, reach nearly two millions of dollars, though it is admitted that none of them are needed for the current service, or that war is not so near as to require the proceeds of the public lands to be expended in preparation for defence.

You have increased largely all, and nearly doubled some, of the higher ranks of officers in the naval service. This has been done, neither under any express law, nor any exigency which exists, demanding so large an addition. And it must be obvious that, in a period of profound peace, these are but entering wedges to swell our naval expenses, and multiply idlers and drones, so as to render an important arm of the national defence unpopular, if not odious. It will, if not speedily checked, double the annual cost of the navy from what it was ten years ago; and make it greater than the aggregate of all our other establishments, civil, foreign, and military. Do not evade these conclusions under any pretence that such additions have been made to our expenses in preparation for impending wars. For if that be true, why not, then, apply at once the

income from the lands to that preparation, instead of giving it away lavishly under such a fearful expectation, and burthening the people at large with new and unnecessary taxation, and with large loans? One or the other horn of the dilemma is inevitable. Either your pretence is false, or your conduct under it contradictory and ridiculous.

In short, to give away seems to be the essence of your Whig economy. To enlarge the expenses is the Alpha and Omega of your Whig retrenchments. To add many millions to what you denounced as Democratic extravagance, is your Whig reform. To augment the taxes largely, is all your Whig relief. To increase the national debt many millions in profound peace, is your Whig improvement of the finances. To leave the Treasury unregulated by law, in an unlimited discretion of the Executive, is your Whig abhorrence of patronage and the dangerous union of the purse and the sword. To retain all of the Sub-Treasury penalties against defalcations, and enforce most of its details, in substance, after a repeal of its forms and of all regulation over Executive discretion, is your boasted Whig reform; it is your Whig judgment, entered up on the Whig verdict against that most abominable of all measures, in the view of what were once Whig prejudices and Whig denunciations. But a truce to more of this on the present occasion. And do you, sir, above all others, pretend that any of these prodigal expenses have been authorized with a view of preparation for war with England? England, to whom you ignobly succumbed in the case of McLeod, offering to surrender, as soon as possible, a supposed offender, without insisting to receive, first, indemnity for the past and security for the future! You, who instead of taking possession of the disputed territory on "the 4th of July next," according to your valiant threat, seem to have forgotten since fairly seated in power, that any such territory exists!

Where, too, are all the splendid promises held out, of a revival of trade, of higher prices? Where are all the wonderful discoveries, to be made by opening your new books? What have you found of evil, except against your own partisans, in all your inquisitorial searches?

It is true, that among other illustrations of the economy to be practised by the present Administration, you have organized two costly star-chamber commissions. But it has been in vain, except to excite false hopes in your adherents, and provide temporarily for a few famished favourites, that so much time and money have been wantonly spent in trying to detect matters of political accusation against your predecessors. Another illustration has been the appointment of several additional clerks in both the Land office and Post-office, chiefly in consequence of additional business caused by partisan removals from office.

Again, among your new securities to the revenue have been the appointment of notorious bankrupts over some of the collections, and in some of the most responsible stations of marshals. Proscription has been proscribed, and the public interests guarded by removing men of integrity and fortune, to make way in some cases for insolvents, pipe-layers, Abolitionists, and defaulters; and the Senate has been employed for weeks in advising and assenting to such a system of butchery, carried into every region, however remote, and every station, however humble, for no reason whatever, in most cases, which has yet been made public by our tolerant opponents, except a rightful and independent difference of mere political opinion.

If any one had refused to join in the log cabin and

hard cider song for "Tip and Tyler too"—it was sufficient to bring his head under the guillotine. Though from this time forth, since the second veto, I admit it is probable that "Tyler too" might find his head rolling from the same guillotine, if the mass of our opponents happened to possess the power to bring him to the block.

When calls have been made for certain particulars as to removals, they have in all cases been delayed—in others evaded; and in some not answered at all. In none have our opponents permitted the reasons to be demanded, though for many years they have been clamorous with arguments that reasons should be assigned, and that removals without reasons, other than mere political ones, were both wicked and unconstitutional. You, sir, have been among the loudest with these clamours, and yet, under your own signature, in a report just made to the House of Representatives, it appears that, in your department, as many have been removed, with three or four exceptions only, during only six months of your reign, under anti-spoils, anti-proscription pledges, as in the whole twelve years of Gen. Jackson's and Mr. Van Buren's administrations. Blush, then, if anything can make such callous hypocrisy feel! blush at your injustice to others, and your own want of respect and consistency both to yourself and to the high minded, honest, and honourable of your own party. But no more on this point.

Some of the great Whig party have prided themselves that relief has been caused by the passage of a Bankrupt law. Yet the finances of the country, for which the extra session was chiefly convened, will be burthened by that hasty, ill-digested measure, and its addition to our judicial expenses. At the same time, the finances of the prudent, the industrious, and the saving, how have they been affected by it? By rubbing a sponge over all their claims against the fraudulent and extravagant. Misfortune fared well before, in making accommodations with creditors. It will fare no better now. But a more injudicious law never stained any statute-book, than one which holds out exemptions and privileges to idleness, speculation, and waste, while it punishes, by annulling their claims, those who have accumulated property through a course of sound morals, honourable enterprise, and laborious economy.

Last, but I suppose not least, our opponents claim some merit for the session in aiding the finances by a Loan bill, a Tax bill, two Fiscal Bank bills, and a Distribution bill.

What a marvellous relief to the Treasury must be the last measure, giving away, as it does, yearly, three to four millions of dollars! So of the two Fiscal Banks, one of which created a debt of more than sixteen millions, subject to be increased eight or ten more; and the other, of near thirteen millions, which might be enlarged to eighteen. These were debts, too, enormous as they are, created, not to extinguish any past liabilities, or even meet any future national expenditure, rendered necessary in either peace or war, but to furnish capital for bank speculations and political accommodations, like that of the last Bank of the United States, which has so recently ended its career by utter bankruptcy, and, as Mr. Gallatin says, by becoming a public nuisance.

Yes, sir, those are the two great relief measures so much urged and eulogized—measures which were to burden the people with fifteen to twenty millions of debt, to be thus hazarded, and probably most of it, in the end, squandered and lost irretrievable.

Thanks to a firm and fearless Executive, their dan-

gerous character has been so fully exposed, as to receive his indignant vetoes. All, then, that remains for boast as relief to a suffering Treasury, are the Loan and the Tax bills.

Now it has been demonstrated by figures and stubborn facts, that not a dollar of new loan would have been needed, had the extra session never been called. It is the expenses of that session—its five to six millions of new appropriations, and the wasteful course of the Treasury Department since March last, in pushing advances and expenditures as well as in neglecting to collect public dues from banks, and to make advertisements and sales of lands—it is these alone which have produced the necessity for the very bill which is boasted of as a relief to the revenue and finances as they existed in March last. The session then was called before any of this necessity was created.

So the Tax bill or increased Tariff would have been equally unnecessary till December next, but for these same causes—all produced and operating since the session itself was called.

Boast, then, no more of the relief in either of these measures which have been rendered plausible only by your own improvidence, at this time, and since March. Claim no credit for supplying revenue by taxes, to supply what you yourselves squander by gifts and distributions; nor can there be much wisdom in procuring loans now at the expense of the future. Increased debts in peace, and increased taxes in peace, the moths and rust which destroy every government that tolerates them, are your only laurels.

You have, to be sure, in hot haste repealed the Sub-Treasury. But your only financial merit in this has been rashly to abolish one good system in successful operation, before you obtained or could put into operation another, though bad, system regulated by law. Say nothing more of the horrible union of the purse and the sword, which has, notwithstanding, been deliberately consummated by you in that inconsiderate repeal. Be silent on the supposed increase of Executive patronage in the past administration, when you have armed this one with unlimited power over the public money, and proposed, by two United States Banks, with large capitals, to render it still more formidable. What rigid disciples you must be of the school of '98! what close followers of Jefferson! what strict constructionists! Such Whigs look to me as much like Democrats in principle, and as much like the Whigs of 1776, as you and your party did when voting against the supplies in the last war, and against rebuilding the Capitol, burnt by Vandal Englishmen.

The people, sir, are tired of these delusions. Strip off your mask, then; or let us have less of pretension and promise, with a little more of performance. Instead of twenty-eight to thirty millions expenditure, when your friends promised but thirteen or fifteen, let us, at all events, have no more than the eighteen or twenty to which the last administration was rapidly approaching, and which you denounced as extravagant. Suspend the ravages of persecution, at least for a season, for that mere difference of opinion in which you yourselves are, among yourselves, beginning to indulge somewhat freely; otherwise, some of you may have to look carefully to your own heads. Let us have a few good works. As yet, we can hardly see grounds even for faith, except in the two vetoes of an intrepid Executive. The whole session has been a masquerade unmasking. Were it not a subject too serious for merriment, no little amusement could be gathered from the contrast between the leading personages before the election, in their dominoes and cloaks, and

counterfeit characters, and their true appearance now, when stripped at this extra session.

Before, they were patriots of the purest water, who scorned the spoils of office, and would proscribe proscription. Now, they appear to have seized on every occasion to plunder power and salary for themselves and families, as well as to have persecuted from the lowest station every political opponent, with a sort of hurricane rush—a wolfish hunger—a death-like struggle, which have driven one President already to an untimely grave, and must imbitter the life of another. The leaders of the Whig party came with honeyed accents to *emancipate office-holders* from fear and danger; when the subjects of no Dionysius or Nero ever lived in greater dread of their bloody tyranny, than most incumbents have, till lately felt for the Whig guillotine.

Before the election, they were graciously and benignantly to bring relief to all classes. But now, some of their first acts are to increase taxes, and that, too, on articles of most universal use.

Before, they were to introduce retrenchment and economy. But now, almost every establishment is increased, salaries raised, officers multiplied, and our aggregate expenditures alarmingly augmented.

Before, Executive patronage and discretion were to be limited. Now, they are enlarged.

Before, they were prodigal in professions as exclusive friends of order and decency. They now raise ferocious yells around the dwelling of their own President, and they burn, hang, or shoot him, in ignominious effigy, in almost every village.

Boastful before of their superior courtesy and refinement, their distinguished leader in the Senate now condescends to disgrace himself by denouncing all his opponents as *pirates*—and their vagabond Bears are patronized by their departments, and they, and some of the most infamous of their pipe-layers, fed from the public Treasury.

They were to protect liberty of speech. But they began in one House with smothering debate—have cut off yeas and nays on important amendments, and concealed from the people the opinions as well as votes of their Representatives on many of the most essential points they were delegated here to act on.

In fine, they were to uphold morals and laws. But they violate the public peace in the very halls of Congress—they disturb our villages and cities with riots and mobs—sometimes against their own offending brethren—and they tempt the community in more remote regions, by their bad examples, to rush into various demoralizing outrages, and establish the fierce reign of unbridled Lynch law.

Remember, sir, that these are the fruits of only a six months' Administration of your immaculate party. It is but a three months' session of your uncontrolled majority in both Houses—scarce a hundred days, which have exposed your deceptions, and shaken, if not overturned, your power. Let the people take warning.

If your influence is not already paralyzed, or is not soon to be, allow me to caution you, that all your arts, all your duplicity, all your indomitable selfishness and unscrupulous ambition, are beginning to be developed.

If Providence, in his wrath for some national transgression, connected with such an Administration as you have headed during the last six months, should permit your power to be much longer prolonged, we need another national fast, to try to avert the calamities in store for us.

We most devoutly offer our thanksgiving that the President is relieved from the rest of his bad advisers.

But his deliverance will be incomplete, and his future fidelity, as well as success, be in jeopardy, while surrounded by men like yourself. Retire, then, at once, from a station which you never should have profaned under an administration making any claims to Republicanism. Cling not basely to mere power and pelf. Evince some little respect toward the feelings of a virtuous, outraged, and indignant people, and the catastrophe may yet be averted, which seems to menace both public morals and public liberty.

POPULUS.

General Jackson's Letter to his Democratic friends in

Nashville, Tenn.—The following letter has been, and no doubt will be, read with deep interest by the Democracy of our country, coming as it does from one so dear to the mass of the American people, and one, too, that in the common course of nature must soon go to that bourn from whence none return. But let that period arrive when it may—it may be a consolation to him to know that he will carry with him to the grave the sympathy and mourning of the American people; and he may rest assured, that posterity will do him justice for the noble, fearless, and distinguished manner in which he supported and defended our Constitution, and the equal rights of all classes. His memorable words, “The Constitution must and shall be preserved,” will never be effaced from the minds and gratitude of the American people:

“*Hermitage, Oct. 20, 1841.*

“Gentlemen: I have received your letter, inviting me to be present at a Public Dinner to be given, the late Governor of Tennessee, Hon. James K. Polk, at the Nashville Inn on Saturday, the 23d instant, by the Democratic Republican members of the Legislature and citizens of Nashville and Davidson county. Should the weather be fair, and the state of my health such as to render it prudent for me to travel so far as Nashville on that day, I will avail myself of the pleasure of attending.

“The ‘heartly congratulations’ which you tender to me upon the signal triumphs of Democratic Republican Principles as evinced in ‘the late voices of Maine, Maryland, Georgia, and other States,’ are received with the most grateful consideration. Nor do you misconceive my sentiments, gentlemen, in supposing that these evidences cannot fail to strengthen my conviction that the people were not insincere in their support of my administration.

“I cannot say that I did not expect this reaction. I did believe that, notwithstanding the events of 1840, the mighty truths of Republicanism would rise again in triumph; but I cannot say I was fully prepared for the revolution at so early a period. Speculative considerations are given way to the power of principle. Cool reflections have quickly kindled in the hearts of the people a resolve to do right, and retrace those aberrations from the path of rectitude which are as common to masses as to individuals. A long and intimate acquaintance with the character of the American people, inspired me with the most implicit faith in their disposition to pursue and maintain Truth, Virtue, Patriotism, and Independence with a single purpose. And at this late day of my life, it gives me joy to say the faith is unabated.

“Among the causes that have produced this awaken-

ing in the public mind are to be found the unjust and imprudent measures of the late extra session of Congress—the tyranny of a dictatorial majority over a large and respectable minority. Nor can it be supposed that the efforts of these causes are exclusively confined to the States where elections have just taken place.

“The distribution of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands without constitutional authority—the system of Bankruptcy established by law throughout the United States—the provision for a loan within the range of twelve millions, &c.—are acts so palpable and unauthorized, that the people, as I believe, anxiously desire their repeal. And I entertain a most sanguine hope the hour for reconsideration, retrenchment, and reform is at hand.

“I congratulate you, gentlemen, as I do our country at large, on having at the head of the government a President who, upon one question at least, has a strict and conscientious regard for the Constitution—who has not swerved from his integrity in the discharge of one of the highest duties devolving on the Executive—who has preserved his own consistency by averting the blow aimed at our liberties through an attempt to establish another moneyed corporation with powers enough to destroy individual freedom in elections and to overshadow the blessings of our republican institutions—who has fearlessly asserted and faithfully exercised his constitutional prerogative, that this free and most perfect system of civil government may be administered by men and not by money. And, gentlemen, I may add, that, in the ability and determination of the President to maintain the government on principles purely republican, I have the most abiding confidence.

“Accept for yourselves and for those whom you represent, my best wishes.

“Your fellow-citizen,

“ANDREW JACKSON.

“Messrs. J. P. HARDICKE, and others, Committee.”

Can it be possible that Daniel Webster is “friendly to a British alliance?”—The Baltimore sun publishes extracts from late London prints, and among them we find the following, which, we conceive, goes to prove our views correct in relation to the British capitalists’ determination to have a United States Bank:

“The ‘John Bull,’ a strong advocate of the measures of the Peel Cabinet, says, ‘the information brought from America by the Britannia, of the resignation of the whole of the American cabinet, with the exception of Mr. Webster, has not come upon us with surprise. From the moment President Tyler took his line in the Bank question, and exhibited such Jackson-like pertinacity in maintaining it, we foresaw the crash must come. President Tyler may be an honest man, but he is clearly ignorant of the state of feeling in his own country. There is no such thing as sterling honesty to be found from one extremity of the States to the other; and as the Bank scheme was taken up for the simple purpose of affording fresh facilities for speculation, he may depend upon it that, in spite of his resistance, it will be carried. According to the principles of the Constitution, he has but one veto left; and then who will undertake to say what may follow? Meanwhile, the sooner we prepare for war on a large scale, the better. Mr. Webster, indeed, keeps his place, as Mr. Webster is known to be friendly to a British alliance. But of his new colleagues, there is not one but is more, or less pledged to assert what they call the dignity of their country, and, as a necessary consequence, to disturb the peace of all others. We should not wonder if the next packet brought intelligence of Mr. McLeod’s condemnation and execution; at all events, we advise our government to be on the alert.’”

PRESIDENT TYLER'S LETTER To his Virginia Friends.

With great pleasure we insert Mr. Tyler's letter, and feel much gratified with the able manner in which he explains himself in reference to a National Bank. His views on that all-important subject we conceive correspond with those of Jefferson, Jackson, and Van Buren. But while we approve of Mr. Tyler's course in this particular, we must not be understood to sanction the other course he pursued at the late Extra Session of Congress. While on this subject, we would respectfully urge the Democratic members of Congress to use all fair and honorable means to reinstate the Sub-Treasury, with such modifications as they may deem advisable, with a view to aid mercantile exchanges. Suppose a clause were to be introduced into the Sub-Treasury bill, giving power to sub-treasurers to draw checks or bills of exchange; for instance, the sub-treasurer of New York could always draw on the one at New Orleans, and, in like manner, the sub-treasurer of New Orleans might draw on New York. This plan, we conceive, might be extended generally over the country; and by such an arrangement, and the local banks being included in the Bankrupt Law, we feel satisfied that the worn-out cry of a want of exchanges and a sound currency would soon cease to be heard in our land. We would also urge Democratic members of Congress to endeavor to get the distribution of the public land bill repealed, and such modifications of the tariff as would lighten the burthens now imposed on the laboring classes.

CEDAR HILL, New Kent Co., Nov. 8, 1841.

GENTLEMEN—Few things would afford me more pleasure than to meet my friends and old constituents of this county, at the festive board, in pursuance of your polite invitation; but the necessity which exists for my speedy return to the seat of government, places it out of my power to do so. I can, however, do no less than return to you and those you represent, my grateful thanks for the kind sentiments of regard and confidence, which you have been pleased to express towards me. Shall I not be justified by the people of this ancient county, in the declaration, that when as long ago as twenty-five years they did me the honor to confer their almost unanimous suffrages upon me, as their Representative in Congress, the political principles which I then avowed have been the same which, since my accession to the Presidency, I have dared to vindicate and maintain, at the expense of the bitterest denunciations which have ever heretofore assailed a public functionary.

The same opinions as to the power of Congress to charter a National Bank, which I then avowed in the presence of your fathers, and of many who still survive among you, and which, as your Representative, I strenuously urged in 1819, are still maintained with abiding and undiminished conviction. I was then sustained by the people of

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this district, with almost entire unanimity, and I therefore take leave to say, that if any of them are converts to new opinions, they might, at *least*, have granted to me, as the Chief Magistrate, bound by oath to support the Constitution, the benefit of the new lights of reason which have been shed upon them, before they united with others in a spirit of unqualified denunciation. What would they have me do? Would they have me sacrifice the consistency of my past life for party ends? Or, what is of far more importance, both morally and politically, would they require of the Chief Magistrate of this glorious Union, to surrender all claims to *their* respect, by violating his oath of office, in order to gratify the moloch of party? If they would have so great a sacrifice, then I am proud to say, they will not receive it at my hands. I censure no man for his opinion on this or any other subject—but while I award to him the right to think for himself, should he not exempt me from his denunciations because I cannot think as he does?

I beg you to be assured, gentlemen, that the invectives to which I have been subjected, have in no degree disturbed my equanimity. Amid the torrents of abuse, no matter by what motives dictated, which have been uttered against me, "my pulse has kept as healthful music," as if nothing had occurred. The light reflected from burning effigies, has only served to render the path of duty more plain. In that path I shall walk, my confidence being placed in the patriotism, discernment and intelligence of the American people, whose interests are always best sustained by a firm observance of Constitutional requirements.

I tender to you, individually, assurances of great personal regard.

JOHN TYLER.

To Edward G. Crump, George Williamson, John G. Crump, William R. C. Douglass, and Chesley Jones, Committee.

MR. CONRAD SWACKHAMER'S SPEECH.

IN ASSEMBLY, Saturday, March 12.

REMARKS OF MR. SWACKHAMER, OF NEW YORK,

On the motion to recommit the bill reported by the committee of eight, (limiting the elections to one day) with instructions to make it applicable to all cities and towns in the State.

(Reported for the Daily Albany Argus.)

Mr. Swackhamer said this was a strange bill and a strange report, coming as they did from the committee charged with the whole subject of the elections and the elective franchise, embraced in the numerous petitions and remonstrances that had been presented during the session. Among these, by far the most important in point of numbers, were the remonstrances and petitions from New York, asking a repeal of the registry. The number of petitions for one day elections, was insignificant in comparison with the thousands that asked to be relieved from that legislative stigma under which the city of New York alone, of all the cities of the State, now labors. And yet (said Mr. S.) this committee have passed over these expressions of public opinion from New York, without so much as a passing notice in this

interminable bill and report, and have bestowed their entire attention upon the one day system applicable to the whole State, with the marked exception of the city which I have the honor in part to represent, and with the evident design to leave its 40,000 voters to live on under this registry act, as they have done the past year. Sir, I believe that if the chairman of this committee [Mr. Scott] could have had his own way, and had been left to frame such a bill as in his conscience he approves, we should have had in place of this voluminous bill, a simple enactment repealing this infamous registry—and placing us on a footing with other and all sections of the State. And I believe further, had such a bill come from the hands of the committee, that, regardless of political considerations, a majority would have been found in this house to pass it. For I am at a loss to know how members can, consistently with a true sense of duty, insist upon retaining on the statute book a law applicable only to comparatively a small section, and which no man thinks of extending to the whole State—a law originating with men steeped in infamy, and forced upon that section in opposition to the known will of its inhabitants, and regardless of the benign and sound principle, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

I disapprove (said Mr. S.) of the course taken by the committee, as stated in the report just read, in going into the old blue-light federal State of Connecticut, for opinions on the subject of a registry, when they had before them, in the remonstrances from New York, abundant evidence of what was thought of the measure here. My word for it, Sir, the advice of the chairman of the committee imported from Connecticut in favor of a registry, came from a federal source. I make that charge here, and until he states the contrary, and will give us his authority, I must believe that the fact is so. I pause for an answer. Now, Sir, I desire to enter my protest against this mode of treating the expressed wishes of the citizens of New York. I have no idea, Sir, that when they come forward here, in masses, as it were, and ask us to repeal a law which they aver and know operates unequally and onerously upon them, that this house, through its committee, should turn a deaf ear to their wishes, and go over into Connecticut for the purpose of bringing to bear on this question, the opinions and advice of those who know nothing about our wants, and care as little. The citizens of New York have a right to be heard here, and to have their wishes consulted, if they be reasonable and proper, without reference to what politicians in other states may deem to be good for them. What the voters of the city of New York think of this registry act, no man can doubt who has mingled with them, and knows any thing about it. The Executive of this State certainly erred in endeavoring to make the legislature and the people believe that the registry law had worked well in the city, and was well received there. Why, Sir, there has more than one instance occurred within my personal knowledge, where poor men have spent one whole day after having performed the first qualification of registering, in getting their names erased from the list and procuring certificates from the high commissioners, before they could exer-

cise the right of franchise, in consequence of having been compelled to move from one ward into another after registering their names. My word for it, that, notwithstanding what the Governor has said, if this single question could be put to a vote in the city of New York, very many of his own political friends there would be found on the side of the democratic party, in opposition to a registry. No man can doubt this who knows any thing of the feeling in the city of New York on the subject; and I put it to the honorable gentlemen here, upon the responsibilities under which they are acting, if they can reconcile it to their duty and their consciences to hold the voters of New York to a law which they would repudiate if they had the opportunity to pass upon it? I put it to the gentlemen to say, if we in New York have not a right to ask either that this odious law be repealed, or that we shall be permitted to pass upon it at the ballot boxes? Is it right—is it fair—that no inconsiderable portion of the voting population of this State, because they happen to live within certain limits, should be subject to laws which nobody dare propose to inflict on the voters of the rest of the State? Is it just that we in New York should be held up to the public as so corrupt that we cannot be trusted with the same freedom of the franchise which is enjoyed by every other section of the State? Sir, (said Mr. S.) it is not in human nature—it cannot be expected of freemen, knowing their rights and feeling as men should feel on such a subject, that they should sit down quietly under a law forced upon them as this was, and continued under the circumstances that this is. Why, Sir, this registry law was put upon us against our wishes and remonstrances, accompanied with the most outrageous aspersions upon the character of the city by men occupying high places in the legislature. I need not allude to what was said in the senate chamber by one of the leading advocates of the registry in that body, whilst the measure was pending there. It is enough to say of those imputations upon our city, that they were unworthy of a member of that body as they were most unjust to us. But, Sir, as an inhabitant of that city, I felt that her character was insulted, from those charges in effect receiving legislative sanction, even though they came from a member who was then occupying his seat by a majority of one vote, and that too given by a perjured voter who is now atoning for his offence in the state prison.

I deeply regret that I am compelled to notice imputations, if possible still more gross and calumnious, made on this floor by another prominent supporter of the present state dynasty,—I allude to the remarks of the gentleman from Tompkins (Mr. L. Hubbell.) I know that he has sought since to qualify and palliate them, but I understood him to apply the terms—"gang of swindlers, worse than Barnegat pirates"—to a portion at least of what he called the "loco foco" party in the city of New York. He now says he intended to apply those epithets to the brokers in Wall street. Well, Sir, he can have his own way about that, but as the member has changed ground, I must be permitted to digress for a moment, that I may follow him. And I will here assert without fear of contradiction, that four-fifths of all the brokers in New York are members of the party

to which the gentleman from Tompkins is attached. How ungenerous, then, for him to make such a wholesale charge upon his political allies! It is well known that I am no friend to brokers or their business, yet I hold the opinion, that legislators are more to blame for the evils growing out of stock-jobbing than brokers. If we create stocks so unsparingly as to make them of uncertain value, we must expect that men will speculate in them. But to the point—brokers in New York form a part of my constituents, and I know as honorable men among them as can be found in this house. I therefore throw back the charge, if intended to be applied to them as a whole, as being unworthy any member of this house.

These, and other similar charges, come from the advocates of a law which was conceived in the worst spirit of proscription and intolerance; and which, if not designed, was admirably calculated to cheat the poorer class of voters out of their dearest rights! From the political associates and coadjutors of the "pipe-layers" in the city, who, it is notorious, had contrived to smuggle upon the registry in some of the wards, hundreds of voters who dared not come to the polls on the day of the election to deposite their ballots, in consequence of disclosures then being made of previous election frauds! Is it to be expected, let me ask, that New York will rest quietly under a law inflicted on her under such circumstances, and now purposed to be continued, under imputations of this character and from such sources? All that we have ever asked is to be restored to equal privileges with the rest of our fellow-citizens throughout the State. That, we have a right to demand at the hands of this legislature, and that her representatives will never cease to claim, so long as they retain a proper self-respect, and a sense of what is due to themselves and their constituents. I will not (said Mr. S.) on this occasion go into a detailed examination of the several unconstitutional and oppressive features of the law. I only ask gentlemen to vote according to that humane and golden maxim, "do ye unto others as ye would have others do unto you"—to vote as upon a matter involving a grave constitutional question, depending not upon construction, but upon the matter of fact, that in the convention which framed the constitution, the power to pass a registry law, applicable even to the whole State, was distinctly repudiated—as a matter which involves also the constitutional right of every voter to a voice in the election of all officers elective by the people—as a matter involving, among other grievances, an additional annual expense to the city of near fifty thousand dollars, and that too without the consent of those who are thus taxed—as a question, in a word, of equal rights and equal privileges to all, and of special disabilities to none—as a question which enlists the feelings, and concerns the highest interests of a large proportion of the free electors of this State. I trust the proposition of my colleague (Mr. McMurray) will prevail—that the registry in the city of New York may be abrogated; for if the alternative is once before this house, either to extend or repeal the law, I have no doubt the latter will prevail.

I did not intend to say what I feel constrained now to repeat, in consequence of the vote a short time ago upon the proposition to recommit the

bill, with instructions to bring in another repealing the registry. Why, Sir, the chairman of the committee of eight himself informed me, that he was opposed to the registry law; but, to my surprise, he voted against the instructions and the recommitment, and of course against the repeal. I trust I may be pardoned, if, under these circumstances, I venture again to remind gentlemen of the solemn obligations that rest upon them. We have sworn to support the constitution of the United States, and constitution of this State, and to discharge the duties of members of assembly according to the best of our abilities. Should not this duty be paramount to every party or other consideration? I charge members to be careful lest they push this matter too far. Oppressive legislation can be carried beyond endurance. Remonstrances and petitions have been sent up to this capitol, remonstrating against, and praying for a repeal of, the registry law, signed by a majority of the 43,000 legal voters of the city of New York. To them you have turned a deaf ear; and now, as one of their representatives, in their name and on their behalf, I demand redress for their wrongs, and if this just demand is not complied with, the day may not be far distant when they will renew that demand, and in such tones of thunder as will be both heard and felt throughout the whole State.*

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

Of the United States.

IN CONGRESS, July 8, 1778.

Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

ARTICLE 1. The style of this confederacy shall be, "*The United States of America.*"

ART. 2. Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in congress assembled.

ART. 3. The said states hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other,

* *Note to Mr. Swackhamer's Speech by the Editors.*—No one that understands the tricks and manœuvres of the federal whig leaders, can for a moment doubt but that their real intentions in *palming* on the city of New York the odious Registry Law, was for the sole purpose of destroying the votes of a large portion of the laboring classes, by harrassing them in such a manner as would prevent them from registering their names. In this we know they have succeeded to a very considerable extent—many working men not being able to bear the loss of time attending the registry of their names; besides this, rendering them the more liable to be called out by the *odious and oppressive* militia law. We trust that this law, as well as that of the registry, will not long be suffered to remain a disgrace on our statute book. But these are subjects that rest with the people themselves; they have the power to remedy the evil, and if they will not come forward to the polls (in the language of the venerable ex-Vice-President Johnson) and do the "*job*," the blame must rest on their own shoulders.

for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

ART. 4. § 1. The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different states in this union, the free inhabitants of each of these states, paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states; and the people of each state shall have free ingress and regress to and from any other state, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions, as the inhabitants thereof respectively; provided that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any state, to any other state of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided also, that no imposition, duties, or restriction, shall be laid by any state on the property of the United States, or either of them.

§ 2. If any person guilty of, or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor in any state, shall flee from justice and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon the demand of the governor or executive power of the state from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the state having jurisdiction of his offence.

§ 3. Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these states, to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other state.

ART. 5. § 1. For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the legislature of each state shall direct, to meet in congress on the first Monday in November in every year, with a power reserved to each state to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead, for the remainder of the year.

§ 2. No state shall be represented in congress by less than two, nor more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years, in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or any other for his benefit, receives any salary, fees, or emolument, of any kind.

§ 3. Each state shall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the states, and while they act as members of the committee of the states.

§ 4. In determining questions in the United States in congress assembled, each state shall have one vote.

§ 5. Freedom of speech and debate in congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of congress, and the members of congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonments during the time of their going to and from, and attendance on congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

ART. 6. § 1. No state, without the consent of the United States in congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy

from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance, or treaty, with any king, prince or state; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state; nor shall the United States in congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

§ 2. No two or more states shall enter into any treaty, confederation, or alliance whatever, between them, without the consent of the United States in congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

§ 3. No state shall lay any imposts or duties which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties, entered into by the United States in congress assembled, with any king, prince, or state, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by congress to the courts of France and Spain.

§ 4. No vessels of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any state, except such number only as shall be deemed necessary by the United States in congress assembled, for the defence of such state, or its trade: nor shall any body of forces be kept up, by any state, in time of peace, except such number only as, in the judgment of the United States in congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defence of such state; but every state shall always keep up a well regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutred, and shall provide and constantly have ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field-pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition, and camp equipage.

§ 5. No state shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States in congress assembled, unless each state be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such state, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of delay till the United States in congress assembled can be consulted; nor shall any state grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or state, and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in congress assembled, unless such state be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States in congress assembled shall determine otherwise.

ART. 7. When land forces are raised by any state for the common defence, all officers of or under the rank of colonel shall be appointed by the legislature of each state respectively by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such state shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the state which first made the appointment.

ART. 8. All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in congress assembled, shall be

defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several states, in proportion to the value of all land within each state, granted to or surveyed for any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated, according to such mode as the United States in congress assembled shall, from time to time, direct and appoint. The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied, by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several states within the time agreed upon by the United States in congress assembled.

ART. 9. § 1. The United States in congress assembled shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth article; of sending and receiving ambassadors; entering into treaties and alliances, provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made, whereby the legislative power of the respective states shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners, as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatsoever; of establishing rules for deciding in all cases, what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated; of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace; appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas; and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures; provided that no member of congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

§ 2. The United States in congress assembled shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting, or that hereafter may arise between two or more states concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following:—Whenever the legislative or executive authority or lawful agent of any state in controversy with another, shall present a petition to congress, stating the matter in question, and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other state in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint, by joint consent, commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question; but if they cannot agree, congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven nor more than nine names, as congress shall direct, shall, in the presence of congress, be drawn out by lot; and the persons whose names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges who shall hear the cause, shall agree in the determination: and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons which congress shall judge sufficient, or

being present, shall refuse to strike, the congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each state, and the secretary of congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court, to be appointed in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence, or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive; the judgment or sentence transmitted to congress, and lodged among the acts of congress, for the security of the parties concerned; provided, that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath, to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the state where the cause shall be tried, “well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favor, affection, or hope of reward.” Provided also, that no state shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

§ 3. All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more states, whose jurisdiction, as they may respect such lands, and the states which passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall, on the petition of either party to the congress of the United States, be finally determined, as near as may be, in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different states.

§ 4. The United States in congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective states; fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States; regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the states; provided that the legislative right of any state, within its own limits, be not infringed or violated; establishing and regulating post offices from one state to another, throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same, as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office; appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers; appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States; making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

§ 5. The United States in congress assembled shall have authority to appoint a committee, to sit in the recess of congress, to be denominated, “*A Committee of the States*,” and to consist of one delegate from each state; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction; to appoint one of their number to preside; provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three

years; to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses; to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective states an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted; to build and equip a navy; to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each state for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such state, which requisition shall be binding; and thereupon the legislature of each state shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men, clothe, arm, and equip them, in a soldierlike manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in congress assembled; but if the United States in congress assembled shall, on consideration of circumstances, judge proper that any state should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other state should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed, and equipped in the same manner as the quota of such state, unless the legislature of such state shall judge that such extra number cannot be safely spared out of the same, in which case they shall raise, officer, clothe, arm, and equip as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared, and the officers and men so clothed, armed and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in congress assembled.

§ 6. The United States in congress assembled shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defence and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander-in-chief of the army or navy, unless nine states assent to the same: nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day, be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States in congress assembled.

§ 7. The congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months, and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each state, on any question, shall be entered on the journal, when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a state, or any of them, at his or their request, shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the legislatures of the several states.

ART. 10. The committee of the states, or any

nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of congress, such of the powers of congress as the United States in congress assembled, by the consent of nine states, shall, from time to time, think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said committee, for the exercise of which, by the articles of confederation, the voice of nine states, in the congress of the United States assembled, is requisite.

ART. 11. Canada acceding to this confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to all the advantages of this union: but no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine states.

ART. 12. All bills of credit emitted, monies borrowed, and debts contracted by, or under the authority of congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

ART. 13. Every state shall abide by the determination of the United States in congress assembled, in all questions which by this confederation are submitted to them. And the articles of this confederation shall be inviolably observed by every state, and the union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them; unless such alteration be agreed to in a congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislature of every state.

AND WHEREAS it hath pleased the great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent in congress, to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify the said articles of confederation and perpetual union, Know YE, that we, the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do, by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said articles of confederation and perpetual union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained. And we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in congress assembled, in all questions which by the said confederation are submitted to them; and that the articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the states we respectively represent, and that the union shall be perpetual. In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands in congress.

Done at Philadelphia, in the state of Pennsylvania, the 9th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1778, and in the third year of the Independence of America.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Josiah Bartlett,
John Wentworth, jun.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

John Hancock,
Samuel Adams,
Elbridge Gerry,
Francis Dana,
James Lovell,
Samuel Holten.

Jona. Bayard Smith,
William Clingan,
Joseph Reed.

DELAWARE.

Thos. M'Kean,
John Dickinson,
Nicholas Van Dyke.

MARYLAND.

John Hanson,
Daniel Carroll.

RHODE ISLAND, &c.

William Ellery,
Henry Marchant,
John Collins.

CONNECTICUT.

Roger Sherman,
Samuel Huntington,
Oliver Wolcott,
Titus Hosmer,
Andrew Adams.

NEW YORK.

Jas. Duane,
Fra. Lewis,
Wm. Duer,
Gouv. Morris.

NEW JERSEY.

Jno. Witherspoon,
Nath. Scudder.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Robt. Morris,
Daniel Roberdeau,

VIRGINIA.

Richard Henry Lee,
John Banister,
Thomas Adams,
Jno. Harvie,
Francis Lightfoot Lee.

NORTH CAROLINA.

John Penn,
Cons. Harnett,
Jno. Williams.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Henry Laurens,
William Henry Drayton
Jno. Mathews,
Richard Hutson,
Thos. Heyward, jun.

GEORGIA.

Jno. Walton,
Edwd. Telfair,
Edwd. Langworthy.

ANDREW JACKSON—B. F. BUTLER, &c.

The recklessness of modern whiggery, politically speaking, leaves nothing unturned to *blacken* and destroy the character, reputation, &c. of those who may oppose their designs to *rob* the producing and working classes of their rights and liberties. To do this most effectually, the Federal Whig prints generally first attempt to blacken, villify and misrepresent the course pursued by some of the most prominent men in the Democratic party. On the occasion immediately under consideration, Gen. Jackson and Mr. Butler are selected as the victims of *Federal malice*.

It will no doubt be recollected by our readers, that in the fall of 1840 the New York American and the National Intelligencer made certain charges against Mr. Butler, "touching his conduct as Attorney General of the United States." One great object of this *crusade* was to defame the venerable Jackson, by misrepresenting his administration, &c. The following are the principal charges the editors of the above-named papers brought against Mr. Butler:—That he had in several cases lent his official station to uphold the views of President Jackson—that he had altered and reversed opinions he had previously given, and that this was done at the instigation of Gen. Jackson. Immediately after these charges had been made, Mr. Butler made a general denial as to their truth, &c., and at the same time "promised at some proper and convenient season to lay before the public a full and explicit refutation of these charges." Mr. Butler has now done so, and published the same in the Evening Post of the 20th November, which refutation is sufficient to stamp his enemies as *vile*.

We regret that the limits of our journal do not permit us to give Mr. Butler's complete refutation

entire, but we give his letter to the editors of the Evening Post and to Gen. Jackson, also the old venerated hero's reply, which is of itself a sufficient refutation of the slanders of Messrs. King, Gales & Co.

To the Editors of the New York Evening Post:

GENTLEMEN:—I send you, herewith, two letters intended for publication, which, with the correspondence between General Jackson and myself accompanying the first of them, I will thank you to insert in your paper.

I am exceedingly reluctant to make so large a demand on your columns; and if I supposed that the vindication of my conduct in the matters treated of in these papers, was only of interest to my personal or political friends, you may be sure the request would not have been made. The public, however, have some interest in the refutation of calumny, whoever may be its object; and it is not only important to historic truth, but, in some degree, to the successful working of our system, that the American people should distinctly understand in what manner high official trusts, committed to their public servants, have been discharged. In view of these considerations, I hope it will not be thought obtrusive or unreasonable, to ask that share of the public attention which I have now invoked.

I am, gentlemen,

Your obedient serv't,

B. F. BUTLER.

New York, November 19th, 1841.

STUYVESANT, Columbia Co., N. Y. }
August 18th, 1841. }

MY DEAR SIR—Herewith you will receive a copy of a letter intended for the public eye, but which, for reasons stated at its close, I think it proper first to submit to your perusal. You will find, I trust, in the purpose I have in view, a sufficient motive for this exposition and for the request, that you will inform me how far it corresponds with your own recollection.

I am, dear Sir, with the highest respect and regard, faithfully yours,

B. F. BUTLER.

GEN. ANDREW JACKSON, Ex-Prest. U. S., Hermitage, Tenn.

HERMITAGE, Sept. 22nd, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR—I have just received your letter of the 18th of August last, enclosing, for my perusal, the notice you have taken, in a communication addressed to H. Bleecker, Esq., of certain charges made upon your character, growing out of your official conduct as a member of my Cabinet.

I thank you for the opportunity thus afforded me, of saying that my recollection agrees with yours in the statement of facts on which your vindication rests. Every unprejudiced mind must perceive that, in the case of the Railroad Company, it was my duty to call your attention to the error of fact alluded to by you, because it was certainly necessary to a correct understanding, if not decisive, of the merits of the whole controversy. And to suppose that an opinion, formed upon such an error of fact, might not be altered or modified, when it was corrected, without subjecting you or myself to the gross accusation preferred by Mr.

Coxe and Mr. Bond, implies a degree of blindness and inalignity unworthy of an ingenuous or honorable mind.

It is fortunate, that in the other cases as well as this, written evidence of both your agency and mine was preserved. That evidence, whenever stated in the just manner in which you have done it, will be a triumphant answer to the defamation to which you have been subjected.

You have done but justice, however, to yourself, in the mild terms you have employed to show that in these transactions there is no ground for the insinuation that your opinions were swayed by the President. I can safely say, that there was never an occasion during your official connexion with me, when such an insinuation would not have been calumnious. In all our discussions and consultations, I refer with pride to your candor and independence. These virtues gave value to your friendship, and led me, in many cases, to give a direction to my official action, different from what my first impressions suggested, and better calculated to secure the public interest.

In making this declaration, I fear not the malignity which can ascribe it to any other motive than a conscientious sense of justice. I shall soon be withdrawn from the theatre of earthly affairs, and doubt not that my countrymen, however much they may be now divided by party differences, will give to my testimony the credence it deserves.

You were with me in many of the most trying difficulties of my Presidency, and know with what anxiety I endeavored to pursue the path of duty. That I was never wrong, I pretend not to say; but never did I so far forget my duty to my country or to my God, as to require you or any other Cabinet adviser, to shape or form his opinion on any subject to suit my own.

I remain, your friend,

ANDREW JACKSON.

B. F. BUTLER, Esq., &c. &c.

Mr. Woodbury on Early Federalism and Democracy.—We copy the following from Mr. Woodbury's speech, delivered at Faneuil Hall, Boston.

"From the first we had the misfortune to possess statesmen among us who aspired more to independence than Republicanism. Rebels, if you please, against George the Third, but not rebels against monarchy—converts, if you please, to revolution, but not to Democracy. They remained the worshippers of old systems, and wedded to ancient forms, and distrusted the capacity of man for self-government. It is not to be concealed that some were still monarchists, doubtless honest monarchists, but still monarchists—some aristocrats, and honest, but still aristocrats—some disciples in all things of Alexander Hamilton, not only in the United States Bank and funding system, but in his high-toned notions of Government and society—content with what existed, rather than seeking more—with what was established, rather than urging improvement—with what was literary, fashionable, or savoring of good society, rather than aiming to instruct better and elevate higher the masses—advocates of more power to the Executive and stronger Government, instead of the governed being more intelligent and privi-

leged—in fine, Federalists in principle—honest Federalists often, but still Federalists. They were not the apostate, bastard, corrupt recreants, who have frequently, for the loaves and fishes of office—mere plunder and pelf—joined, and controlled, and disgraced Federalism of late years. (Great cheering.) No! They were sincere followers of the old school, and highly respectable in private as well as in public life, for talents and virtue, however misled and dangerous in their political opinions in a republican Government.

"The Democratic party on the other hand, have felt bound from the outset, and still do, to oppose such unjust theories, and such a stationary policy, as well as measures so unequal. In short, they consider them hostile to our form of Government, and the true spirit of our Constitution, no less than the most vital interests of the citizens at large, and also as behind the progress of the age—as false to the rights of man—as opposed to the spread of civilization—and more than this, as illiberal and anti-Christian in all their tendencies. (Cheers.) Such, then, is our general cause—such theirs. Such is that of our liberal co-laborers through the world, against the antagonist party under every Protean shape which power and deception can devise."

Bank of the United States—Seven Millions Lost in Electioneering!—It is now ascertained beyond a doubt, and it may be found on *nine folio pages* of the ledger of the Bank, that out of *twenty-one millions* of "suspended debt," *seven millions* have been squandered for electioneering purposes!

We state, upon good authority, that this broken Bank has been in the constant habit of loaning its monies, as long as it had any, to prominent Federal Whig Politicians, and, for the present, annex a few of their names, who partook of the *seven millions of dollars*, viz:—

To Col. Kickapoo, - - -	\$250,000!!
To Daniel the Godlike, - - -	110,000!!
To ——— Riddle, - - -	100,000!!
To ——— Ewing, - - -	200,000!!
To General St. John, - - -	300,000!!
To ——— Tyson, a large sum!!	

Say in all, to these, \$1,000,000!!

The balance *six millions* was squandered in the same way to politicians chiefly in 1839 and 1840, to elect *Harrison and Tyler!!* Of the 110,000 to the "Godlike," 28,000 dollars is for *over-drafts!!* This proves clearly that the whole capital stock was not lost in *cotton speculations and fancy stocks*, but in those two evils and in *electioneering!!* What a comment upon the letters of Biddle and the doings of the committee—both suppress important facts, that honesty calls loudly for a full and clear exposure of, that the people may know where the money of the widow and orphan has gone to.—*Phila. Times.*

Harmony of Interests and Opinions.—The Express has the following honest confession:

"A Tory ministry in England, and a Whig ministry in the United States, is the only kind of ministry that can be relied upon to do justice to America."

THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC GUIDE.



The blessings of Government, like the dews of Heaven, should be dispensed alike on high and low, the rich and the poor.

The privilege of self-government is one which the people will never be permitted to enjoy unmolested. Power and wealth are continually stealing from the many to the few.

JACKSON.

WILLIAM LEGGETT.

VOL. I.

JANUARY, 1842.

No. III.

Extracts from Wirt's Sketches of the Life of Patrick Henry, (with a few additional notes, &c.,) showing that the lamented Henry was the first man that really set the ball in motion, and that he, with the aid of other Whigs of 1776, rolled it until the Independence of these United States were finally achieved, &c.—Our having quoted Patrick Henry in our prospectus has caused numbers of our subscribers to request us to “furnish some account of the doings and times of Patrick Henry.” In compliance with this request—and it being one of the fundamental principles, in conducting this journal, to lay before the people all possible information, in a condensed manner, respecting the early causes which led to the revolt against the mother country, and which finally resulted in the Independence of these United States—we deem it advisable to present to our subscribers the *deeds* done to achieve that noble benefit to mankind; also to stimulate our readers to manfully support and defend the principles of *equal rights* and the *equal privileges* which Patrick Henry and a host of other worthies devoted their lives and fortunes for. And to preserve them inviolate, we earnestly call on the producing and working classes. We say the producing classes, for the very reason of seeing and witnessing the aristocracy of our country forging chains to put round the neck of the working man. The chains we particularly speak of are not manufactured out of steel or iron. No, no; on the contrary, they are made out of a *composition of gold dross and rags*, which, when welded together, are beat out into paper *promises*. These promises are capital

stuff to convert into a National Bank or Fiscal Agent; and, if not smothered in embryo, will most assuredly, immediately after its birth, compel the people to wear the chains that have so long been forging for them. When Patrick Henry saw similar dangers threatening the people in his day, he in a voice of *thunder*, which even shook the monarch on his throne, *exclaimed*, “give me liberty, or give me death.” So we say to the people of our day, *emulate the deeds and example* set by Patrick Henry, as detailed in the following pages, and our country may again be *plucked* from the *grasp* of aristocracy, &c.

“His propensity to observe and comment upon the human character was, so far as I can learn, the only circumstance which distinguished him, advantageously, from his youthful companions. This propensity seems to have been born with him, and to have exerted itself, instinctively, the moment that a new subject was presented to his view. Its action was incessant, and it became, at length, almost the only intellectual exercise in which he seemed to take delight. To this cause may be traced that consummate knowledge of the human heart which he finally attained, and which enabled him, when he came upon the public stage, to touch the springs of passion with a master-hand, and to control the resolutions and decisions of his hearers with a power almost more than mortal.

“From what has been already stated, it will be seen how little education had to do with the formation of this great man's mind. He was, indeed, a mere child of nature; and nature seems to have been too proud and too jealous of her work, to permit it to be touched by the hand of art. She gave him Shakspeare's genius, and bade him, like Shakspeare, to depend on that alone. Let not the youthful reader, however, deduce, from the example of Mr. Henry, an argument

in favour of indolence and the contempt of study. Let him remember that the powers which surmounted the disadvantage of those early habits were such as very rarely appear upon this earth. Let him remember, too, how long the genius, even of Mr. Henry, was kept down and hidden from the public view, by the sorcery of those pernicious habits; through what years of poverty and wretchedness they doomed him to struggle; and let him remember that, at length, when in the zenith of his glory, Mr. Henry himself had frequent occasions to deplore the consequences of his early neglect of literature, and to bewail 'the ghosts of his departed hours.' "

"At the early age of eighteen we find him married to a Miss Shelton, the daughter of an honest farmer in the neighbourhood, but in circumstances too poor to contribute effectually to her support. By the joint assistance of their parents, however, the young couple were settled on a small farm; and here, with the assistance of one or two slaves, Mr. Henry had to delve the earth with his own hands for subsistence. Such are the vicissitudes of human life! It is curious to contemplate this giant genius, destined in a few years to guide the councils of a mighty nation, but unconscious of the intellectual treasures which he possessed, encumbered, at the early age of eighteen, with the cares of a family; obscure, unknown, and almost unpitied; digging, with wearied limbs and with an aching heart, a small spot of barren earth, for bread, and blessing the hour of night which relieved him from toil. Little could the wealthy and great of the land, as they rolled along the highway in splendour, and beheld the young rustic at work in the coarse garb of a labourer, covered with dust and melting in the sun, have suspected that this was the man who was destined not only to humble their pride, but to make the prince himself tremble on his distant throne, and to shake the brightest jewels from the British crown. Little, indeed, could he himself have suspected it; for, amid the distresses which thickened around him at this time, and threatened him not only with obscurity, but with famine, no hopes came to cheer the gloom, nor did there remain to him any earthly consolation, save that which he found in the bosom of his own family. Fortunately for him, there never was a heart which felt this consolation with greater force. No man ever possessed the domestic virtues in a higher degree, or enjoyed, more exquisitely, those pure delights which flow from the endearing relations of conjugal life."

"His reading, however, began to assume a more serious character. He studied geography, in which it is said that he became an adept. He read also the charters and history of the colony. He became fond of historical works generally, particularly those of Greece and Rome; and, from the tenacity of his memory and the strength of his judgment, soon made himself a perfect master of their contents. Livy was his favourite; and having procured a translation, he became so much enamoured of the work, that he made it a standing rule to read it through, once at least in every year, during the early part of his life.* The grandeur of the Roman character, so beautifully exhibited by Livy, filled him with surprise and admiration; and he was particularly enraptured with those vivid descriptions and eloquent harangues with which the work abounds. Fortune could scarcely have thrown in his way a book better fitted to foster his re-

publican spirit, and awaken the still dormant powers of his genius; and it seems not improbable, that the lofty strain in which he himself afterward both spoke and acted, was, if not originally inspired, at least highly raised, by the noble models set before him by this favourite author.

"This second mercantile experiment was still more unfortunate than the first. In a few years it left him a bankrupt, and placed him in a situation, than which it is difficult to conceive one more wretched. Every atom of his property was now gone, his friends were unable to assist him any farther; he had tried every means of support of which he could suppose himself capable, and every one had failed; ruin was behind him; poverty, debt, want, and famine before; and, as if his cup of misery were not already full enough, here were a suffering wife and children to make it overflow.

"But with all his acuteness of feeling, Mr. Henry possessed great native firmness of character; and, let me add, great reliance, too, on that unseen arm which never long deserts the faithful. Thus supported, he was able to bear up under the heaviest pressure of misfortune, and even to be cheerful under circumstances which would sink most other men into despair.

"It was at this period of his fortunes that Mr. Jefferson became acquainted with him; and the reader, I am persuaded, will be gratified with that gentleman's own account of it. These are his words: 'My acquaintance with Mr. Henry commenced in the winter of 1759-60. On my way to the college, I passed the Christmas holidays at Col. Dandridge's, in Hanover, to whom Mr. Henry was a near neighbour. During the festivity of the season, I met him in society every day, and we became well acquainted, although I was much his junior, being then in my seventeenth year, and he a married man. His manners had something of coarseness in them; his passion was music, dancing, and pleasantry. He excelled in the last, and it attached every one to him. You ask some account of his mind and information at this period; but you will recollect that we were almost continually engaged in the usual revelries of the season. The occasion, perhaps, as much as his idle disposition, prevented his engaging in any conversation which might give the measure either of his mind or information. Opportunity was not, indeed, wholly wanting; because Mr. John Campbell was there, who had married Mrs. Spotswood, the sister of Col. Dandridge. He was a man of science, and often introduced conversation on scientific subjects. Mr. Henry had, a little before, broken up his store, or rather it had broken him up; but his misfortunes were not to be traced either in his countenance or conduct.'

"This cheerfulness of spirit, under a reverse of fortune so severe, is certainly a very striking proof of the manliness of his character. It is not, indeed, easy to conceive that a mind like Mr. Henry's could finally sink under any pressure of adversity. Such a mind, although it may not immediately perceive whither to direct its efforts, must always possess a consciousness of power sufficient to buoy it above despondency. But, be this as it may, of Mr. Henry it was certainly true, as Doctor Johnson has observed of Swift, that 'he was not one of those who, having lost one part of life in idleness, are tempted to throw away the remainder in despair.'

"It seems to be matter of surprise, that even yet, amid all these various struggles for subsistence, the powers of his mind had not so far developed themselves as to suggest to any friend the pursuit for which he

* Judge Nelson had this statement from Mr. Henry himself.

was formed. He seems to have been a plant of slow growth, but, like other plants of that nature, formed for duration, and fitted to endure the buffetings of the rudest storm.

"It was now, when all other experiments had failed, that, as a last effort, he determined, of his own accord, to make a trial of the law. No one expected him to succeed in any eminent degree. His unfortunate habits were, by no means, suited to so laborious a profession: and even if it were not too late in life for him to hope to master its learning, the situation of his affairs forbade an extensive course of reading."

"Mr. Henry, himself, seems to have hoped for nothing more from the profession than a scanty subsistence for himself and his family, and his preparation was suited to these humble expectations; for to the study of a profession, which is said to require the lucubrations of twenty years, Mr. Henry devoted not more than six weeks.* On this preparation, however, he obtained a license to practise the law. How he passed with two of the examiners, I have no intelligence; but he himself used to relate his interview with the third. This was no other than Mr. John Randolph, who was afterward the king's attorney-general for the colony; a gentleman of the most courtly elegance of person and manners, a polished wit, and a profound lawyer. At first, he was so much shocked by Mr. Henry's very ungainly figure and address, that he refused to examine him: understanding, however, that he had already obtained two signatures, he entered, with manifest reluctance, on the business. A very short time was sufficient to satisfy him of the erroneous conclusion which he had drawn from the exterior of the candidate. With evident marks of increasing surprise, (produced, no doubt, by the peculiar texture and strength of Mr. Henry's style, and the boldness and originality of his combinations,) he continued the examination for several hours; interrogating the candidate, not on the principles of municipal law, in which he no doubt soon discovered his deficiency, but on the laws of nature and of nations; on the policy of the feudal system, and on general history, which last he found to be his strong hold. During the very short portion of the examination which was devoted to the common law, Mr. Randolph dissented, or affected to dissent, from one of Mr. Henry's answers, and called upon him to assign the reasons of his opinion. This produced an argument; and Mr. Randolph now played off on him the same arts which he himself had so often practised on his country customers; drawing him out by questions, endeavouring to puzzle him by subtleties, assailing him with declamation, and watching continually the defensive operations of his mind. After a considerable discussion, he said, 'you defend your opinions well, sir; but now to the law and to the testimony.' Hereupon he carried him to his office, and opening the authorities, said to him, 'behold the force of natural reason; you have never seen these books, nor this principle of the law; yet you are right and I am wrong; and from the lesson which you have given me (you must excuse me for saying it) I will never trust to appearances again. Mr. Henry, if your industry be only half equal to your genius, I augur that you will do well, and become an ornament and an honour to your profession.' It was always Mr. Henry's belief that Mr. Randolph had affected this dif-

ference of opinion, merely to afford him the pleasure of a triumph, and to make some atonement for the wound which his first repulse had inflicted."

"It was at the age of four-and-twenty that Mr. Henry obtained his license. Of the science of law he knew almost nothing: of the practical part he was so wholly ignorant, that he was not only unable to draw a declaration or a plea, but incapable, it is said, of the most common or simple business of his profession, even of the mode of ordering a suit, giving a notice, or making a motion in court. It is not at all wonderful, therefore, that such a novice, opposed as he was by veterans covered with the whole armour of the law, should linger in the background for three years.

"During this time the wants and distresses of his family were extreme. The profits of his practice could not have supplied them even with the necessities of life; and he seems to have spent the greatest part of his time, both of his study of the law and the practice of the first two or three years, with his father-in-law, Mr. Shelton, who then kept the tavern at Hanover court-house. Whenever Mr. Shelton was from home, Mr. Henry supplied his place in the tavern, received the guests, and attended to their entertainment. All this was very natural in Mr. Henry's situation, and seems to have been purely the voluntary movement of his naturally kind and obliging disposition. Hence, however, a story has arisen, that in the early part of his life he was a barkeeper by profession. The fact seems not to have been so: but if it had been, it would certainly have redounded much more to his honour than to his discredit; for as Mr. Henry owed no part of his distinction either to birth or fortune, but wholly to himself, the deeper the obscurity and poverty from which he emerged, the stronger is the evidence which it bears to his powers, and the greater glory does it shed around him.

"About the time of Mr. Henry's coming to the bar, a controversy arose in Virginia, which gradually produced a very strong excitement, and called to it, at length, the attention of the whole state.

"This was the famous controversy between the clergy on the one hand, and the legislature of the people of the colony on the other, touching the stipend claimed by the former; and this was the occasion on which Mr. Henry's genius first broke forth."

"Suits were accordingly brought by them, in the various county courts of the colony, to recover their stipends in the specific tobacco. They selected the county of Hanover as the place of the first experiment; and this was made in a suit instituted by the Rev. James Maury, against the collector of that county and his sureties. The record of this suit is now before me. The declaration is founded on the act of 1748 which gives the tobacco; the defendants pleaded

* So say Mr. Jefferson and Judge Winston. Mr. Pope says nine months. Col. Meredith and Capt. Dabney, six or eight months. Judge Tyler, one month; and he adds, "This I had from his own lips. In this time, he read Coke upon Littleton, and the Virginia laws."

* A detail of the controversy here alluded to would occupy too large a space in our journal; therefore we simply state that the "parsons" were determined to have their real or pretended *tithes* of that noble plant, *tobacco*; for this purpose they brought suits (for its recovery) against those who had dared to disobey the law of "Church and State." On the other hand, the people viewed the law *arbitrary* and *unjust*, therefore manfully resisted its enforcement, and called to their aid, as council to defend them, a *raw country lawyer* to plead their cause, and that too against gentlemen of the highest talent and learning in the law, in addition to which the *wealthy* and *aristocracy* of the country were arrayed against him. But, notwithstanding all this pomp and show, Patrick Henry could not be driven from his moorings; on the contrary, as will be seen by the following narrative of the *trial* that took place, he scattered his opponents like chaff before the wind, and gained a name and character that will be held in the highest esteem and remembrance to the latest posterity.—Eds. p. a.

specially the act of 1758, which authorizes the commutation into money, at sixteen and eight pence: to this plea the plaintiff demurred; assigning for causes of demurrer, first, that the act of 1758, not having received the royal assent, had not the force of a law; and, secondly, that the king, in council, had declared that act null and void. The case stood for argument on the demurrer to the November term, 1763, and was argued by Mr. Lyons for the plaintiff, and Mr. John Lewis for the defendants; when the court, very much to the credit of their candour and firmness, breasted the popular current by sustaining the demurrer. Thus far the clergy sailed before the wind, and concluded, with good reason, that their triumph was complete: for the act of 1758 having been declared void by the judgment on the demurrer, that of 1748 was left in full force, and became, in law, the only standard for the finding of the jury. Mr. Lewis was so thoroughly convinced of this, that he retired from the cause; informing his clients that it had been, in effect, decided against them, and that there remained nothing more for him to do. In this desperate situation they applied to Patrick Henry, and he undertook to argue it for them before the jury, at the ensuing term. Accordingly, on the first day of the following December, he attended the court, and, on his arrival, found on the court-yard such a concourse as would have appalled any other man in his situation. They were not the people of the county merely who were there, but visitors from all the counties, to a considerable distance around. The decision upon the demurrer had produced a violent ferment among the people, and equal exultation on the part of the clergy; who attended the court in a large body, either to look down opposition, or to enjoy the final triumph of this hard-fought contest, which they now considered as perfectly secure. Among many other clergymen who attended on this occasion, came the Reverend Patrick Henry, who was the plaintiff in another cause of the same nature, then depending in court. When Mr. Henry saw his uncle approach, he walked up to his carriage, accompanied by Col. Meredith, and expressed his regret at seeing him there. 'Why so?' inquired the uncle. 'Because, sir,' said Mr. Henry, "you know that I have never yet spoken in public, and I fear that I shall be too much overawed by your presence, to be able to do my duty to my clients; besides, sir, I shall be obliged to say some *hard things* of the clergy, and I am very unwilling to give pain to your feelings.' His uncle reproved him for having engaged in the cause; which Mr. Henry excused by saying, that the clergy had not thought him worthy of being retained on their side, and he knew of no moral principle by which he was bound to refuse a fee from their adversaries; besides, he confessed that, in this controversy, both his heart and judgment, as well as his professional duty, were on the side of the people: he then requested that his uncle would do him the favour to leave the ground. 'Why, Patrick,' said the old gentleman, with a good-natured smile, 'as to *your saying hard things* of the clergy, I advise you to let that alone—take my word for it, you will do yourself more harm than you will them; and as to my leaving the ground, I fear, my boy, that my presence could neither do you harm nor good in such a cause. However, since you seem to think otherwise, and desire it of me so earnestly, you shall be gratified.' Whereupon he entered his carriage again, and returned home.

"Soon after the opening of the court, the cause was called. It stood on a writ of inquiry of damages, no plea having been entered by the defendants since the

judgment on the demurrer. The array before Mr. Henry's eyes was now most fearful. On the bench sat more than twenty clergymen, the most learned men in the colony, and the most capable, as well as the severest critics before whom it was possible for him to have made his *début*. The court-house was crowded with an overwhelming multitude, and surrounded with an immense and anxious throng, who, not finding room to enter, were endeavouring to listen without, in the deepest attention. But there was something still more awfully disconcerting than all this; for in the chair of the presiding magistrate sat no other person than his own father. Mr. Lyons opened the cause very briefly: in the way of argument he did nothing more than explain to the jury that the decision upon the demurrer had put the act of 1758 entirely out of the way, and left the law of 1748 as the only standard of their damages; he then concluded with a highly-wrought eulogium on the benevolence of the clergy. And now came on the first trial of Patrick Henry's strength. No one had ever heard him speak, and curiosity was on tip-toe. He rose very awkwardly, and faltered much in his exordium. The people hung their heads at so unpromising a commencement; the clergy were observed to exchange sly looks with each other; and his father is described as having almost sunk with confusion, from his seat. But these feelings were of short duration, and soon gave place to others, of a very different character. For now were those wonderful faculties which he possessed for the first time developed; and now was first witnessed that mysterious and almost supernatural transformation of appearance, which the fire of his own eloquence never failed to work in him. For as his mind rolled along, and began to glow from its own action, all the *exuvia* of the clown seemed to shed themselves spontaneously. His attitude, by degrees, became erect and lofty. The spirit of his genius awakened all his features. His countenance shone with a nobleness and grandeur which it had never before exhibited. There was a lightning in his eyes which seemed to rive the spectator. His action became graceful, bold, and commanding; and in the tones of his voice, but more especially in his emphasis, there was a peculiar charm, a magic, of which any one who ever heard him will speak as soon as he is named, but of which no one can give any adequate description. They can only say that it struck upon the ear and upon the heart *in a manner which language cannot tell*. Add to all these, his wonder-working fancy, and the peculiar phraseology in which he clothed its images; for he painted to the heart with a force that almost petrified it. In the language of those who heard him on this occasion, 'he made their blood run cold, and their hair to rise on end.'

"It will not be difficult for any one, who ever heard this most extraordinary man, to believe the whole account of this transaction which is given by his surviving hearers; and from their account, the court-house of Hanover county must have exhibited, on this occasion, a scene as picturesque as has been ever witnessed in real life. They say that the people whose countenance had fallen as he arose, had heard but a very few sentences before they began to look up; then to look at each other with surprise, as if doubting the evidence of their own senses; then, attracted by some strong gesture, struck by some majestic attitude, fascinated by the spell of his eye, the charm of his emphasis, and the varied and commanding expression of his countenance, they could look away no more. In less than twenty minutes they might be seen in every

part of the house, on every bench, in every window, stooping forward from their stands, in death-like silence; their features fixed in amazement and awe; all their senses listening and riveted upon the speaker, as if to catch the last strain of some heavenly visitant. The mockery of the clergy was soon turned into alarm; their triumph into confusion and despair; and at one burst of his rapid and overwhelming invective, they fled from the bench in precipitation and terror. As for the father, such was his surprise, such his amazement, such his rapture, that, forgetting where he was, and the character which he was filling, tears of ecstasy streamed down his cheeks, without the power or inclination to repress them.

"The jury seem to have been so completely bewildered, that they lost sight not only of the act of 1748, but that of 1758 also; for, thoughtless even of the admitted right of the plaintiff, they had scarcely left the bar, when they returned with a verdict of *one penny damages*. A motion was made for a new trial; but the court too, had now lost the equipoise of their judgment, and overruled the motion by a unanimous vote. The verdict and judgment overruling the motion, were followed by redoubled acclamations, from within and without the house. The people, who had with difficulty kept their hands off their champion, from the moment of closing his harangue, no sooner saw the fate of the cause finally sealed, than they seized him at the bar, and, in spite of his own exertions, and the continued cry of 'order' from the sheriffs and the court, they bore him out of the court-house, and raising him on their shoulders, carried him about the yard in a kind of electioneering triumph.

"O! what a scene was this for a father's heart! so sudden; so unlooked-for; so delightfully overwhelming! At the time, he was not able to give utterance to any sentiment; but a few days after, when speaking of it to Mr. Winston,* he said, with the most engaging modesty, and with a tremor of voice, which showed how much more he felt than he expressed, 'Patrick spoke in this cause near an hour! and in a manner that surprised me! and showed himself well informed on a subject, of which I did not think he had any knowledge!'"

"It was such a speech as they believe had never before fallen from the lips of man; and to this day the old people of that county cannot conceive that a higher compliment can be paid to a speaker than to say of him, in their own homely phrase, '*he is almost equal to Patrick, when he plead against the parsons.*'"

"Immediately on the decision of this cause, he was retained in all the cases, within the range of his practice, which depended on the same question. But no other case was ever brought to trial. They were all, throughout the colony, dismissed by the plaintiffs."

"The clergy took their revenge in an angry pamphlet from the pen of Mr. Camm, in which a very contemptuous account is given both of the advocate and the court. Mr. Henry is stigmatized in it as *an obscure attorney*; and the epithet was true enough as to the time past, but it was now true no longer. His sun had risen with a splendour which had never before been witnessed in this colony; and never afterward did it disgrace this glorious rising."

"It is almost unnecessary to state that the display which Mr. Henry had made in '*the parsons' cause*,' as it was popularly called, placed him at once at the head of his profession in that quarter of the colony in which he practised. He became the theme of every

tongue. He had exhibited a degree of eloquence which the people had never before witnessed; a species of eloquence, too, entirely new at the bar, and altogether his own. He had formed it on no living model, for there was none such in the country. He had not copied it from books, for they had described nothing of the kind."

"Mr. Henry had too much sagacity not to see this advantage, and too much good sense not to keep and to improve it. He seems to have formed to himself, very early in life, just views of society, and to have acted upon them with the most laudable system and perseverance. He regarded government as instituted solely for the good of the people, and not for the benefit of those who had contrived to make a job of it. He looked upon the body of the people, therefore, as the *basis* of society, the fountain of all power, and, directly or indirectly, of all offices and honours which had been instituted originally for *their* use. He made it no secret, therefore, nay, he made it his boast, that on every occasion 'he bowed to the majesty of the people.' With regard to himself, he saw, very distinctly, that all his hopes rested on the people's favour. He therefore adhered to them with unshaken fidelity. He retained their manners, their customs, all their modes of life, with religious caution. He dressed as plainly as the plainest of them; ate only the homely fare, and drank the simple beverage of the country; mixed with them on a footing of the most entire and perfect equality."

"The simplicity of his manners; the benevolence of his disposition; the integrity of his life; his real devotion to their best interests; that uncommon sagacity which enabled him to discern those interests in every situation; and the unshaken constancy with which he pursued them, in spite of every difficulty and danger that could threaten him. From the point of time of which we are now speaking, it is very certain that he suffered no gale of fortune, however high or prosperous, to separate him from the people. Nor did the people, on their part, ever desert him. He was the man to whom they looked in every crisis of difficulty, and the favourite on whom they were ever ready to lavish all the honours in their gift.

"Middleton, in his life of Cicero, tells us that the first great speech of that orator, his defence of Roscius of America, was made at the age of twenty-seven; the same age, he adds, at which the learned have remarked, that Demosthenes distinguished himself in the assembly of the Athenians: 'As if this were the age' (I quote his own words) 'at which these great genios regularly bloomed toward maturity.' It is rather curious, than important, to observe, that Mr. Henry furnishes another instance in support of this theory; since it was precisely in the same year of his life that *his* talents first became known to himself and to the world. Nor let the admirer of antiquity revolt at our coupling the name of Henry with those of Cicero and Demosthenes: it can be no degradation to the orator either of Greece or Rome, that his name stands enrolled on the same page with that of a man of whom such a judge of eloquence as Mr. Jefferson has said, that '*he was the greatest orator that ever lived.*'"

"In the fall of 1764 Mr. Henry had an opportunity of exhibiting himself on a new theatre. A contest occurred in the house of burgesses, in the case of Mr. James Littlepage, the returned member for the county of Hanover. The rival candidate and petitioner was Nathaniel West Dandridge. The charge against Mr. Littlepage was bribery and corruption. The parties were heard by their counsel, before the committee of

* The present Judge Winston.

privileges and elections, and Mr. Henry was on this occasion employed by Mr. Dandridge.

"Williamsburg, then the seat of government, was the *focus* of fashion and high life. The residence of the governor, (the immediate representative of the sovereign,) the royal state in which he lived, the polite and brilliant circle which he always had about him, diffused their influence through the city and the circumjacent country, and filled Williamsburg with a degree of emulation, taste, and elegance, of which we can form no conception by the appearances of the present day. During the session of the house of burgesses, too, these stately modes of life assumed their richest forms; the town was filled with a concourse of visitors, as well as citizens, attired in their gayest colours; the streets exhibited a continual scene of animated and glittering tumult; the houses, of costly profusion.

"Such was the scene in which Mr. Henry was now called upon, for the first time, to make his appearance. He made no preparation for it, but went down just in the kind of garb which he had been accustomed to exhibit all his life, and is said to have worn on this occasion particularly, a suit which had suffered very considerably in the service. The contrast which he exhibited with the general elegance of the place, was so striking as to call upon him the eyes of all the curious and the mischievous; and, as he moved awkwardly about in his coarse and threadbare dress, with a countenance of abstraction and total unconcern as to what was passing around him, (interesting as it seemed to every one else,) he was stared at by some as a prodigy, and regarded by others as an unfortunate being whose senses were disordered. When he went to attend the committee of privileges and elections, the matter was still worse. 'The proud airs of aristocracy,' says Judge Tyler, detailing this incident of Mr. Henry's life, 'added to the dignified forms of that truly august body, were enough to have deterred any man possessing less firmness and independence of spirit than Mr. Henry. He was ushered with great state and ceremony into the room of the committee, whose chairman was Col. Bland. Mr. Henry was dressed in very coarse apparel; no one knew anything of him,* and scarcely was he treated with decent respect by any one except the chairman, who could not do so much violence to his feelings and principles as to depart, on any occasion, from the delicacy of the gentleman. But the general contempt was soon changed into as general admiration; for Mr. Henry distinguished himself by a copious and brilliant display on the great subject of the rights of suffrage, superior to anything that had been heard before within those walls. Such a burst of eloquence, from a man so very plain and ordinary in his appearance, struck the committee with amazement; so that a deep and perfect silence took place during the speech, and not a sound but from his lips was to be heard in the room.'

"This same year, 1764, is memorable for the origination of that great question which led finally to the independence of the United States. It has been said by a gentleman, at least as well qualified to judge as any other now alive,† that 'Mr. Henry certainly gave the first impulse to the ball of the revolution.' In order to show the correctness of this position, it is proper to ascertain the precise point to which the controversy with Great Britain had advanced, when Mr.

Henry first presented himself in the character of a statesman.

"In March, 1764, the British parliament had passed resolutions, preparatory to the levying a revenue on the colonies by a stamp tax. These resolutions were communicated to the house of burgesses of Virginia, through their committee of correspondence, by the colonial agent; and having been maturely considered, resulted in the appointment of a special committee to prepare an address to the king, a memorial to the lords, and a remonstrance to the house of commons. On the 18th of December, 1764, these papers were reported, and (after various amendments, which considerably diluted their spirit) received the concurrence of the council. The reader will perceive, on perusing them, that, while they affirm, in clear and strong terms, the constitutional exemption of the colony from taxation by the British parliament, they breathe, nevertheless, a tone so suppliant, and exhibit such a picture of anticipated suffering from the pressure of the tax on the exhausted resources of the colony, as to indicate that no opposition beyond remonstrance was, at this time, meditated. Remonstrance, however, was vain. In January, 1765, the famous stamp act was passed, to take effect in the colonies on the first of November following. The annunciation of this measure seems at first to have stunned the continent, from one extremity to the other. The presses which spread the intelligence among the people were themselves manifestly confounded; and so far from inspiring the energy of resistance, they seemed rather disposed to have looked out for topics of consolations, under submission. The truth is, that all ranks of society were confounded. No one knew what to hope, what more to fear, or what course was best to be taken. Some, indeed, were fond enough to entertain hopes that the united remonstrances of the colonial legislatures, the fate of which had not yet been heard, might induce the mother country to change her policy; these hopes, however, were faint; and few there were that entertained them. Many considered submission in the present state of the colonies as unavoidable; and that this was the opinion of Doctor Franklin himself, is apparent from the remark with which he took leave of Mr. Ingersoll, on his departure for America.* The idea of resistance by force was nowhere glanced at in the most distant manner; no heart seems to have been bold enough at first to conceive it. Men on other occasions marked for intrepidity and decision, now hung back; unwilling to submit, and yet afraid to speak out in the language of bold and open defiance. It was just at this moment of despondency in some quarters, suspense in others, and surly and reluctant submission, wherever submission appeared, that Patrick Henry stood forth to raise the drooping spirit of the people, and to unite all hearts and hands in the cause of his country. With the view of making way for him and placing him in the public councils of the country, Mr. William Johnson, who had been elected a member of the house of burgesses for the county of Louisa, vacated his seat by accepting the commission of coroner. The writ of election to supply his place was awarded on the first of May, 1765, and on the 20th day of that month it appears, by the journals, that Mr. Henry was added to the committee for courts of justice.

"Here again he was upon a new theatre, and personally unknown, except to those few who might have

* That is, I presume, of his person; for, after the very splendid exhibition which he made in the parsons' cause, his *name* could not have been wholly unknown; the text, however, gives the words of my correspondent faithfully.

† Mr. Jefferson.

* "Go home and tell your countrymen to get children as fast as they can."—GORDON.

heard his argument on the contested election of Mr. Littlepage the preceding winter. His dress and manners were still those of the plain planter, and in his personal appearance there was nothing to excite curiosity or awaken expectation. The forms of the house, of which he was now for the first time a member, were, as has been stated, most awfully dignified; its active members were composed of the landed aristocracy and their adherents; and among them were men to whose superiority of talents, as well as influence and power, the yeomanry of the country had long been accustomed to bow with tacit and submissive deference.

"John Robinson, the speaker of the house, was one of the most opulent men in the colony, and the acknowledged head of its landed aristocracy. He had now filled the chair of the house with great dignity, and without interruption, for five-and-twenty years. He was also the colonial treasurer; and from the high offices which he held, in connexion with the regal government, was as warmly attached to its authority by interest, as he was by taste and fashion to all the grandeur of its forms. But, notwithstanding this close alliance with the court, his personal influence, in every class of society, was very great; and he held that influence by a tenure far superior to any that his own vast wealth or the power of the crown could confer. For he possessed a strong and well-informed mind, enlarged and corrected by great experience, and he united with it a benevolence of spirit and a courtesy of manners which never failed to attach every heart that approached him."

Besides the distinguished and talented speaker Robinson, Mr. Henry had to contend almost single-handed. There were a host of other distinguished and talented Virginia statesmen to do battle with on the floor of the house of burgesses, nearly all of which were supporters of speaker Robinson, and of course in favour of "Stamp tax."

Mr. Wirt, after mentioning some circumstances unimportant to our present purpose, proceeds:

"These were some of the stars of first magnitude that shone in the house of burgesses in the year 1765. There was yet a cluster of minor luminaries, which it were endless to delineate, but whose blended rays contributed to form that uncommon galaxy, in which the plebeian Henry was now called upon to take his place. What had he to enable him to cope with all this lustre of talents and erudition? Very little more than the native strength of his character; a constancy of soul, which no array of power could shake: a genius that designed with all the boldness of Angelo, and an imagination that coloured with all the felicity of Titian.

"It has been already stated that Mr. Henry was elected with express reference to an opposition to the stamp act. It was not, however, expected by his constituents, or meditated by himself, that he should lead the opposition. The addresses of the preceding year, made to the king, lords, and commons, in which so strong a truth had been stated, as that the stamp act, if persisted in, would reduce the colony to a state of slavery, founded a hope, that those who had commenced the opposition by remonstrance, would continue to give it the *eclat* of their high names, by resistance of a bolder character, if bolder should be necessary. Mr. Henry waited, therefore, to file in under the first champion that should raise the banner of colonial liberty. In the meantime another subject

unexpectedly occurred to call him up, and it was on this other that he made his *debut* in the house.

"The incident has been stated to me in the following terms, by a gentleman who heard the debate: * 'The gentlemen of this country had, at that time, become deeply involved in that state of indebtedness, which has since ended in so general a crush of their fortunes. Mr. Robinson, the speaker, was also the treasurer, an officer always chosen by the assembly. He was an excellent man, liberal, friendly, and rich. He had been drawn in to lend, on his own account, great sums of money to persons of this description; and especially those who were of the assembly. He used freely for this purpose the public money, confiding for its replacement in his own means, and the securities he had taken on those loans. About this time, however, he became sensible that his *deficit* to the public was become so enormous, as that a discovery must soon take place, for as yet the public had no suspicion of it. He devised, therefore, with his friends in the assembly, a plan for a public loan office, to a certain amount, from which moneys might be lent on public account, and on good landed security, to individuals. I find, in Royle's Virginia Gazette of the 17th of May, 1765, this proposition for a loan office presented, its advantages detailed, and the plan explained. It seems to have been done by a borrowing member, from the feeling with which the motives are expressed, and to have been preparatory to the intended motion. Between the 17th and 30th (the latter being the date of Mr. Henry's resolutions on the stamp act) the motion for a loan office was accordingly brought forward in the house of burgesses; and had it succeeded, the debts due to Robinson on these loans would have been transferred to the public, and his *deficit* thus completely covered.† This state of things, however, was not yet known: but Mr. Henry attacked the scheme on other general grounds, in that style of bold, grand, and overwhelming eloquence, for which he became so justly celebrated afterward. I had been intimate with him from the year 1759-60, and felt an interest in what concerned him; and I can never forget a particular exclamation of his in the debate, which electrified his hearers. It had been urged that, from certain unhappy circumstances of the colony, men of substantial property had contracted debts, which, if exacted suddenly, must ruin them and their families, but, with a little indulgence of time, might be paid with ease. 'What, sir,' exclaimed Mr. Henry, in animadverting on this, 'is it proposed, then, to reclaim the spendthrift from his dissipation and extravagance, by filling his pockets with money?' These expressions are indelibly impressed on my memory. He laid open with so much energy the spirit of favouritism, on which the proposi-

* Mr. Jefferson.

† We are half inclined to believe that Nicholas Biddle, of *financing memory*, must have been perusing this account, previous to his grand cotton and Wall-street speculations, to raise the wind to meet certain *deficiencies*. We might name a host of other worthies who have played this game of *brag* in every section of the country. Quere, is not Messrs. Bots & Co. in a situation similar to the Virginia borrowing members in 1765; and now, like them, seeking a *loan office*, or, in other words, some new way to pay *old debts*, and that too, through the *stocks* of a National Bank or National *Discounting Fiscal Agent*, and in this way bring about another Biddle Bank concern; or, perhaps, put such additional power into the hands of the wealthy, aristocracy, &c., as will enable them to make *presidents and members of congress* to suit themselves? That this is the wish and intention of the Federal Whigs, we feel certain; for proof of our views on this subject we refer the reader to the writings of a *first-rate* modern Whig, in our first number, page 18.

tion was founded, and the abuses to which it would lead, that it was crushed in its birth.* He carried with him all the members of the upper counties, and left a minority composed merely of the aristocracy of the country. From this time his popularity swelled apace; and Mr. Robinson dying the year afterward, his *deficit* was brought to light, and discovered the true object of the proposition.

"The exclamation above quoted by my correspondent as having electrified Mr. Henry's hearers, is a striking specimen of one of his great excellencies in speaking; which was, the power of condensing the substance of a long argument into one short pithy question. The hearer was surprised, in finding himself brought so suddenly and so clearly to a just conclusion. He could scarcely conceive how it was effected; and could not fail to regard, with high admiration, the power of that intellect, which could come at its ends by so short a course; and work out its purposes with the quickness and certainty of magic.

"The aristocracy were startled at such a *phenomenon* from the plebeian ranks. They could not be otherwise than indignant at the presumption of an obscure and unpolished rustic, who, without asking the support or countenance of any patron among themselves, stood upon his own ground, and bearded them even in their den. That this rustic should have been able too, by his single strength, to baffle their whole phalanx and put it to rout, was a mortification too humiliating to be easily borne. They affected to ridicule his vicious and depraved pronunciation, the homespun coarseness of his language, and his hypocritical canting in relation to his humility and ignorance. But they could not help admiring and envying his wonderful gifts; that thorough knowledge of the human heart which he displayed; that power of throwing his reasoning into short and clear aphorisms; which, desultory as they were, supplied, in a great degree, the place of method and logic; that imagination so copious, poetic, and sublime; the irresistible power with which he caused every passion to rise at his bidding; and all the rugged might and majesty of his eloquence. From this moment he had no friends on the aristocratic side of the house. They looked upon him with envy and with terror. They were forced at length to praise his genius; but that praise was wrung from them with painful reluctance. They would have denied it, if they could. They would have overshadowed it; and did at first try to overshadow it, by magnifying his defects; but it would have been as easy for them to have eclipsed the splendour of the sun, by pointing to his spots."

"After this victorious sally upon their party, the former leaders of the house were not very well disposed to look with a favourable eye on any proposition which he should make. They had less idea of contributing to foster the popularity and pamper the power of a man, who seemed born to be their scourge, and to drag down their ancient honours to the dust. It was in this unpropitious state of things, after having waited in vain for some step to be taken on the other side of the house, and when the session was within

three days of its expected close, that Mr. Henry introduced his celebrated resolutions on the stamp act.

"I will not withhold from the reader a note of this transaction from the pen of Mr. Henry himself. It is a curiosity, and highly worthy of preservation. After his death, there was found among his papers one sealed, and thus endorsed: 'Enclosed are the resolutions of the Virginia assembly in 1765, concerning the stamp act. Let my executors open this paper.' Within was found the following copy of the resolutions, in Mr. Henry's hand-writing:

"Resolved, That the first adventurers and settlers of this, his majesty's colony and dominion, brought with them and transmitted to their posterity, and all other his majesty's subjects, since inhabiting in this, his majesty's said colony, all the privileges, franchises, and immunities that have at any time been held, enjoyed, and possessed by the people of Great Britain.

"Resolved, That by two royal charters, granted by King James the First, the colonists aforesaid are declared entitled to all the privileges, liberties, and immunities of denizens and natural born subjects, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding and born within the realm of England.

"Resolved, That the taxation of the people by themselves, or by persons chosen by themselves to represent them, who can only know what taxes the people are able to bear, and the easiest mode of raising them, and are equally affected by such taxes themselves, is the distinguishing characteristic of British freedom, and without which the ancient constitution cannot subsist.

"Resolved, That his majesty's liege people of this most ancient colony have uninterruptedly enjoyed the right of being thus governed by their own assembly in the article of their taxes and internal police, and that the same hath never been forfeited, nor any other way given up, but hath been constantly recognised by the king and people of Great Britain.

"Resolved, therefore, That the general assembly of this colony have the sole right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the general assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom."

"On the back of the paper containing those resolutions is the following endorsement, which is also in the hand-writing of Mr. Henry himself: 'The within resolutions passed the house of burgesses in May, 1765. They formed the first opposition to the stamp act, and the scheme of taxing America by the British parliament. All the colonies, either through fear, or want of opportunity to form an opposition, or from influence of some kind or other, had remained silent. I had been for the first time elected a burgess, a few days before, was young, inexperienced, unacquainted with the forms of the house, and the members that composed it. Finding the men of weight averse to opposition, and the commencement of the tax at hand, and that no person was likely to step forth, I determined to venture, and alone, unadvised, and unassisted, on a blank leaf of an old law book* wrote the within. Upon offering them to the house, violent debates ensued. Many threats were uttered, and much abuse cast on me, by the party for submission. After a long and warm contest, the resolutions passed by a very small majority, perhaps of one or two only. The alarm spread throughout America with astonishing

* We are told that Henry Clay, in 1811, defeated the renewal of the charter of the first Bank of the United States by similar arguments, pointing out, in strong and forcible language, the dangers the *liberties* of the country would be in by an institution wielding a capital of *ten millions of dollars*—how wonderfully has Henry of the West changed since that time; he now advocates a National Bank with fifty millions of dollars. The memorable words uttered by a distinguished senator may have been proved to be true, viz., that "every man has his price."

* Judge Tyler says, "an old Coke upon Littleton."

quickness, and the ministerial party were overwhelmed. The great point of resistance to British taxation was universally established in the colonies. This brought on the war, which finally separated the two countries, and gave independence to ours. Whether this will prove a blessing or a curse, will depend upon the use our people make of the blessings which a gracious God hath bestowed on us. If they are wise, they will be great and happy. If they are of a contrary character, they will be miserable. Righteousness alone can exalt them as a nation.

“Reader! whoever thou art, remember this; and in thy sphere, practise virtue thyself, and encourage it in others.—P. HENRY.”

“By these resolutions,” says Mr. Jefferson, “and his manner of supporting them, Mr. Henry took the lead out of the hands of those who had theretofore guided the proceedings of the house; that is to say, of Pendleton, Wythe, Bland, Randolph.” It was, indeed, the measure which raised him to the zenith of his glory. He had never before had a subject which entirely matched his genius, and was capable of drawing out all the powers of his mind. It was remarked of him, throughout his life, that his talents never failed to rise with the occasion, and in proportion to the resistance which he had to encounter. The nicety of the vote on his last resolution, proves that this was not a time to hold in reserve any part of his forces. It was, indeed, an alpine passage, under circumstances even more unpropitious than those of Hannibal; for he had not only to fight, hand to hand, the powerful party who were already in possession of the heights, but at the same instant to cheer and animate the timid band of followers that were trembling, and fainting, and drawing back, below him. It was an occasion that called upon him to put forth all his strength, and he did put it forth, in such a manner as man never did before. The cords of argument, with which his adversaries frequently flattered themselves that they had bound him fast, became pack-threads in his hands. He burst them with as much ease as the unshorn Sampson did the bands of the Philistines. He seized the pillars of the temple, shook them terribly, and seemed to threaten his opponents with ruin. It was an incessant storm of lightning and thunder, which struck them aghast. The faint-hearted gathered courage from his countenance, and cowards became heroes while they gazed upon his exploits.

“It was in the midst of this magnificent debate, while he was descanting on the tyranny of the obnoxious act, that he exclaimed, in a voice of thunder, and with the look of a god, ‘Cæsar had his Brutus—Charles the First, his Cromwell—and George the Third—(‘Treason,’ cried the speaker—‘treason, treason,’ echoed from every part of the house. It was one of those trying moments which is decisive of character. Henry faltered not for an instant; but rising to a loftier attitude, and fixing on the speaker an eye of the most determined fire, he finished his sentence with the firmest emphasis) *may profit by their example*. If this be treason, make the most of it.’”

“This was the only expression of defiance which

escaped him during the debate. He was, throughout life, one of the most perfect and uniformly decorous speakers that ever took the floor of the house. He was respectful even to humility; and the provocation must be gross indeed, which would induce him to notice it. Yet when he did notice it, better were it for the man never to have been born than to fall into the hands of such an adversary. One lash from his scourge was infamy for life; his look of anger or contempt was almost death.

“After this debate there was no longer a question, among the body of the people, as to Mr. Henry’s being the first statesman and orator in Virginia. Those, indeed, whose ranks he had scattered, and whom he had thrown into the shade, still tried to brand him with the names of declaimer and demagogue. But this was obviously the effect of envy and mortified pride. A mere declaimer and demagogue could never have gained, much less have kept for more than thirty years, that ground which Mr. Henry held; with a people, too, so cool, judicious, firm, and virtuous, as those who achieved the American Revolution.

“From the period of which we have been speaking, Mr. Henry became the idol of the people of Virginia; nor was his name confined to his native state. His light and heat were seen and felt throughout the continent; and he was everywhere regarded as the great champion of colonial liberty.

“The impulse thus given by Virginia, was caught by the other colonies. Her resolutions were everywhere adopted, with progressive variations. The spirit of resistance became bolder and bolder, until the whole continent was in a flame; and by the first of November, when the stamp act was, according to its provisions, to have taken effect, its execution had become utterly impracticable.”

We now pass on to the *master-piece* of Mr. Henry’s eloquence and undoubted courage in the cause of *American liberty*: long will the 23d of March, 1775, be remembered; that very day settled the question whether there should be *open resistance*, or cowardly submission to the British crown. At this time America was threatened with hostile fleets and armies to compel the people to submit to *taxation* and other *oppressive burthens*. In this situation of affairs many of the distinguished Virginians fondly hoped that a compromise and reconciliation might be effected between the mother and daughter, and thus save the effusion of blood, &c. But the stentorian voice of Mr. Henry soon dispelled that delusion, and caused the very men who, only a few hours, before had denounced Mr. Henry’s course as *rash* and *visionary*, to become convinced of their error, and joined with him in the shout, “give me liberty, or give me death!”

“On Monday the 20th day of March, 1775, the convention of delegates from the several counties and corporations of Virginia met for the second time. This assembly was held in the old church in the town of Richmond. Mr. Henry was a member of that body also. The reader will bear in mind the tone of the instructions given by the convention of the preceding year to their deputies in congress. He will remember that, while they recite with great feeling the series of grievances under which the colonies had laboured, and insist with firmness on their constitutional rights, they give, nevertheless, the most explicit and solemn pledge

* I had frequently heard the above anecdote of the cry of treason, but with such variations of the concluding words, that I began to doubt whether the whole might not be fiction. With a view to ascertain the truth, therefore, I submitted it to Mr. Jefferson, as it had been given to me by Judge Tyler, and this is his answer. “I well remember the cry of treason, the pause of Mr. Henry at the name of George the III., and the presence of mind with which he closed his sentence, and baffled the charge vociferated.” The incident, therefore, becomes authentic history.

of their faith and true allegiance to his majesty, King George the III., and avow their determination to support him, with their lives and fortunes, in the legal exercise of all his just rights and prerogatives. He will remember that these instructions contain also an expression of their sincere approbation of a connexion with Great Britain, and of their ardent wishes for a return of that friendly intercourse, from which this country had derived so much prosperity and happiness. These sentiments still influenced many of the leading members of the convention of 1775. They could not part with the fond hope, that those peaceful days would again return, which had shed so much light and warmth over the land; and the report of the king's gracious reception of the petition from congress tended to cherish and foster that hope, and to render them averse to any measure of violence. But Mr. Henry saw things with a steadier eye and a deeper insight. His judgment was too solid to be duped by appearances; and his heart too firm and manly to be amused by false and flattering hopes. He had long since read the true character of the British court; and saw that no alternative remained for his country but abject submission or heroic resistance. It was not for a soul like Henry's to hesitate between these courses. He had offered upon the altar of liberty no divided heart. The gulf of war which yawned before him was indeed fiery and fearful; but he saw that the awful plunge was inevitable. The body of the convention, however, hesitated. They cast around 'a longing lingering look' on those flowery fields, on which peace, and ease, and joy were still sporting; and it required all the energies of a Mentor like Henry to push them from the precipice, and conduct them over the stony sea of the revolution, to liberty and glory.

"The convention being formed and organized for business, proceeded, in the first place, to express their unqualified approbation of the measures of congress, and to declare that they considered 'this whole continent as under the highest obligations to that respectable body, for the wisdom of their counsels, and their unremitted endeavours to maintain and preserve inviolate the just rights and liberties of his majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects in America.'

"They next resolve, that 'the warmest thanks of the convention, and of all the inhabitants of this colony, were due, and that this just tribute of applause be presented to the worthy delegates, deputed by a former convention to represent this colony in general congress, for their cheerful undertaking and faithful discharge of the very important trust reposed in them.'

"The morning of the 23d March was opened, by reading a petition and memorial from the assembly of Jamaica to the king's most excellent majesty: whereupon it was 'Resolved, that the unfeigned thanks and most grateful acknowledgments of the convention be presented to that very respectable assembly, for the exceeding generous and affectionate part they have so nobly taken in the unhappy contest between Great Britain and her colonies; and for their truly patriotic endeavours to fix the just claims of the colonists upon the most permanent constitutional principles: that the assembly be assured, that it is the most ardent wish of this colony (and they were persuaded of the whole continent of North America) to see a speedy return of those halcyon days, when we lived a free and happy people.'

"These proceedings were not adapted to the taste of Mr. Henry; on the contrary, they were 'gall and wormwood' to him. The house required to be

wrought up to a bolder tone. He rose, therefore, and moved the following manly resolutions:

"*'Resolved, That a well-regulated militia, composed of gentlemen and yeomen, is the natural strength and only security of a free government; that such a militia in this colony would for ever render it unnecessary for the mother country to keep among us, for the purpose of our defence, any standing army of mercenary soldiers, always subversive of the quiet, and dangerous to the liberties of the people, and would obviate the pretext of taxing us for their support.'*

"*'That the establishment of such a militia is, at this time, peculiarly necessary, by the state of our laws, for the protection and defence of the country, some of which are already expired, and others will shortly be so; and that the known remissness of government in calling us together in legislative capacity, renders it too insecure, in this time of danger and distress, to rely that opportunity will be given of renewing them, in general assembly, or making any provision to secure our inestimable rights and liberties, from those further violations with which they are threatened.'*

"*'Resolved, therefore, That this colony be immediately put into a state of defence, and that there shall be a committee to prepare a plan for embodying, arming, and disciplining such a number of men as may be sufficient for that purpose.'*

"The alarm which such a proposition must have given to those who had contemplated no resistance of a character more serious than petition, non-importation, and passive fortitude, and who still hung with suppliant tenderness on the skirts of Britain, will be readily conceived by the reflecting reader. The shock was painful. It was almost general. The resolutions were opposed as not only rash in policy, but as harsh and well-nigh impious in point of feeling. Some of the warmest patriots of the convention opposed them. Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Pendleton, who had so lately drunk of the fountain of patriotism in the continental congress, and Robert C. Nicholas, one of the best as well as ablest men and patriots in the state, resisted them, with all their influence and abilities.

"They urged the late gracious reception of the congressional petition by the throne. They insisted that national comity, and much more filial respect, demanded the exercise of a more dignified patience. That the sympathies of the parent country were now on our side. That the friends of American liberty in parliament were still with us, and had, as yet, no cause to blush for our indiscretion. That the manufacturing interests of Great Britain, already smarting under the effects of our non-importation, co-operated powerfully toward our relief. That the sovereign himself had relented, and showed that he looked upon our sufferings with an eye of pity. 'Was this a moment,' they asked, 'to disgust our friends, to extinguish all the conspiring sympathies which were working in our favour, to turn their friendship into hatred, their pity into revenge? And what was there, they asked, in the situation of the colony, to tempt us to this? Were we a great military people? Were we ready for war? Where were our stores—where were our arms—where our soldiers—where our generals—where our money, the sinews of war? they were nowhere to be found. In truth, we were poor—we were naked—we were defenceless. And yet we talk of assuming the front of war! of assuming it, too, against a nation, one of the most formidable in the world! A nation ready and armed at all points! Her navies riding triumphant in every sea; her armies

never marching but to certain victory! What was to be the issue of the struggle we were called upon to court? What *could* be the issue, in the comparative circumstances of the two countries, but to yield up *this country* an easy prey to Great Britain, and to convert the illegitimate right which the British parliament now claimed, into a firm and indubitable right, *by conquest*? The measure might be brave; but it was the bravery of madmen. It had no pretension to the character of prudence; and as little to the grace of genuine courage. It would be time enough to resort to measures of *despair* when every well-founded *hope* had entirely vanished.'

"To this strong view of the subject, supported as it was by the stubborn fact of the well known helpless condition of the colony, the opponents of those resolutions superadded every topic of persuasion which belonged to the cause.

"The strength and lustre which we derived from our connexion with Great Britain—the domestic comforts which we had drawn from the same source, and whose value we were now able to estimate by their loss—that ray of reconciliation which was dawning upon us from the east, and which promised so fair and happy a day: with this they contrasted the clouds and storms which the measure now proposed was so well calculated to raise—and in which we should not have even the poor consolation of being pitied by the world, since we should have so needlessly and rashly drawn them upon ourselves.'

"These arguments and topics of persuasion were so well justified by the appearance of things, and were, moreover, so entirely in unison with that love of ease and quiet which is natural to man, and that disposition to hope for happier times, even under the most forbidding circumstances, that an ordinary man, in Mr. Henry's situation, would have been glad to compound with the displeasure of the house, by being permitted to withdraw his resolutions in silence.

"Not so Mr. Henry. His was a spirit fitted to raise the whirlwind, as well as to ride in and direct it. His was that comprehensive view, that unerring prescience, that perfect command over the actions of men, which qualified him not merely to guide, but almost to create the destinies of nations.

"He rose at this time with a majesty unusual to him in an exordium, and with all that self-possession by which he was so invariably distinguished. 'No man,' he said, 'thought more highly than he did of the patriotism, as well as abilities, of the very worthy gentlemen who had just addressed the house. But different men often saw the same subject in different lights; and, therefore, he hoped it would not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen, if, entertaining, as he did, opinions of a character very opposite to theirs, he should speak forth *his* sentiments freely, and without reserve. This,' he said, 'was no time for ceremony. The question before the house was one of awful moment to this country. For his own part, he considered it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery. And in proportion to the magnitude of the subject ought to be the freedom of the debate. It was only in this way that they could hope to arrive at truth, and fulfil the great responsibility which they held to God and their country. Should he keep back his opinions at such a time, through fear of giving offence, he should consider himself as guilty of treason toward his country, and of an act of disloyalty toward the majesty of Heaven, which he revered above all earthly kings.'

"Mr. President,' said he, 'it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut

our eyes against a painful truth—and listen to the song of that syren, till she transforms us into beasts. Is this,' he asked, 'the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Were we disposed to be of the number of those who, having eyes, see not, and having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation? For his part, whatever anguish of spirit it might cost, *he* was willing to know the whole truth; to know the worst, and to provide for it.'

"He had,' he said, 'but one lamp by which his feet were guided; and that was the lamp of experience. He knew of no way of judging of the future but by the past. And judging by the past, he wished to know what there had been in the conduct of the British ministry for the last ten years, to justify those hopes with which gentlemen had been pleased to solace themselves and the house? Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received? Trust it not, sir; it will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with those warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled, that force must be called in to win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These are the implements of war and subjugation—the last arguments to which kings resort. I ask gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motive for it? Has Great Britain any enemy in this quarter of the world, to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us: they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British ministry have been so long forging. And what have we to oppose to them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we anything new to offer upon the subject? Nothing. We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we resort to entreaty and humble supplication? What terms shall we find, which have not been already exhausted? Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer. Sir, we have done everything that could be done, to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned—we have remonstrated—we have supplicated—we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. *There is no longer any room for hope.* If we wish to be free—if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending—if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon, until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained—we must fight!—I repeat it, sir, we must fight!! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us!''

"Imagine to yourself," says my correspondent, (Judge Tucker,) "this sentence delivered with all the calm dignity of Cato of Utica—imagine to yourselves the Roman senate,

“‘They tell us, sir,’ continued Mr. Henry, ‘that we are weak—unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs, and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot? Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations; and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave.’ Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat, but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged. Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable—and let it come!! I repeat it, sir, let it come!!

“‘It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry, peace, peace—but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God!—I know not what course others may take; but as for me,’ cried he, with both his arms extended aloft, his brows knit, every feature marked with the resolute purpose of his soul, and his voice swelled to its boldest note of exclamation—‘give me liberty, or give me death!’

“He took his seat. No murmur of applause was heard. The effect was too deep. After the trance of a moment, several members started from their seats. The cry, ‘to arms,’ seemed to quiver on every lip and gleam from every eye! Richard H. Lee arose and supported Mr. Henry, with his usual spirit and elegance. But his melody was lost amid the agitations of that ocean which the master spirit of the storm had lifted up on high. That supernatural voice still sounded in their ears, and shivered along their arteries. They heard in every pause the cry of liberty or death. They became impatient of speech—their souls were on fire for action.*

assembled in the capitol, when it was entered by the profane Gauls, who, at first, were awed by their presence, as if they had entered an assembly of the gods!—imagine that you heard that Cato addressing such a senate—imagine that you saw the hand-writing on the wall of Belshazzar’s palace—imagine you heard a voice as from heaven uttering the words, ‘*We must fight*,’ as the doom of fate, and you may have some idea of the speaker, the assembly to whom he addressed himself, and the auditory, of which I was one.”

* Mr. Randolph, in his manuscript history, has given a most eloquent and impressive account of this debate. Since these sheets were prepared for the press, and at the moment of their departure from the hands of the author, he has received, from Chief Justice Marshall, a note in relation to the same debate, which he thinks too interesting to suppress. It is the substance of a statement made to the chief justice, (then an ardent youth, feeling a most enthusiastic

“The resolutions were adopted; and Patrick Henry, Richard H. Lee, Robert C. Nicholas, Benjamin Harrison, Lemuel Riddick, George Washington, Adam Stevens, Andrew Lewis, William Christian, Edmund Pendleton, Thomas Jefferson, and Isaac Zane, Esquires, were appointed a committee to prepare the plan called for by the last resolution.”

We have now presented to our readers the principal political topics of the course pursued by Patrick Henry, previous to the Declaration of Independence, 4th July, 1776. Our limits do not permit us to give an account of the course he afterward pursued; suffice it to say, that he supported and defended the revolution with his usual talent and ability, and never for a moment lost sight of the equal rights and privileges of the people. In turning back to the bold and fearless stand Mr. Henry took against all encroachments on the rights of others, we look with astonishment to find at this day so many of the sons of Old Virginia, now on the floor of congress, defending and supporting measures similar to those which Patrick Henry and other distinguished Virginians opposed in 1775 as being *tyrannical*, and calculated to destroy the liberty of the country by putting “power and wealth” into the hands of the few to rule the many. Were it possible for Patrick Henry to witness the scenes of the present day, and see the snares and traps set to bring the people back under the bondage in which they were held previous to his “heroic resistance,” we opine that he would exclaim, these leading Federal Whig measures are more dangerous to American liberty than British “fleets and armies” were in 1775.

Lectures on the Elevation of the Labouring Portion of the Community.—The following selections, from Lectures on “The Elevation of the Labouring Portion of the Community,” delivered before the Institution at the Masonic Temple, Boston, by the Rev. Dr. William E. Channing, will, we feel persuaded, be read with great interest by all those who wish to see the “Elevation of the Labouring Portion of the Community” to their just and equal rights, privileges, &c.:

“In this meeting I see, what I desire most to see, that the mass of the people are beginning to comprehend themselves and their true happiness, that they

admiration of eloquence, and panting for war,) by his father, who was a member of this convention. Mr. Marshall, (the father,) after speaking of Mr. Henry’s speech “as one of the most bold, vehement, and animated pieces of eloquence that had ever been delivered,” proceeded to state, that “he was followed by Mr. Richard H. Lee, who took a most interesting view of our real situation. He stated the force which Britain could probably bring to bear upon us, and reviewed our resources and means of resistance. He stated the advantages and disadvantages of both parties, and drew from this statement auspicious inferences. But he concluded with saying, admitting the probable calculations to be against us, ‘we are assured in holy writ that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong; and if the language of genius may be added to inspiration, I will say with our immortal bard:

‘*Thrice is he armed, who has his quarrel just!
And he but naked, though locked up in steel,
Whose conscience with injustice is oppress’d!*’”

are catching glimpses of the great work and vocation of human beings, and are rising to their true place in the social state."

"That members of the labouring class, at the close of a day's work, should assemble in such a hall as this, to hear lectures on science, history, ethics, and the most stirring topics of the day, from men whose education is thought to fit them for the highest offices, is a proof of a social revolution, to which no bounds can be set, and from which too much cannot be hoped. I see in it a repeal of the sentence of degradation passed by ages on the mass of mankind. I see in it the dawn of a new era, in which it will be understood, that the first object of society is to give incitements and means of progress to all its members. I see in it the sign of the approaching triumph of men's spiritual over their outward and material interests. In the hunger and thirst for knowledge and for refined pleasures, which this course of lectures indicates in those who labour, I see that the spirit of man is not always to be weighed down by toils for animal life and by the appetite for animal indulgences."

"With these feelings and convictions, I am naturally, almost necessarily, led to address you on a topic, which must ensure the attention of such an audience, namely, the Elevation of that portion of the community who subsist by the labour of the hands."

"We ought to consider in what the true elevation of the labouring portion consists, how far it is practicable, and how it may be helped onward. The subject, I am aware, is surrounded with much prejudice and error. Great principles need to be brought out and their application plainly stated. There are serious objections to be met, fears to be disarmed, and rash hopes to be crushed. I do not profess to have mastered the topic. But I can claim one merit, that of coming to the discussion with a feeling of its importance and with a deep interest in the class of people whom it concerns. I trust that this expression of interest will not be set down as mere words, or as meant to answer any selfish purpose. A politician, who professes attachment to the people, is suspected to love them for their votes. But a man who neither seeks nor would accept any place within their gift, may hope to be listened to as their friend. As a friend, I would speak plainly."

"What is to be understood by the elevation of the labouring class? This is our first topic. To prevent misapprehension, I will begin with stating what is *not* meant by it, in what it does not consist. I say, then, that, by the elevation of the labourer, I do not understand that he is to be raised above the need of labour. I do not expect a series of improvements, by which he is to be released from his daily work. Still more, I have no desire to dismiss him from his workshop and farm, to take the spade and axe from his hand, and to make his life a long holiday. I have faith in labour, and I see the goodness of God in placing us in a world where labour alone can keep us alive. I would not change, if I could, our subjection to physical laws, our exposure to hunger and cold, and the necessity of constant conflicts with the material world. I would not, if I could, so temper the elements, that they should infuse into us only grateful sensations that they should make vegetation so exuberant as to anticipate every want, and the minerals so ductile as to offer no resistance to our strength or skill."

"Work we all must, if we mean to bring out and perfect our nature. Even if we do not work with the hands, we must undergo equivalent toil in some other direction. No business or study which does not pre-

sent obstacles, tasking to the full the intellect and the will, is worthy of a man. In science, he who does not grapple with hard questions, who does not concentrate his whole intellect in vigorous attention, who does not aim to penetrate what at first repels him, will never attain to mental force. The uses of toil reach beyond the present world. The capacity of steady, earnest labour is, I apprehend, one of our great preparations for another state of being. When I see the vast amount of toil required of men, I feel that it must have important connexions with their future existence; and that he who has met this discipline manfully, has laid one essential foundation of improvement, exertion, and happiness in the world to come."

"Alas, for the man who has not learned to work! He is a poor creature. He does not know himself. He depends on others, with no capacity of making returns for the support they give; and let him not fancy that he has a monopoly of enjoyment. Ease, rest, owes its deliciousness to toil; and no toil is so burdensome as the rest of him who has nothing to task and quicken his powers."

"Manual labour is a great good; but in so saying I must be understood to speak of labour in its just proportions. In excess it does great harm. It is not a good, when made the sole work of life. It must be joined with higher means of improvement, or it degrades instead of exalting. Man has a various nature, which requires a variety of occupation and discipline for its growth. Study, meditation, society, and relaxation should be mixed up with his physical toils. He has intellect, heart, imagination, taste, as well as bones and muscles; and he is grievously wronged, when compelled to exclusive drudgery for bodily subsistence. Life should be an alternation of employments, so diversified as to call the whole man into action."

"We need this admonition, because at the present moment there is a general disposition to shun labour; and this ought to be regarded as a bad sign of our times. The city is thronged with adventurers from the country, and the liberal professions are overstocked, in the hope of escaping the primeval sentence of living by the sweat of the brow; and to this crowding of men into trade we owe not only the neglect of agriculture, but what is far worse, the demoralization of the community. It generates excessive competition, which of necessity generates fraud. Trade is turned to gambling; and a spirit of mad speculation exposes public and private interests to a disastrous instability."

"The body as well as the mind needs vigorous exertion, and even the studious would be happier were they trained to labour as well as thought. Let us learn to regard manual toil as the true discipline of a man. Not a few of the wisest, grandest spirits have toiled at the work-bench and the plough."

"Were it a possible thing, I should be sorry to see them turned into men and women of fashion. Fashion is a poor vocation. Its creed, that idleness is a privilege and work a disgrace, is among the deadliest errors. Without depth of thought, or earnestness of feeling, or strength of purpose, living an unreal life, sacrificing substance to show, substituting the fictitious for the natural, mistaking a crowd for society, finding its chief pleasure in ridicule, and exhausting its ingenuity in expedients for killing time, fashion is among the last influences under which a human being, who respects himself or who comprehends the great end of life, would desire to be placed. I use strong language, because I would combat the disposition, too common

in the labouring mass, to regard what is called the upper class with envy or admiration. This disposition manifests itself among them in various forms. Thus, when one of their number prospers, he is apt to forget his old acquaintance, and to work his way, if possible, into a more fashionable caste."

"All conditions of society should be represented in the government, and alike protected by it; nor can anything be expected but disgrace to the individual and the country, from the success of any class in grasping at a monopoly of political power. I would by no means discourage the attention of the people to politics. They ought to study in earnest the interests of the country, the principles of our institutions, the tendencies of public measures. But the unhappiness is, they do not *study*; and, until they do, they cannot rise by political action. A great amount of time, which, if well used, would form an enlightened population, is now wasted on newspapers and conversations, which inflame the passions, which unscrupulously distort the truth, which denounce moral independence as treachery to one's party, which agitate the country for no higher end than a triumph over opponents; and thus multitudes are degraded into men-worshippers or men-haters, into the dupes of the ambitious, or the slaves of a faction. To rise, the people must substitute reflection for passion. There is no other way. By these remarks I do not mean to charge on the labouring class all the passionateness of the country. All classes partake of the madness, and all are debased by it. The fiery spirits are not confined to one portion of the community. The men whose ravings resound through the hall of Congress, and are then circulated through the country as eloquence, are not taken from among those who toil. Party prejudices break out as fiercely on the exchange, and even in the saloon, as in the workshop. The disease has spread everywhere. Yet it does not dishearten me, for I see that it admits of mitigation, if not of cure."

"I know but one elevation of a human being, and that is, Elevation of Soul. Without this, it matters nothing where a man stands or what he possesses; and with it, he towers, he is one of God's nobility, no matter what place he holds in the social scale. There is but one elevation for a labourer, and for all other men. There are not different kinds of dignity for different orders of men, but one and the same to all. The only elevation of a human being consists in the exercise, growth, energy of the higher principles and powers of his soul. A bird may be shot upward to the skies by a foreign force; but it rises, in the true sense of the word, only when it spreads its own wings and soars by its own living power. So a man may be thrust upward into a conspicuous place by outward accidents; but he rises only in so far as he exerts himself, and expands his best faculties, and ascends by a free effort to a nobler region of thought and action. Such is the elevation I desire for the labourer, and I desire no other."

"To every man who would rise in dignity as a man, be he rich or poor, ignorant or instructed, there is one essential condition, one effort, one purpose, without which not a step can be taken. He must resolutely purpose and labour to free himself from whatever he knows to be wrong in his motives and life. He who habitually allows himself in any known crime or wrong-doing, effectually bars his progress toward a higher intellectual and moral life. On this point every man should deal honestly with himself. If he will not listen to his conscience rebuking him for violations of plain duty, let him not dream of self-

elevation. The foundation is wanting. He will build, if at all, in sand."

"I say every man is to be a student, a thinker. This does not mean that he is to shut himself within four walls and bend body and mind over books. Men thought before books were written, and some of the greatest thinkers never entered what we call a study. Nature, Scripture, society, and life present perpetual subjects for thought; and the man who collects, concentrates, employs his faculties on any of these subjects for the purpose of getting the truth, is so far a student, a thinker, a philosopher, and is rising to the dignity of a man. It is time that we should cease to limit to professed scholars the titles of thinkers, philosophers. Whoever seeks truth with an earnest mind, no matter when or how, belongs to the school of intellectual men."

"The universe in which we live was plainly meant by God to stir up such thought as has now been described. It is full of difficulty and mystery, and can only be penetrated and unravelled by the concentration of the intellect. Every object, even the simplest in nature and society, every event of life, is made up of various elements subtly bound together; so that to understand anything, we must reduce it from its complexity to its parts and principles, and examine their relations to one another. Nor is this all. Everything which enters the mind not only contains a depth of mystery in itself, but is connected by a thousand ties with all other things. The universe is not a disorderly, disconnected heap, but a beautiful whole, stamped throughout with unity, so as to be an image of the One Infinite Spirit. Nothing stands alone. All things are knit together, each existing for all, and all for each. The humblest object has infinite connexions. The vegetable which you saw on your table to day, came to you from the first plant which God made to grow on the earth, and was the product of the rains and sunshine of six thousand years. Such a universe demands thought to be understood; and we are placed in it to think, to put forth the power within, to look beneath the surface of things, to look beyond particular facts and events to their causes and effects, to their reasons and ends, their mutual influences, their diversities and resemblances, their proportions and harmonies, and the general laws which bind them together. This is what I mean by thinking; and by such thought the mind rises to a dignity which humbly represents the greatness of the Divine intellect; that is, it rises more and more to consistency of views, to broad general principles, to universal truths, to glimpses of the order and harmony and infinity of the Divine system, and thus to a deep, enlightened veneration of the Infinite Father."

"The child who casts an inquiring eye on a new toy, and breaks it to pieces that he may discover the mysterious cause of its movements, has begun the work of which I speak, has begun to be a philosopher, has begun to penetrate the unknown, to seek consistency and harmony of thought; and let him go on as he has begun, and make it one great business of life to inquire into the elements, connexions, and reasons of whatever he witnesses in his own breast, or in society, or in outward nature, and, be his condition what it may, he will rise by degrees to a freedom and force of thought, to a breadth and unity of views, which will be to him an inward revelation and promise of the intellectual greatness for which he was created."

"The working man is particularly called to make matter his study, because his business is to work on it, and he works more wisely, effectually, cheerfully,

and honourably, in proportion as he knows what he acts upon, knows the laws and forces of which he avails himself, understands the reason of what he does, and can explain the changes which fall under his eye."

"Every farmer should study chemistry, so as to understand the elements or ingredients which enter into soils, vegetation, and manures, and the laws according to which they combine with, and are loosened from, one another. So the mechanic should understand the mechanic powers, the laws of motion, and the history and composition of the various substances which he works on. Let me add, that the farmer and the mechanic should cultivate the perception of beauty. What a charm and new value might the farmer add to his grounds and cottage, were he a man of taste? The product of the mechanic, be it great or small, a house or a shoe, is worth more, sometimes much more, if he can succeed in giving it the grace of proportion. In France it is not uncommon to teach drawing to mechanics, that they may get a quick eye and a sure hand, and may communicate to their works the attraction of beauty. Every man should aim to impart this perfection to his labours. The more of Mind we carry into toil, the better. Without a habit of thought, a man works more like a brute or machine, than like a man. With it his soul is kept alive amid his toils. He learns to fix an observing eye on the processes of his trade, catches hints which abridge labour, gets glimpses of important discoveries, and is sometimes able to perfect his art. Even now, after all the miracles of invention which honour our age, we little suspect what improvements of machinery are to spring from spreading intelligence and natural science among workmen."

"I have indeed no expectation, that the labourer is to understand in detail the various sciences which relate to Mind. Few men in any vocation do so understand them. Nor is it necessary; though, where time can be commanded, the thorough study of some particular branch, in which the individual has a special interest, will be found of great utility. What is needed to elevate the soul is, not that a man should know all that has been thought and written in regard to the spiritual nature, not that a man should become an Encyclopedia, but that the Great Ideas, in which all discoveries terminate, which sum up all sciences, which the philosopher extracts from infinite details, may be comprehended and felt. It is not the quantity, but the quality, of knowledge which determines the mind's dignity. A man of immense information may, through the want of large and comprehensive ideas, be far inferior in intellect to a labourer who, with little knowledge, has yet seized on great truths."

"To illustrate my meaning, let me give a few examples of the Great Ideas which belong to the study or science of mind. Of course, the first of these, the grandest, the most comprehensive, is the idea of God, the Parent Mind, the Primitive and Infinite Intelligence. Every man's elevation is to be measured first and chiefly by his conception of this Great Being; and to attain a just, and bright, and quickening knowledge of Him, is the highest aim of thought. In truth, the great end of the universe, of revelation, of life, is to develop in us the idea of God. Much earnest, patient, laborious thought is required to see this Infinite Being as he is, to rise above the low, gross notions of the Divinity, which rush in upon us from our passions, from our selfish partialities, and from the low-minded world around us. There is one view of God particularly suited to elevate us. I mean the view of him

as the 'Father of our spirits;' as having created us with great powers to grow up to perfection; as having ordained all outward things, to minister to the progress of the soul; as always present to inspire and strengthen us, to wake us up to inward life, and to judge and rebuke our wrong-doing; as looking with parental joy on our resistance of evil; as desiring to communicate himself to our minds for ever. This one idea, expanded in the breast of the labourer, is a germe of elevation, more fruitful than all science, no matter how extensive or profound, which treats only of outward finite things. It places him in the first rank of human beings."

"He is a Free being; created to act from a spring in his own breast, to form himself and to decide his own destiny; connected intimately with nature, but not enslaved to it; connected still more strongly with God, yet not enslaved even to the Divinity, but having power to render or withhold the service due to his Creator; encompassed by a thousand warring forces, by physical elements which inflict pleasure and pain, by dangers seen and unseen, by the influences of a tempting, sinful world, yet endued by God with power to contend with all, to perfect himself by conflict with the very forces which threaten to overwhelm him. Such is the idea of a man. Happy he in whom it is unfolded by earnest thought."

"The idea of Human Life, of its true end and greatness; the idea of Virtue, as the absolute and ultimate good; the idea of Liberty, which is the highest thought of political science, and which, by its intimate presence to the minds of the people, is the chief spring of our country's life and greatness."

"I do not speak rhetorically, nor use the cant of rhapsodists, but I utter my calm, deliberate conviction, when I say, that the labourer ought to regard himself with a self-respect, unknown to the proudest monarch who rests on outward rank."

"Let our studies be as wide as our condition will allow; but let this be their highest aim, to instruct us in our duty and happiness, in the perfection of our nature, in the true use of life, in the best direction of our powers. Then is the culture of intellect an un-mixed good, when it is sacredly used to enlighten the conscience, to feed the flame of generous sentiment, to perfect us in our common employments, to throw a grace over our common actions, to make us sources of innocent cheerfulness and centres of holy influence, and to give us courage, strength, stability amid the sudden changes and sore temptations and trials of life."

MR. VAN BUREN IN RETIREMENT.

A PUBLIC man for thirty-five years—enjoying or suffering great prominence of position, and reaching, by steady gradations, the highest rank—is, in a public sense, perfectly known to the world. It is, however, in a retirement, not voluntary, and under circumstances that seem to indicate a change in the popular partiality or approval—an unexpected if not premature entrance upon private life, after uninterrupted years spent in the public service—that the true points in character are made to stand out, and exhibit themselves divested of the lights and shadows, and the artificial reflection, which surround public life. Under such circumstances it is the touch-stone of philosophy and character.

The residence to which Mr. Van Buren retired on quitting the seat of government, is a fine old structure, of the best architecture of the close of the last century. It was built by Gen. Van Ness, father of Gen. J. P.

Van Ness, of Washington, Gov. C. P. Ness, of Vermont, and the late Judge W. P. Van Ness, of New York; and was for many years the family residence. With an eye to convenience, and to keeping, the innovations upon the original design of the building have been removed, and its general appearance has been restored; while to the extensive grounds have been added gardens, choice imported fruit trees, a greenhouse, a wall and espaliers, and ponds well stocked with fish. Situated within two miles of Kinderhook, commanding from the north a fine view of the village, and from the west an ever-varying and imposing view of the higher elevations of the Catskill Mountains—embosomed among venerable and lofty trees, which have been recently thinned with care and taste, and which may well be regarded as the most graceful and valuable of the *genii loci*—it is altogether a delightful and grateful retreat. But it has another and, in the estimation of its possessor, a higher charm. It is in the neighbourhood of his birth-place; and is invested with the associations of early life—with the recollections of those early efforts and trials and studies which have ripened into such fruits as the American world is familiar with. It is in the midst of a people, between whom and him the warmest attachments subsist—many of whom have witnessed from the beginning the progress of a career, the object of their pride and admiration; and all of whom partake in the gratification of his return to dwell among them. It is not an inapt illustration of the equality and beauty of our institutions, that he who started in early life from this neighbourhood, with the rich promise, it is true, which the manifestations of truth, fidelity to principles, and extraordinary talent may have held out, but with no adventitious aids of wealth or family influences—nay, under the most formidable adverse influences of both, though an inveterate political hostility that pursued and sought to harass him at every step—returns to it, having enjoyed the highest honours of the republic, second to no man in American for statesmanship, for fidelity to high trusts, and for firmness, elevation, and dignity of character.

His enjoyments or avocations are simple, and in the spirit of such a retirement. His library and correspondence employ the morning hours—the supervision of his fields and grounds, and exercise in the saddle, the interim before dinner—the society of his family and the visits of friends and guests, the dinner hour and the evening.

But place and neighbourhood and rural beauty or felicitous associations, are of secondary value. It is the spirit in which they are enjoyed, under the circumstances in which they come into possession, that constitutes the true philosophy of life. It is said of Pitt, on the authority of persons who had most frequent access to his private hours, that, for the concluding thirteen years of his life, he scarcely enjoyed any settled tranquillity of mind, either in or out of office. That, incapable of finding consolation for the loss of public employment in the pursuits which retirement revives or to which it gives birth, that period of his wonderful career presents a subject, in many aspects, of painful contemplation. We have, from authentic sources, glimpses of Mr. Canning in retirement, both voluntary and involuntary; and we are amazed at the ardour and strength with which he brought his great powers to fresh, nay, redoubled labour—but it was the labour of preparation for farther conflicts in the field of statesmanship and in the public arena. It was far from being the calm retreat of philosophy, or the noble contentment of a satisfied ambition. And a British

statesman, of more recent, but of nearly equal eminence, was taunted, on going out of power, with having hungered after the position he had quitted, and with being alarmed at the solitude in which he found himself. Mr. Van Buren, perfectly realizing the *mens conscia recti*, is also blessed with a physical temperament that contributes to the tranquillity and cheerful ease, which are the result mainly of a well-balanced and disciplined mind. If it springs, in some measure, from the pleasure of an exemption from public care and responsibility, it is in a larger degree to be ascribed to a feeling of gratitude to Providence and the People for the manner in which he had been sustained, steadily and triumphantly, through long years of political collision, rather than from any feeling of disgust or unkindness that he was suffered at last to experience a partial withdrawal of the popular favour. No such feeling is indulged in for a moment. Not a word of reproach, or complaint, or an expression of querulousness, escapes him. The firmest conviction of right in his public course, is unmingled with the least irritation of manner, or the slightest reflection upon results. An old, cherished, and ever-present reliance upon the integrity and patriotism of the masses, is yet a sentiment as warmly cherished and as firmly maintained as ever. Perhaps there is no man of whom it can be more truly said, that he has no regrets for the Past:—nor any to whom the Present is a source of more tranquil, unembittered enjoyment, or the Future less the object of ambition or anxiety.

Of the generation since the Revolution, two presidents only have been denied a re-election. It may be thought invidious to pursue a comparison between them, respecting the manner in which they have borne themselves under such a dispensation. But their political faith cannot be more directly at opposites, than their course of conduct in this respect. If an unsatisfied desire of place, a craving for public life, or habits of public occupation, which an impatient and restless spirit could neither conceal nor subdue, prompted a return, in a subordinate station, to the scenes of political and legislative contention; a forward gladiator in the strife, provoking conflicts and excesses in the representative arena such as have never before been witnessed, and furnishing to the world the example of an ex-president returning, with a fresh zest and a sharpened appetite, to the very rudiments of a public career: if such an exhibition was calculated to diminish the respect for the presidential office and the admiration of the presidential character; the calm philosophy, the serenity, the pleasing and preferred retirement, the graceful acquiescence in events, looking out upon the world with the sensations which an interest in the public welfare cannot but excite, but with no desire to mingle in the affray, can scarcely fail to reassure our faith in the elevation and dignity of our nature, and in the successful working out of the great problem of self-government.

It is not our design to discuss the reasons or causes of results. If they are not, in many respects, beyond our powers of investigation, they do not come within the scope of our present writing. We would not at this moment, if we could, search out the occult sources of events that have surprised and disappointed many the most familiar with the workings of our social system and with the springs that move and impel the masses. It is at best an unsolved problem, that a people naturally right thinking, not easily led away by superficial causes, democratic in their feelings, principles, and associations, looking to the great and just ends of government, should become in an instant, as it

were, the playthings of those who had all their lives scouted their independence and intelligence, had insisted that they could be easier duped by a pretence than convinced by argument and reason, and that log-cabin minstrelsy, the stuffed skins of quadrupeds, and the inane ravings of men who were scarcely akin to their brethren of the carnivorous order, were more potent in swaying the minds of the people, than an open and direct course of public conduct, founded on truth and right, and maintained with an inflexible adherence to that erect, severe, and simple standard. It is at any rate an event that can rarely happen in the history of a free people. Once in the course of half a century fortuitous circumstances may give apparent potency to things the most grotesque and ridiculous, and which, under all ordinary circumstances of reflective comparison in the patriotic mind, would repel rather than invite the popular favour. But scarcely oftener than that. At all other times the very stage-trick and buffoonery by which the opponents of Mr. Van Buren sought the attainment of power, and through which many of them to this day firmly believe they attained it, would cover the authors and agents of such absurdities—such vain conceits and ribald folly—with defeat and indelible infamy. At all other times the attempt would be regarded as a libel upon the good sense and discernment of the masses, which few men, even the most desperate, would have the temerity to venture upon. With us, and for the present quarter of a century, that day of folly and delusion—and the causes which, less obvious, but far more influential, were effective in the great movement which brought in for the moment the candidate and policy, hostile to the candidate and policy of the Democracy—have passed. We do not propose, as we said, to discuss causes, or to speculate upon the philosophy and origin of results. It is enough to know that, like phenomena in the natural world, they have come, and passed on; and that he to whom they are most applicable, stands at this moment stronger in the sober and reflecting thought of the American people—at an eminence of moral and political grandeur—far greater—altogether more enviable—than at any former period of his life.

Whether Mr. Van Buren be again a candidate for the popular suffrage, or remain in private life, like Antæus, he will derive strength from the fall. He will stand stronger and higher in the judgment of his peers—the American people—and on the records of posterities—than if, compliant or yielding, he had given up to policy or the hope of personal advantage, the well-balanced and deeply-revolved opinions and positions, an adherence to which it is believed deprived him of station and power. A return to public life might add much to his care, but could add nothing to his fame. That is imperishable. Every day will add its tribute to strengthen and mature it. Should the American Democracy choose to vindicate themselves and their honest opinions, and the only principles on which this or any other free government can be securely administered, from the reproach of doubt or desertion on their part—or, desiring to recall to the public service that profound civil wisdom, which the world accords to Mr. V. B., and which his opponents, during his administration, conceded in one of the most signal instances of the bestowment of all power and discretion—demand his return to the chief magistracy for a second and final period—personally he can have no wish in the matter—none certainly that is not subservient to the popular will and the public welfare.—*Argus and Rough-Hewer, 4th December, 1841.*

GEN. SCOTT'S ELECTIONEERING CIRCULAR,

Paving the ways and by-ways to make him president of the United States, with remarks and suggestions in relation to its production and sentiments, by the editors of the Democratic Guide, pointing out the extreme impropriety of supporting "a military chieftain" for chief magistrate of the United States while commanding her army.—Producing and working classes, read the following remarks, and judge of them agreeable to your own notions of Democracy, &c. :

We differ with many of our contemporaries in relation to this *feeler* of public opinion. In our estimation there is a trace of an *unseen* hand in its construction. If we are not mistaken, Mr. Clay is a prominent actor, behind the curtain, in producing it. He must be now perfectly aware that he can never be president of these United States. Thus situated, he is doubtless anxious to carry out his "great measures" in the establishment of a "National Bank," and such a change in the constitution as to make a "strong government;" it may be, agreeable to an understanding, to pay British capitalists, stock-jobbers, &c., out of the proceeds derived from the sale of the public lands. It is by no means *impossible*, perhaps not *unlikely*, that the success of General Scott, so far as the "leader of Captain Tyler" is concerned, may be based on a *promise* to carry out, as president, all the leading measures chalked out for General Harrison at the Harrisburg modern whig convention. We are sustained in this opinion from the fact that General Scott says, in his "circular," that he is *in favour of a change in the Constitution—in favour of a distribution of the public lands—in favour of a National Bank!!* In short, in favour of all the schemes of Harry of the West. We warn the producing and labouring classes—the bone and sinew of our large population—to gird on their armour for new and powerful enemies. We desire not to tarnish the fair fame of General Scott; we would not pluck a feather from his plume, nor sever a twig from the laurels he has so justly won in the field in defence of his country.

As a gallant soldier we honour him—but his soldier-like qualities afford no presumption, abstractedly considered, to favour his claims to the presidency. Indeed we confess our surprise that, with the sentiments he avows in his "circular, he should aspire to that station. The fact that he is commander-in-chief of the United States army should, of itself, preclude even the thought of his election to the presidency.

It will be time enough for him to become a candidate for that high and important office when, like Generals Jackson and Harrison, he shall have descended into the walks of private life. We wish not to be understood as having any fears that General Scott, through the military influence which he possesses, would attempt the usurpation of powers not delegated

by the constitution; but who can look without apprehension at the establishment of such a precedent for future ages—with their unknown men and measures. The late proceeding of military chieftains in Spain, Mexico, &c., where, under the pretext of extending the liberties of the people, they have been enslaved, should warn us not to establish a precedent that may one day, in our view, destroy the liberties of our country. If we are correct in relation to military chieftains—and for its truth we appeal to history from the period of Roman degeneracy to the military governments of South America—we seriously ask the producing and working classes of our country, are you prepared to aid in elevating a military chieftain to the presidency of the United States before he shall have retired to private life—given evidence that he will support and defend the constitution, and oppose monopolies and chartered privileges of every description? From our general knowledge of your sentiments on these subjects, we doubt not that you will say with us, *we never will vote for a military chieftain to be president of the United States while in command of her army, nor until he shall return into private life, and given good and substantial evidence of his devotion to the equal rights of the people, &c.* From circumstances within our knowledge, we know that the Federal Whigs will pretend to fight shy, and scout the idea of General Scott's election to the presidency. Believe them not, fellow-citizens—General Scott is their man! He will be brought forward and nominated by them at the proper time. We mention this fact, that our producing and working friends may see what kind of metal they will have to pound to keep down aristocracy. In concluding our remarks we would respectfully solicit of the gallant general, that he lay before the people, as publicly as he has laid before them his celebrated circular, the “many letters” which he has received from different states, propounding *interrogatories*, &c., in relation to his becoming a candidate for the presidency. May it please you, General, to grant this request, that the public may be able to judge for themselves as to the character of these letter-writers, and how far, if at all, Harry of the West has had to do in propounding interrogatories to you. If this is not done, we, with many others, must think “there is something rotten in the state of Denmark.”

Washington, Oct. 25, 1841.

GENTLEMEN—I have latterly had the honour to receive many letters from as many different States, each propounding, on the part of the writer and his neighbour, nearly the same political interrogatories—to which answers are requested.

The scope of the inquiries is a flattering proof of the interest that some of my countrymen take in the opinions that I have formed on certain great principles of abiding importance to the success of our systems of government; and as I have nothing to conceal, if nothing of value to communicate, I shall, at once, without policy or reserve, and in the form of a circular, comply with their several requests.

PARTY POLITICS.—Although, from early manhood, I have, by the profession of arms, in defence of my country, been thrown out of the arena of party politics, yet I have never ceased to be an attentive observer of public events, and thus, I believe, there has scarcely been a discussion of moment in Congress, within my time, on which I did not form, and modestly, but firmly, express a passing opinion.

A mere youth, I felt the liveliest joy when the alien and sedition laws expired in the triumph of Mr. Jefferson. From 1806 I was old enough, by speech and pen, to call for a prompt and energetic redress of our wrongs suffered from Great Britain—under her orders in council, the attack on the Chesapeake frigate, and long-continued impressment of our seamen; and when the war of 1812 at length came, I was among the first and longest in the presence of the foe. The insults received from the French directory; their depredations on our commerce, renewed under Napoleon's decrees, (Berlin and Milan,) which followed the British orders in council, also largely shared in my indignant repro- bation.

The administrations of Mr. Madison and Mr. Monroe, like that of Mr. Jefferson, had, in their respective periods, my humble, but hearty approbation; and I have ever since censured nothing in either but the sale of a part, and the dismantling of our navy: the gun-boat system of defence that followed, and the indefinite embargo; which, crippling us for war, by destroying our commerce and finances, and oppressing agriculture, was long continued, without redressing one outrage from abroad.

I give this little sketch of the growth of my party feelings or opinions—unimportant, perhaps, except to myself and a few partial friends—to show that, if I have never been a Federalist in any party sense of the term, so neither have I been a Jacobin—an *impracticable* or abstractionist in any sense whatever: but always an old-fashioned republican, devoted to the support of law and order—a Democratic Whig, just as all my family had been whig in the great struggle for national freedom and independence.

THE JUDICIARY.—From an early and long-continued study of elementary law, my mind has ever been imbued with deep reverence for the bench—State and Federal—an independent department in our system of government, and which, holding neither the purse to corrupt, nor the sword to terrify, addresses itself only with the mild force of persuasive reason, to the intelligence and virtue of the whole community. By the federal constitution every possible safeguard is provided to shield its judiciary against fleeting prejudice, political rancour, and party dependence—to which legislators and the executive are unavoidably, directly, and constantly exposed. Hence, “to the one supreme court” is widely extended (by “the appellate jurisdiction”) “all cases in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority.

Looking to this express provision, I have always held that when a doubtful question—arising under the constitution itself, the supreme law of the land; under an act of congress or a treaty, has once been solemnly adjudicated by that court, the principle of the decision ought to be taken, by all, as definitely settled—unless, indeed, it be upon a rehearing before the same tribunal. This appears to me too clear for disputation; for the court is not only declared to be supreme, and hence there can be no bench beyond it; but to congress is only given the power to constitute inferior tribunals. By appeals to the supreme court a *settlement* only was

intended to be reached, and anarchy, through a long distraction of the public mind, on great questions of legislative and executive power, thus rendered impossible. Practically, therefore, for the people, and especially their functionaries to deny, disturb, or impugn principles thus constitutionally established, strikes me as of evil example, if not of a direct revolutionary tendency—except, indeed, in the case of a judicial decision enlarging power and against liberty; and any dangerous error of this sort can always be easily corrected, (and should only be corrected,) by an amendment of the constitution, in one of the modes prescribed by that instrument itself—the organic law of the states and the people. Misconstructions of the law, other than the constitution, are yet more readily corrected, by amendatory and declaratory acts of congress.

THE EXECUTIVE VETO.—This by the framers of the constitution could only have been designed, 1, To enable the president to defend his own rightful powers against usurpation on the part of congress; 2, To enable him to *forbid* other legislative infractions of the constitution; and 3, To guard the country against other acts of hasty or violent legislation.

It is hardly possible to conceive a case, under the first or second of these heads, against which the judiciary—the *balance-wheel* of the system—does not afford, of itself, all the security that the people can require.

But without the protection of either the bench or the veto, would the executive department (become so super-judicial of late years) be too weak to fulfil the strictly executive functions for which it was more particularly created? or, rather, would not that department still be the most powerful, for evil, in the government?

The president is under the checks of the constitution and law, rightfully invested with the power of the sword, and he has again and again had that of the purse also. The houses of congress, it is true, lay taxes, fix imposts, and regulate the sales of the public domain; but it is he (through his agents) who handles the proceeds. From 1833 to 1836 (to say nothing of the present) he alone nominated and dismissed all the agents who *kept*, as well as those who collected, distributed, and disbursed the public revenue. The apothegm—*make us your executor; we care not who are your legislators*—has a frightful application to such small agents, and the immense treasure that annually passes through their hands.

The rapid increase and spread of population; the growth of national wealth; the amount of revenue collected and disbursed: the new relations (by the extension of commerce) with foreign countries; the additional appointments at home and abroad; the number and value of contracts—all constantly and necessarily on the increase; a general decay in morals, perhaps as great in congress as elsewhere; the habit that we have seen prevail during several presidential terms—of filling public offices with but little or no regard to moral standing—have, taken together, already opened to the head of the government elements of power and corruption which it was impossible for the framers and adopters of the constitution to foresee or to conceive. Who, at that distant day for example, ever dreamed of the spectacles which have recently disgusted every honest citizen; of postmasters, mail-contractors, mail-agents, and census-takers covering the land with government pamphlets, handbills, and extra gazettes, sufficient (if read) to sap the morals, public and private, of an entire generation? of the custom-house

mercenaries in the large cities living on the public, neglecting every duty for party meetings and the polls, and rendering to power the most bribe-worthy services?—of the district attorneys and collectors, rambling missionaries, defending every abuse of office—their own the most indecent—in order to maintain power in the hands of their patron? All who have reflected on the foregoing facts must be ready to affirm—that executive patronage “has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.”

I hope, then, by an early amendment of the constitution, to see a reduction of the president's veto. The *regulation* of patronage would properly follow.

There can be no good reason why the veto should not be overcome by a bare majority in each house of congress, of all the members elected to it—say, for the benefit of reflection, at the end of ten days from the return of the bill. An amendment to this effect would still leave the president, the general representative of every state and district, armed with the votes of all the members absent at the moment, from the respective houses; and there will always be some members absent from both.

ROTATION IN OFFICE.—The inquiry, under this head, is not definite in any letter before me. It, however, is presumed to refer—1, To governors and secretaries of territories, and *some* of the judges therein; district attorneys; collectors, surveyors, and naval officers of the customs; marshals; postmasters, whose commissions amount to a thousand dollars *per annum*; navy agents; registers and receivers of land offices; surveyors-general of land, and Indian agents—all of whom are, by law, appointed for a term of four years; but subject, by express enactment, (except the judges,) to be removed at pleasure; 2, To a high class of civil officers (next to the chiefs) in the executive departments at Washington: other high functionaries—foreign ministers, secretaries of legation and consuls; postmasters, whose commissions amount to less than a thousand dollars *per annum*; superintendent of Indian affairs, Indian sub-agents, &c., &c., all appointed without limitation as to term, yet subject, in *practice*—not by *express* law—to be also removed at pleasure; and 3, To the assistants allowed by law to very many of the principals included above, which assistants are generally called *clerks*—some of them, deputies, appraisers, weighers, gaugers, sub-inspectors, store-keepers, light-house keepers, &c., &c., all appointed and subject to removal, as under the second head.

I am asked—Whether (in my poor opinion) all those functionaries, (amounting to many thousands,) or any of them, ought to be periodically superseded by original appointments? If yes—*When*? And if a part only—*Which*?

We have seen that a great number of offices are filled for a term of years, and more without any limitation as to term. I, however, can draw no just distinction between the claims of the two classes upon the favour of country or government.

Premising, that regular periodical changes in the subordinate servants of the country, merely for the sake of change, would necessarily swell executive patronage, already to much swollen—I am obliged to add that I more than doubt, on other grounds, the policy and justice of such changes. 1, Because, for the able and prompt execution of public business, much official experience, in a great number of particular stations, is known to be necessary; 2, Because, many office-holders, appointed even under reckless administrations, (such as we have seen,) will always, after a time, be found of tried integrity and of equal industry and abilities;

3, Because again, some may be found in a state of honourable poverty, the result no less of stern integrity than of a long and exclusive devotion to the interests of the public; and 4, Because, to remove such servants, or *not* to reappoint them at the end of a term, would not only discourage successors in a faithful discharge of duty, but could not fail to outrage the moral sense of entire communities. I speak on this head from what I witnessed in 1829-30, of the cruel experiment, on a large scale, then made on the sensibilities of the country, and the mischiefs to the public interests which early ensued.

What I would, therefore, humbly advise, is this:

To turn out not only on a change of president, but in any and every week of the year, all the office-holders known to be deficient in either honesty, capacity, or industry, and to appoint in their stead men known to possess those qualities. Without an anxious attention to this rule, a government of the people, resting on virtue and intelligence, cannot long be successfully maintained; for a blind or vicious distribution of enormous patronage would soon—by the force of the highest example—beat down all that is taught in the church, the school-house, and the college.

ONE PRESIDENTIAL TERM.—Of the eight chief magistrates that preceded Gen. Harrison—whom a nation yet mourns—the first, third, fourth, fifth, and seventh presided over this Union, respectively, two successive terms; the other three but four years each; and every one of the eight, *while in office*, became a candidate for a second term.

I consider the sublime example set by the *father of his country*, in declining a third election—which has been duly followed by four popular presidents, and would no doubt have been observed with equal good faith by the other three, under like circumstances—as establishing a barrier against a *third* term, as impassable as if it were embodied in the constitution itself. But I do not consider it respectful to the people, nor otherwise proper in a candidate, to solicit a favour on a *pledge*, that, if elected, he will not accept a second nomination. It looks too much like a bargain tendered to other aspirants; *yield to me now; I shall soon be out of your way*; too much like the interest that sometimes governs the cardinals in the choice of a pope—many voting for themselves first, and, if without success, finally for the most superannuated, in order that the election may the sooner come round again. I am, however, in favour of an amendment of the constitution in one of the forms prescribed—declaring that no citizen shall be eligible to a re-election to the presidency, and also to an extension of that term to that of a senator—a period of six years.

AGENCY TO THE PRESIDENT IN LEGISLATION.—I am persuaded that this should be strictly limited, 1, To the veto, qualified as suggested above; 2, To the command of the constitution—"he shall, from time to time, give to congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient," and 3, To furnishing, through the appropriate executive departments, such details for bills as any committee of either house of congress may especially call for.

LEADING MEASURES OF THE LATE EXTRA SESSION OF CONGRESS.—If I had had the honour of a vote on the occasion, it would have been given in favour of the *Land Distribution Bill*, the *Bankrupt Bill*, and the second bill for creating a *Fiscal Corporation*—having long been under a conviction that, in peace, as in war, something efficient, in the nature of a *Bank of the United States*, is not "only necessary and proper,"

but indispensable to the successful operations of the treasury, as well as to many of the wants of our commerce and currency.

SECRET OR OATH-BOUND SOCIETIES.—I have not been a member of a masonic lodge in 30 odd years, nor a visiter of any lodge since, except once—now more than 16 years ago. There are, at many academies and colleges, as is well known, associations of students, tutors, and professors, for purely literary purposes, and their meetings, generally, for aught that I know, may be secret. Twenty-eight years ago I was once present with such an association, and never since; and I have, within five years, received many flattering notices of my having been enrolled as an honorary member of as many such associations. I am sorry to be reminded that, by some strange neglect, I have failed to accept one of those honorable distinctions.

Finally, I am asked—if nominated as a candidate for the presidency, would I except the nomination? I beg leave respectfully to reply—*yes*; provided, that I be not required to renounce any principle professed above. My principles are convictions.

Hoping that you, who have done me honour to invite this general reply, may, with the millions, be enabled in a year or two to fix on some other citizen as your candidate, more worthy, and, therefore, more likely to conciliate the majority of popular suffrages.

I remain, gentlemen,

Your friend and fellow-citizen,

WINFIELD SCOTT.

President Tyler's Fiscal Agent to regulate Exchanges and Currency by a new system of paper credit, &c.

We had prepared an article on Mr. Tyler's Fiscal Agent, and just as we were sending it to the printer we received the Evening Post of the 14th December, 1841, containing an article on the same subject; on perusing which, and finding it to be much more to the point than our own, we at once substituted the one from the Post referred to, which, we feel confident, will be found highly interesting to our subscribers.

The Fiscal Agent.—We intimated, a few days ago, that we might await the details of the President's plan for a new Fiscal Agent, as they should be presented by the Secretary of the Treasury, preliminary to any farther remarks upon the subject. But the report is long in coming, and why, after all, when a thing is in itself objectionable in its very principle, should we inquire as to the means by which it is to be accomplished? The scheme is already sufficiently unfolded to show that it is irreconcilable with the great principles of the democratic party, and that is enough. Setting aside constitutional objections; setting aside the consideration that it will not, and cannot regulate either currency or exchange, the two great objects which are alone relied on in justification of the measure; and forbearing to anticipate any other objections founded on the details which may hereafter be disclosed, enough is already known to mark it with the solemn reprobation of all those who are sincerely attached to democratic principles and policy.

It converts the government of the United States, through the instrumentality of its immediate agents, into an instrument and accomplice in extending and perpetuating a system of paper credit, which it is the end and aim of the democracy to circumscribe and reform. Instead of regulating the currency, it will add additional millions of promises to those already

broken. If carried into operation, it will at once contribute fifteen millions to the paper circulation of the country, and as many more afterward as may be necessary to carry out "omnibus bills," and the log-rolling system in congress. It would be easy to show that the means relied on to furnish a specie basis for this great paper excrescence, are uncertain, not to say altogether fallacious; that it will be composed of nothing but paper, and entirely dependent on paper for its existence. But this we shall leave to some future occasion. We are dealing with principles, not details.

The radical and insurmountable objection to Mr. Tyler's scheme of finance is, that it constitutes an entering-wedge to a system which, in every country where it has been adopted, except England, has led to national bankruptcy through means of national prodigality. And how is it operating at this moment in England? There, indeed, it continues to stagger along under its load of countless millions, but at every step crushes hundreds of thousands of human beings to the earth; beggars industry; renders it utterly impossible for the most unremitting toil, the most sordid economy, the most severe self-denial to ward off absolute starvation, and, in conjunction with its twin associate, the protective system, does the work of plague, pestilence, and famine combined. The power to create the means of extravagance by paper issues, when wielded by the government, will inevitably lead to the very consequences resulting from a similar power lodged in the hands of individuals, since they are equally assailed by the same temptations. It is the inexhaustible fountain of prodigality in rulers, and of poverty in a large portion of those who are ruled. It enriches a government, while it exhausts the people, and generates a splendid short-lived phantom of empty prosperity; a country marching onward in the career of glory, with starving multitudes in its train, and famine gnawing its vitals. We challenge the advocates of this system of anticipating the resources and revenues of a country, by borrowing money, or, what is far more pernicious, making our money out of nothing as it is wanted for ordinary expenditures—we defy them to produce an instance of a government resorting to such expedients, that did not end at last in national bankruptcy, or, what we consider still worse, in a spectacle like that at this moment exhibited by England, where the system is sustained at the expense of a wide-spread distress among the labouring classes, such as is seen in no other country under heaven. Public burdens proceed in one uniform direction. Those who inflict them take good care to relieve themselves from their due portion by some ingenious device of legislation, which eludes the sagacity of the people, and enables them, in addition to this, to reap the fruits thus plucked from the labours of others. These burdens are tossed down stairs, step by step, and by a progress as rapid as unseen, quietly descend to the bottom, where they remain with all their accumulating aggravations, until at length labour, which in reality sustains them all, revolts from the intolerable load, and resorts to the only remedy left, an appeal to the Lord of Hosts in defence of the rights he has vouchsafed to all mankind.

Our chief magistrate, however, apprehends no danger from the government of the United States setting up the business of broker and manufacturer of paper money by deputy, with a small capital of \$15,000,000 to begin with. "If," he says, "a fear be indulged that the government may be tempted to run into excess in its issues, at some future period, it seems to me that no such apprehension can be reasonably entertained,

until all confidence in the representatives of the states and of the people, as well as in the people themselves, shall be lost." All this looks plausible enough in theory, but we confess the guaranty is not satisfactory to our minds. We can only judge of the future by the past, and estimate what is likely to happen by what has already happened in similar cases. We have already referred to the example of every other country; and that of England, if it must be made an exception, rather strengthens our position. As that country now presents itself to the contemplation of those who prefer human happiness to national glory, obtained only by its sacrifice, we believe none will deny that it would have been far better for the great mass of Englishmen had their government become bankrupt a century ago.

If we look at home, we shall find in our brief history nothing to justify the confidence of the author of the message. We can distinctly refer to the issue of bills of credit by the Province of Massachusetts many years previous to the revolution, which resulted in a bank that eventually neither paid its stock-holders nor its bills; to the deplorable catastrophe of "continental money;" to the issue and rapid depreciation of Treasury Notes during the last war; and finally, to the present condition of the whole banking system, with the exception of some few institutions. Is there anything in this exhibition which affords the slightest ground for doubting that, when people make their own money without the trouble of earning it; when they have it in their power to create out of nothing the means of gratifying, not only their wants, but their ambition, avarice, vanity, nay, every other passion, they will not avail themselves of the opportunity? Is there, we ask—not in triumph, but deep humiliation—is there anything in past experience on which to ground a future hope, that either the representatives of the states or of the people, or the people themselves, are more wise, virtuous, disinterested, and patriotic, than in the time past? We have, in the Fiscal Agent of Mr. Tyler, sufficient proof that bitter experience is not always the preceptor of wisdom even with those whose talents, station, and opportunities afford the greatest advantages in reaching just conclusions. The representatives of the states and the people are but men, exposed by their very situations to greater temptations than others; and the people of the United States, though intelligent, honest, industrious, and patriotic, have no adequate security, as recent experience has shown, that their principles will not be sacrificed, and their sovereign will offered up at the shrine of the paper phantom.

We say, then, that the only security the people have against the abuse of the system recommended by Mr. Tyler, is, to put it down at once and for ever, before it becomes too potent ever to be put down. Like the system of England, it will spread its cobweb fibres, and expand its influence, until it combines a phalanx of interests which will baffle all resistance, and present but one alternative, national bankruptcy, or the impoverishment of the people. The government must break, or the nation sweat for it. The productive labour of the country must maintain the national honour at the sacrifice of every comfort of life and every attribute of freemen. The labouring classes must offer up the bread which belongs to their famishing children; the rags that cover their nakedness; the very bed on which they recover their capacity for new exertions; they must herd to get her and starve together, to gorge the devouring and insatiable monster, **PUBLIC CREDIT.**

Correspondence between the American and British Ministers in relation to the detention of American vessels in the African seas.—The correspondence which has taken place between Lord Palmerston and our late Minister to Great Britain, is published in the National Intelligencer. We find it too long to republish, with the demands made at present upon our columns, but shall furnish our readers with a brief abstract and analysis of the argument.

The first few letters, signed by Lord Palmerston, are taken up with the explanation of special cases of detention and search, which the American Minister had previously brought to his notice. He attempts to show, that in all these cases the vessels seized were sailing under circumstances which justified the suspicion of their being engaged in the slave-trade. He does not pretend that her majesty's naval officers have any right to search American merchantmen; and if, in a few instances, such searches have been made, they were done under mistaken motives of duty, against the recurrence of which orders have been given. But he does claim, that merely hoisting a strip of bunting with the United States emblems upon it, does not exempt a vessel from search, when there is reason to suspect her character. Whether she have the real papers of the United States, and be navigated according to law, can only be ascertained by asking, or compelling, her to show her papers; and for that purpose the British cruisers are sent out. To deny the right of search, as so explained, would give unlimited license to the trade in slaves.

The rejoinder of Mr. Stevenson is addressed to Lord Aberdeen, the successor of Lord Palmerston. He complains that the decision of the British government does injustice to the claims of Americans, whose vessels had been detained and injured by the cruisers on the coast of Africa. He regrets, also, that a right altogether indefensible by the principles of national and moral law, had been asserted by that government. He contends that there is no difference between the right of search, which the minister disclaims, and the right to detain and board, which he defends. Indeed the latter may be regarded as more odious and insulting, and giving place to greater injuries than the former, which is a mere belligerent right, not allowed to be enforced in time of peace.

Mr. Stevenson, then, by a learned and pertinent citation of the authorities, attempts to show that the power of visitation and detention cannot be rightfully exercised in these cases, according to the laws and usages of nations. The slave-trade, though condemned as piracy by particular nations, is not contrary to the general law of nations, and its interdiction cannot, therefore, be enforced by the ordinary right of visitation, &c., &c. No nation would submit to a power conferring upon another the option to determine upon what conditions it should navigate the ocean in a time of profound peace. What tribunal is to declare the degree and kind of suspicion to be attached to a vessel, to justify the boarding and detaining her? Would it not make every subordinate commander of a British cruiser the judge of important rights? What security would there be for American merchantmen, prosecuting their lawful voyages?

Lord Aberdeen answers by construing the authorities cited by his correspondent. He then states that the British government sincerely desires to respect American vessels, but that it cannot be determined, without resorting to visitation, &c., what vessels are really American; Mr. S., himself, admitting that the slave-ships of all nations take advantage of the United

States flag. The acknowledged fact of the abuse creates the right of inquiry. He again renounces all pretensions on the part of the British government to visit and search American vessels in time of peace. Nor is it as American that such vessels are ever visited. But it has been the invariable practice of the British navy, and, as Lord Aberdeen believes, of all navies in the world, to ascertain by visit the real nationality of merchant vessels met with on the high seas, if there be good reason to apprehend their illegal character. In certain latitudes, and for a particular object, the vessels referred to are visited, not as American, but either as British vessels engaged in an unlawful traffic, and carrying the flag of the United States for a criminal purpose, or as belonging to States which have by treaty conceded to Great Britain the right of search, and which right it is attempted to defeat by fraudulently bearing the protecting flag of the Union; or, finally, they are visited as piratical outlaws, possessing no claim to any flag or nationality whatever. Besides, to admit Mr. Stevenson's doctrine would be virtually to extend a protection to a most abominable traffic.

Mr. Stevenson then replies, *seriatim*, to all the points raised by the British Secretary, reasserting his old positions, and protesting earnestly against the unwarranted assumption of Great Britain. But our limits compel us to close the analysis. The discussion is marked with great ability on both sides, and we think the United States has reason to rejoice that so intelligent, firm, and eloquent a representative was charged with the presentation and enforcement of her views.—*Evening Post*, 14th December, 1841.

Nicholas Biddle, late president of the United States Bank of Pennsylvania, and other distinguished actors lately attached to that institution, have been presented by the Grand Jury of the county of Philadelphia "for entering into a conspiracy to defraud," &c, as will be seen by the following presentation of the Grand Jury, to which are added a few remarks touching the concern.

REMARKS—18th December, 1841, we have just put the following into the hands of the printer, therefore it is not likely that we shall be able in the present number to give the proceedings of the court in the matter, or the trial by jury, should one take place, which, by the by, we think very doubtful. But be that as it may, we intend to give the result of the affair in our next number, with such information as we can collect that may be interesting to our subscribers and the public generally.

Having expressed our doubts as to a trial by jury of Messrs. Biddle, &c., taking place, we think it proper to state our reasons for forming such doubts. It is an old saying, that "With money you may almost purchase anything, every man has his price;" believing as we do this game was played to an alarming extent in procuring a charter for this now *broken bank*, and if that was the case, and of which there cannot be a reasonable doubt, why may not this same game be played over again—as in all probability Biddle & Company have in their possession several millions of dollars—a portion of which may be used for "fair busi-

ness transaction." Should Biddle & Co. be set at liberty without a trial, what must be thought of a Philadelphia court and jury that sent poor old Mr. Dyott to the State prison, to saw stone for a term of years, for Bank swindling, and that too not one-hundredth part of the amount of which Biddle & Co. are charged with? while, we understand, that Dyott is left poor and all but destitute, and deserted by his former friends, many of whom received the benefit of his bank to a large amount—Biddle & Co. move *majestically* in the first ranks of Philadelphia aristocracy: and should this said Nicholas Biddle visit Wall-street, we should not be surprised if the stock-jobbers, money-changers, and shavers, &c., were to carry him on their shoulders, from one end of the street to the other, in honour of his great *Financiering, Cotton Speculations, &c.* So much for morals.

In looking back and reviewing the various circumstances attending the affairs of the late Bank of the United States, we are struck with surprise at the foresight and penetration of Andrew Jackson in withholding his signature to recharter that *rotten and aristocratical institution*, which was so *ably defended* by Clay, Webster, and a host of other bank borrowers, worshippers, &c.; had their wheels not been stopped, depend upon it the American people would at this very day have been completely *chained to the moneyed aristocracy* of England and America; besides this, every foot of the *people's public lands* would have been in the possession of British capitalists, and probably several hundred millions of United States bonds also, thus rendering our country little less than colonies of Great Britain.

Working men, look at this picture, it is no fiction nor exaggeration of what most assuredly would have been the case had it not been for the hero of New Orleans refusing to sign a recharter of the "monster," had General Jackson done no other good deed than this for his country, this of itself was glory enough, and no doubt will be viewed as such by the mass of the American people to the latest posterity.

Presentment of the Grand Jury to the Court of Sessions.—To the Honourable Court of General Sessions, the Jury of the county of Philadelphia respectfully submit to the court, on their solemn oaths and affirmations, the following statement of their proceedings:

On the 12th day of November, 1841, a paper containing charges of a criminal nature against certain individuals, and which is hereto annexed, (marked B,) was presented to the Grand Inquest, now inquiring for the city of Philadelpha, by a responsible citizen who pledges himself to make good his charges and be the prosecutor. An accusation coming in such a shape, the Grand Jury felt it to be an imperative duty to investigate, and accordingly subpoenas were issued for all the persons named as witnesses by the persons making the accusation, and for such others who in the course of the examination were found to be cognizant of any material fact having relation to the charge.

A full and searching inquiry has been instituted, and the deliberate opinion of the grand jury is, that certain officers connected with the United States Bank have been guilty of a gross violation of the laws, colluding together to defraud those stock-holders who had trusted their all to be preserved by them. And that there is good ground to warrant a prosecution of such persons for serious criminal offences, which the Grand Jury do now present to the court, and ask that the attorney general be directed to send up, for the action of the Grand Jury, bills of indictment against,

First. Nicholas Biddle, Samuel Jaudon, John Andrews, and others, (to the jury unknown,) for entering into a conspiracy to defraud the stock-holders of the United States Bank of the sum or sums of four hundred thousand dollars in the year 1836. And endeavouring to conceal the same by a fraudulent and illegal entry in 1841.

To sustain the above, endorsed Austin Montgomery, (Captain Henry Mallory,) Henry Korn as accusers, Moses Kempton, Edward Cole, James S. Newbold, Joshua Lippincott, Jonathan Patterson, Thomas Taylor, and William Drayton as witnesses.

The Grand Jury, on their solemn oaths and affirmations, do farther ask that a bill of indictment be sent to them against, second, Nicholas Biddle, Joseph Cowperthwaite, Thomas Dunlap, and others, (to the jury unknown,) for entering into a conspiracy to defraud, &c., the stock-holders of the Bank of the United States, during the years 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, and 1840, by which the stock-holders have been defrauded out of the sum or sums of money exceeding three hundred dollars.

To sustain this bill, endorse the same accusers as in the first case.

As witnesses, Moses Kempton, Edward Coles, James S. Newbold, Joshua Lippincott, Jonathan Patterson, Thomas Taylor, William Drayton, Joseph Cabot, Rodney Fisher, Richard Price, and George Handy.

The Grand Jury, on their solemn oaths and affirmations, do farther ask for a bill of indictment against Alexander Lardner, Thomas Dunlap, Richard Price, Lawrence Lewis, and George Handy, and others, (to the jury unknown,) for feloniously, &c., conspiring to cheat and defraud the stock-holders of the United States Bank of Pennsylvania of the sum or sums of about one hundred and thirty thousand dollars, in the year 1840.

To sustain this charge, the same accusers as on the others, and as witnesses Moses Kempton, Edward Coles, James S. Newbold, Joseph Lippincott, Jonathan Patterson, and Thomas Taylor.

The Grand Jury would also inform the court that the jury have before them another subject of great importance, and which involves a misdemeanour of the gravest character, as committed by a magistrate of Southwark, whose duty it is to protect the citizens and their property, instead of conniving with burglars and thieves, taking the money that they had stolen, and then allowing them to escape justice and prey again upon the community. With respect, &c.

T. B. TOWN, Foreman.

Grand Jury Room, Philadelphia, December 10th, 1841.

[B.]

I charge Nicholas Biddle, Joseph Cowperthwaite, Thomas Dunlap, Samuel Jaudon, and John Andrew with fraud and theft in taking and using, for their own benefit, and accommodating their friends, the money belonging to the stock-holders of the United States Bank,

which they were liberally paid to guard, and not to abuse.

My proof is the report of the investigating committee, made to the stock-holders in April, 1841; as to the idea of the above being a breach of trust only, 'tis not so, 'tis too idle and insulting to be pretended or entertained for one moment—away with it, then, and for ever—those men were servants, and paid for their services; so are your family domestics to whom you give in charge your plate and other valuables. But if they appropriate it or them to themselves, they are unhesitatingly charged with, and proceeded against, as for theft, and why not N. Biddle and the rest?

AUSTIN MONTGOMERY.

Remarks on the small population of the Islands of Guernsey and Jersey holding £200,000 sterling of the stock of the late United States Bank.—When the great panic took place, which rendered it all but impossible for the merchants to meet their foreign engagements, owing to their over-trading, speculating, &c., we are told that Nicholas Biddle exclaimed, our foreign debts must be paid. We fully agree with Mr. Biddle on this subject, and beg leave to say to that distinguished personage, he will confer a favour on the American people by answering the following from the London Bankers' Circular, and informing the population of Guernsey and Jersey who it was that defrauded them, &c., and thus acquit the mass of the American people of having any hand in the affair:

"The affair of the United States Bank is too important to be huddled into a paragraph among other matters; it must have one by itself. The proportion of its capital held by British subjects is nearly four millions sterling; but it may be described as an entire loss. And this loss, we venture, upon some consideration, to say, is greater than the aggregate of all the losses sustained by the inhabitants of the British Islands from the failure of the Banks in the country, since Mr. Batterson established the Banks of England and Scotland in the 17th century. The small population of Guernsey and Jersey hold £200,000 of the stock of this United States Bank. Call it an entire loss, and it is equal to a levy of three or four pounds one very man, woman, and child in the whole community of those islands—a sum greater than was ever raised by taxation in a single year on any people in the whole world. Are these important facts? if facts they be. Then let statesmen meditate upon them, for by their errors and reckless confidence in delusive theories they have been produced."

What is expected of the New York Legislature.—Success in a party struggle is a two-edged sword, which they who grasp should be careful to take by the hilt, and not by the blade. The democratic party have obtained a great triumph at the late election in this state; but the triumph is a good, or an evil, according as they shall use it. If we pursue an honest course; if we are true to our principles and professions; if we abide strictly, in the day of our power, by the declarations we made in our weakness; if our legislature, in all that relates to men's occupations, of whatever nature, shall endeavour to secure to all the greatest freedom, with the most perfect equality of advantages; if we put the finances of the state at once upon an economical

footing, stop the extravagant expenditures which are now going on, stop the farther issue of the state stocks, buy off all improvident contracts, give no more money and no more credit to railroad companies, listen to no more schemes of state canals and state railroads, face the difficulties of our exchequer manfully, and lay a direct tax to meet and pay the debt which is impending and cannot be otherwise paid; if we do this, we shall have the people with us, and our ascendancy in the state will be as durable as it is beneficial.

If, on the other hand, we go astray after the follies of the party which has just been ejected by the people; if our legislature gives itself up to be ruled by projectors and speculators; if we contract new debts instead of extinguishing the old; if we shrink from a necessary tax, and pile up the future burden by new resorts to credit, we shall be swept from the power with the same suddenness that we were swept in. We shall have disappointed the just expectations of the people, and shall receive our reward.

It is for this that the majority has been given to us in the legislature, namely to disentangle and adjust our embarrassed finances, with the same probity and prudence that an honest and sagacious agent would set in order the affairs of an ill-managed estate. Great numbers of the whig party themselves have been startled at the extravagance of the state administration, their insane schemes, their lavish expenses, the swiftness with which the state under their management has been posting to a disgraceful bankruptcy. We have been called to give the state another direction, to economize, to retrench, to save what is not yet wasted, and to check future waste. Let us apply ourselves to this task with confidence in the good sense and sound judgment of the people, assured that they will sustain their agents in that course which promises to be the best in the end, though it should be attended with some temporary inconvenience.

The duty of our legislature is a plain one. All the indications of the public will point in one direction which we have only to follow, namely—frugality, retrenchment, and an honest direct dealing with the difficulties of our situation. If we shove off those difficulties to a future period, we shall be shoved out of power by those who have put us in, before we have time to finish the mischief. If we must lose the ascendancy, it were better to lose it with a good conscience, and with a tolerable certainty that justice would hereafter be done us, than to attempt to preserve the majority by cowardly and profligate compromises, and lose it disgracefully at last.—*N. Y. Even. Post.*

Bank Munificence.—The following are some of the patriots who are urging on a civil war because the people will not recharter the British Bank. Look at them! This is the way Nicholas Biddle pays the public servants:

Lawyer Clay's fees,	\$40,000
Lawyer Sergeant's fees,	40,000
Lawyer Webster's fees and loans,	58,000
Lawyer Johnston's loans,	36,000
Lawyer Poindexter's loans,	10,000
Printer Webb's loans,	52,975
Printer Green's loans,	38,000
Printer Harding's loans,	31,916
Printer Wilson's fee, in part,	580
Balance of Printer Wilson's fee,	1,447
Printers Gales and Seton's loans,	52,370
Printer Walsh's loans,	6,541

Total, \$467,829

AN ANALYSIS

Of the first volume of the Madison Papers, giving a copious outline of the Debates in the Convention which formed the Constitution of the United States, &c.; also, a few suggestions to Congress, to throw open the Printing and Publishing of the Madison Papers to the competition of Publishers generally, so that the Producing and Working Classes may have an opportunity to purchase them at a price commensurate with their ability.

Since the lamented death of President Madison, Congress has purchased of his widow, at a cost of thirty thousand dollars, the manuscript of his unpublished writings. Messrs. Langtree and O'Sullivan, the publishers of these valuable documents, have published them (as we understand, by a contract with Government,) in three large octavo volumes. Price, nine dollars.

The very superior style in which the work has been got up, is highly creditable to the publishers and our country—but we are not without our fears that its high price, nine dollars, will in a great measure frustrate the intention its venerable writer doubtless had in view when preserving with his own hand these records of the early fathers of American liberty; *their extensive circulation among the people.*

The debates of 1776-'82 and '83, which are to be found in the first volume of the "Madison Papers," are invaluable at the present period, to the Democracy of our country. Marked as they are by that division in opinion and action which since that time has formed the line of demarcation between the Democratic and Federal politicians of the Union; one portion of the debates contending for an aristocracy supported by monied monopolies; (*the Federal principles of our own day;*) the other, for that equality of rights and privileges which were then, and *remain*, the corner stones of democracy, and which finally prevailed in the adoption of the Constitution we now enjoy. May it never be divested of its pristine purity! To preserve it, our labors must be proportioned to the value of the sacred deposite. Encroachment and innovation have already assailed it, supported by the monied aristocracy of our own country backed by the wealth of Europe. A firm union in principle and action can alone enable us to withstand the shock—to repel the aggression. Much might be said on this subject, in its proper place. We forbear, here, to do more than warn our countrymen—and return to the analysis of the "Madison Papers." We shall steadily proceed with the analysis through the whole work, that the producing and laboring classes may possess the fund of valuable political information which it contains.

The accomplishment of this task we are aware will be attended with labor and difficulty. Our reward will be sought for in a diffusion of most valuable political matter among those for whom the "Democratic Guide" is more particularly intended—furnished by one of the patriarchs of American Freedom. The purity of style which characterizes the "Madison Papers" is not among the least of their beauties; it is elegant, simple and comprehensive. There is too about them a raciness—a freshness which must carry conviction to the most prejudiced, that they are the offspring of direct observation, from a man of superior intellect—a scholar and a Patriot. The first volume opens with the debates in 1776 on the Declaration of Independenec, preserved by Mr. Jefferson.—These are followed by Mr. Madison's correspondence, preceding the debates of 1783, with various political characters of high standing, among whom we particularly notice Mr. Jefferson, Pendleton, Jones and Edmund Randolph. The debates in Congress of 1782-3, immediately follow the correspondence to which we have above alluded, and are succeeded by a second series of letters, addressed, with one exception, to Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Edmund Randolph. A short appendix closes the first volume.

We now proceed to furnish our readers with a condensed analysis of this volume, interspersed with such observations as particular portions of it may seem to demand at our hands.

"Debates of 1776 on the Declaration of Independence, preserved by Thomas Jefferson."

The delegates from the various colonies having assembled at Philadelphia in 1776, it was moved by the Virginia delegates, "that these United Colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states," on the 7th of June. It appears from the debates, that while all the delegates expressed their conviction that a union with the mother country could not again take place, some of them considered the Declaration of Independence as premature—while others were expressly forbidden by their constituents to coincide in the adoption of such an instrument. On the other side, it was contended by the advocates for the *immediate* adoption of the motion made by Virginia, that the question was not whether we should by declaring ourselves independent, become so—but whether we should declare a fact which already existed. Mr. J. Adams Lee contended that we had always been independent of the power of England, either in her parliament or people—that their restraints on the commerce of America existed only while we acquiesced in and acknowledged their justice—that the connection between England and the colonies was of a federal nature,

and that Great Britain herself had dissolved it by commencing hostilities. Pennsylvania and Maryland, the two colonies the delegates from which were particularly hostile to an immediate declaration, were warmly adverted to—and severe allusions made to their aristocratic connections and proprietary powers, by Mr. Lee. After a warm and protracted debate, the committee of the whole house of delegates agreed to postpone the Declaration until the middle colonies were more fully aware of its necessity. Mr. JEFFERSON was nevertheless directed to draw up the Declaration; a task which he accomplished to such perfection that no political instrument, either of ancient or modern times, exceeds it in the depth of its wisdom—the purity of its morality, or the fertile eloquence of its diction. On the first of July, 1776, the House again resolved itself into a committee to debate on the original motion of the Virginia Delegation to which we have before adverted. The voice of the delegates, generally, was decidedly favorable to the motion. Those from Pennsylvania, New York and South Carolina, rather withheld their assent than offered any opposition to the general unanimity of feeling which pervaded the assembly: these, in a few days, united themselves in heart and hand with their political brethren, and the federal Union was thus happily and unanimously formed. In the adoption of the “Declaration of Independence,” some parts were stricken out in the general desire that every concession should be made which might rivet more firmly the bonds of a great union—as they were of local character, unconnected with the great object for which it was drawn up, it is unnecessary to notice them. In the committee appointed to draw up the Articles of the Confederation, some difference of opinion arose on the question of taxation. It was proposed in the 11th article, “that all expenses of war should be defrayed out of a common treasury, which should be supplied by the several colonies in proportion to the number of inhabitants of every age, sex and quality,” &c. The South opposed this article; her delegates contended that each state should be taxed according to the number of its *white* inhabitants. John Adams opposed such an amendment, which was negatived, and the original article adopted.

The rights of state voting produced a debate no less stormy than that which we have alluded to above. The seventeenth article proposed “that each colony should have one vote.” The most determined opposition was offered to this article by the delegates from the larger colonies—it was proposed by them, as in the question on taxation, that state votes should be regulated by the number of inhabitants: to this it was objected, that such

a plan would render the smaller states the vassals of the larger in a confederation where all were declared equal.

“Letters preceding the Debates of 1783.”

These celebrated letters, more particularly the former portion of them, are filled with the melancholy condition to which our army was reduced, by the omission of the necessary supplies from the various states in the confederacy, and the substitution of *rag* emissions, to barter for the fruits of our natural and national wealth—the soil. Speculators, heartless and unprincipled, *then*, as at the present day, were ever in waiting ready to pounce on the defenceless—whenever avarice could ensure gain, or paper pass current for gold. Mr. Madison bitterly inveighs against this system of paper plunder, whether under the name of “State emissions,” or from private individuals. He foretells, in his letters to Randolph, Jefferson and Jones, that the army *must* become dissatisfied. The prediction was fulfilled on the 9th of January, 1781, by a mutiny of the “*Pennsylvania line*.” The general officers commanding this division of the army, were arrested by the troops. The commander of the British army, Sir H. Clinton, having heard of this defection, sent over an emissary to fan the flame and offer them the protection of Great Britain, on condition that they would lay down their arms. The offer was rejected with disdain—the spirit of Liberty had gone forth—local circumstances had no power to arrest her progress. The intruder was taken—delivered by the troops to their commander—handed over to the proper authorities—and, with his guide, executed at Trenton, New Jersey.

The first Bank of the United States.

NATIONAL BANK.—On the 9th of January, 1782, Mr. Robert Morris attempted to open a *Bank*, chartered by Congress, with a stock of \$400,000. A promise, without sufficient consideration, was made by Congress, that the incorporation thus sought should be granted. Upon a nearer view of the question when the company claimed the fulfilment of the promise, it became apparent *that such an act on the part of Congress would be a violation of the Articles of Confederation, in which no such power was granted*: that Congress had no right to interfere with the *monetary* rights of the separate states—that an appeal to the highest legal tribunal of the country, by any state in which the acts of this Bank should be enforced, would at once shew the measure to be unconstitutional. A middle course was then proposed—that of incorporating the institution, with a *recommendation* to the states to give it all the necessary validity within the jurisdiction of each. What will the advocates of a NATIONAL

BANK, now, say of this proceeding? Shall we say that which was declared unconstitutional by the men who formed the Constitution, is, while that Constitution remains *unaltered, constitutional*? "I hope," says Mr. Madison, "that this tacit admission of a defect of power, will be an antidote against the poisonous tendency of precedents of *usurpation*." What Fiscal Agent we are yet to be *indulged* with in substitution of the Sub-Treasury, remains to be seen. Should Congress, under *any name*, endeavor to impose on the country a fiscal agent—that shall, at the same time, be a *discounting* agent, and have the care of the money belonging to the PEOPLE—we trust that the voice of repeal will go forth from the *millions* whose rights have been thus violated—to enrich and gratify the *few*. We cannot, however, imagine that Mr. Tyler will sanction an act that in any way places in jeopardy those interests and rights which he is sworn to protect. Let him adhere to the Constitution, in the *spirit* as well as the letter, and our republican institutions have no cause to fear.

Debates of 1783.

Payment of the Army.—On the 13th of January a deputation arrived from the army, demanding, in its name, the fulfilment of three conditions: 1st, an immediate advance of pay; 2nd, provision for the residue; 3rd, half-pay. The sufferings of the troops throughout the war had been intense; in many instances they had scarcely clothes sufficient to cover them—an allowance of provision inadequate to the actual necessities of life, and payment for their continued services as often forgotten as promised.

Creditors of the United States.—It appears from the debates of 1783, that some of the states, in direct opposition to the 11th article of the Confederation of 1776, which declares that all expenses of the war shall be defrayed by Congress out of a common treasury, to be supplied by the respective states," &c., assumed the right to apply a part of the state money, apportioned to Congress by the article above named, to the payment of their own citizens, who might be creditors of the United States. Pennsylvania was among the first to adopt this measure, alleging the non-fulfilment of government contracts as an excuse for her proceedings. In the debates in Congress which followed these proceedings, subsequent on this and similar state reservations, it was proposed, "that the revenue arising from the state debts should be collected by the authority of Congress, and that permanent and adequate funds, to operate generally through the Union, were indispensibly necessary," &c.

This proposition brought on the floor of Con-

gress the often agitated question of congressional and state rights. Mr. Lee declared "the states could never submit to an uniform tax—that it was repugnant to the Articles of Confederation, and by placing the sword and the purse in the same hand, was subversive of the fundamental principles of liberty." The long and stormy debate which arose on this proposition, evinces to every observer the determined opposition that will ever be made when Congress does, or is supposed to, assume powers not granted by the Constitution and infringing on the guaranteed rights of the different states. In the proposition here offered there was at least a semblance of justice: Congress had contracted debts for the general welfare of the country, abroad and at home—the states had agreed in the original Articles of Confederation, to furnish their respective quotas of money to Congress to sustain the war. They having neglected to fulfil their agreement, Congress seeks to enforce its fulfilment—but the delegation of such a power had been overlooked in the original Articles of the Confederation—it was unconstitutional, and hence resisted. A portion of the house contended that such a power was implied in the 11th article of Confederation; that as Congress was composed of delegates from each state, and such state had agreed to furnish its just fund toward the expenses of the war and other public debts—the right to collect those debts was implied, if not expressed. The opponents to such a construction of the 11th article of the Confederation, argued that Congress was *executive* and not *legislative*—that if merely possessing an executive power, a permanent revenue collected and dispensed by it, would be inconsistent with its character and dangerous to the liberties of the country. After a protracted debate on the means of restoring public credit, the committee were discharged without having devised them. Such, we are persuaded, will ever be the issue—where additional powers are sought after for the executive: if ever there was a period in our history where the means justified the end, it was this. The country was at war—with a foreign enemy within its borders—our towns had been desolated—our commerce destroyed—we had an army half-clothed—half-fed and unpaid—we had become the debtors of European courts to an extent of which even the *interest* was unpaid—yet the Democratic spirit of the country declared, through her delegates, that her credit should never rest on the destruction or the violation of her Constitution, and that the sword and purse should not be grasped by the same hand.

Preliminaries for a General Peace.—This prelude to a happy termination of a struggle of which history furnishes no parallel, which had

drained our country of its resources, public and private—reduced many of our most affluent citizens to comparative beggary, and entailed distress on all classes of society, arrived in March, 1783.

“Estimate of the Debt of the United States, reported by a Committee of Congress, Tuesday, April 8th, 1783.”

Foreign debt, due to France, Spain and Holland, \$7,885,085.

Domestic debt, for arrears due to the army, private loans, &c., \$28,615,290.

Interest on the foreign and domestic debts, including that on the commutation for half-pay to the officers in the army, \$2,362,320.

Aggregate of debt and interest, \$38,862,598.

The debates of 1783 close with an account of a second mutiny of the troops in Pennsylvania, which was, however, fortunately attended with no serious consequences. It is an astonishing and admirable trait in the sufferers, that although goaded on almost to madness by the trials which their families, in many instances, were undergoing—seemingly neglected by Congress—after having frequently presented and earnestly pressed their claims to consideration, that at the moment of the greatest intensity, reason resumed her place, and the love of country triumphed over wrongs which, whether unavoidable or otherwise, were not the less grievous to sustain. Nor was their devoted patriotism less forcibly portrayed in the rejection of every overture made by the enemy, to corrupt their integrity in these moments of agitated feeling. We know not of an instance on record in the *ranks* of the American army, in which British gold was able to seduce a *private* from allegiance to his country. The future historian will record this fact as one of the most noble devotions to public liberty which has graced the annals of nations. We have necessarily omitted to notice much of the matter contained in the debates of 1783 more particularly relating to our intercourse with foreign courts, public ministers, &c. In our early struggle, Spain pursued a course the most problematical—offering us pecuniary assistance—claiming, at the same time, the exclusive right over the Mississippi river. A secret treaty, made by our ministers with England, as preliminary to a general peace, was highly offensive to the court of France, and by many members of Congress, most severely animadverted upon—while others contended that such a step was necessary to the establishment of peace, and not detrimental to the interests of France.

“Letters contemporary with, and subsequent to, the Debates of 1783.”

The correspondence contained in the above letters relates principally to the debates in Congress

of 1783. As there are points in those debates to which we have not yet alluded particularly, we now present one of them to the notice of our readers: the refusal of some of the states to submit to the collection of their respective quotas towards the expenses of the war, &c., by an officer furnished by the authority of Congress, to enforce the payments. Pennsylvania was foremost in the refractory states, but subsequently rescinded this resolution of her legislature. Rhode Island next declared, through her delegates, her refusal, based on the assumption, that the tax was unequally laid—that it bore unnecessarily heavy on the commercial states; that the appointment of a congressional officer to levy contributions in a sovereign state, was unconstitutional and dangerous to the liberties of the republic; that the submission to such an act of arbitrary power would give an accession of strength to the executive, which might, at any future period, be used to destroy the local privileges of a state, and lead to remote consequences endangering the confederacy. Virginia, which had reluctantly yielded her assent to the impost, upon this declaration from Rhode Island, revoked her former acquiescence in the measure, and intimated to Congress, that the view taken by Rhode Island was congenial to her own sentiments; that the burden of the tax was unequal, and the mode by which Congress had signified its intention to collect it, a feature unknown in the formation of the Federal Constitution.

The second mutiny in the “Pennsylvania line,” which has already been noticed in our analysis of the “debates,” induced Congress to remove its sittings from Philadelphia to Princeton, New Jersey, in June, 1783.

We have now arrived at the conclusion of our analysis of the first volume of the “Madison Papers,” and in taking leave of its interesting details for the still more interesting matter with which the second and third volumes abound, we would respectfully suggest to Congress now in session, the propriety of making such an arrangement with the publishers as will ensure the publication of the “Madison Papers” at the lowest possible rate. They form an important portion of our National History—were originally purchased with the people’s money, and are, in fact, the common property of the country. As there was nothing *exclusive* in the struggle and the triumph which they record—neither should there be in the noble and brilliant examples of valor, suffering and patriotism, which they hold up to the present and future generations of our beloved country. What American can rise from their perusal without feeling the deep responsibility which devolves on him to sustain those political, civil and religious institu-

tions, purchased at the sacrifice of all save honor—washed by the blood of the bravest and the best, and sanctified by three millions of freemen, bending around the altar of Liberty, and invoking the blessings of Omnipotence on the justice of their cause!

If such are the feelings which the "Madison Papers" are calculated to inspire and cherish, they should be made available to all classes of our citizens. The poorest mechanic in the land has an interest and a property in them, equal to him who treads the carpeted mansion and reposes on the bed of down.

Nor would a reduction in the price of these documents diminish the *actual* profits on the work. If it were thrown open to competition, we should soon find it in the market in *one volume* at two or three dollars per copy, and the increased sale among the producing classes, would furnish far more than an equivalent for any reduction in the price. *Thousands* would be purchased instead of *hundreds*.

We are not without our doubts as to the *right* of Government to secure to itself a "copy-right" for the "Madison Papers." They were bought and paid for out of a common fund derived from the people. The copy-right should have been vested in those who really *purchased* a title to it. Wisdom presided at the *purchase* of these political records—liberality and justice should have governed their diffusion. We have no fault to find with the publication in its present shape. It is a National work, executed in a superior style—but we object to the principle which *restricts* it to its present expensive form—a restriction which amounts to its total exclusion from the working classes of our country.

The unanimity in sentiment which pervaded the members of Congress on the publication of the "Madison Papers," would have surprised us had we not been previously aware of the facility which hostile parties, forgetful of all public or private animosities, can unite in a common cause—when it is based on their individual interest: we allude to the bill brought into Congress and *passed*, (all but unanimously,) *giving* to each member a copy of these documents. While the producing classes were not able, from its high price, to purchase it—our congressional legislators, who had thus placed it beyond their reach, passed a law that to *them* it should be distributed *gratuitously*. We have said, "passed a law," but retract the expressions: the President, Mr. Van Buren, vetoed the bill on the ground, we believe, of its unconstitutionality.*

* This act of the late President Van Buren must no doubt meet with the approbation of the people generally. For ourselves, we cannot for a moment see the right Con-

gress should our remarks, fortunately, have a tendency to bring the matter before the present session of Congress, in such a manner as to produce a much cheaper edition of the "Madison Papers"—such an one as *all* the contributors to their *purchase* may enjoy the benefits of—we shall rejoice that our labor has not been in vain.

Second and third volumes in our next.

A NATIONAL BANK

In 1819, 1821 and 1828—Showing the often-repeated stories of the Federal Whigs, that "the people were always prosperous and happy under a United States Bank," were, like many of their similar stories, built on a sandy foundation.

We copy the following from "The American Manufacturer," a valuable weekly paper, (particularly for mechanics,) published at Pittsburg, Pa.—price, \$2 a year. The paper may be seen at the office of the Democratic Guide.

A National Bank, in 1819, 1821, 1824 and 1828.

The Federalists have always contended, that during the existence of a National Bank, the people were prosperous and happy; and that we will never again be blessed with good times until we have another grand National swindling shop. It is now our purpose to prove, by authority which no whig will dare dispute, that when "the great monster flourished in its glory," we had those periodical depressions, which are, and ever must be, the inevitable result of paper money banking, whether carried on under the authority of state or national legislation.

We here present to the candid consideration of the friends of a National Bank, a few extracts from the speeches and writings of distinguished Federalists, copied from Niles' Register, a rank federal publication.

In April 10, 1819, Niles, in his Register, used the following language in relation to the condition of the country:—

"From all parts of the country we hear of a severe pressure on men of business, and a general stagnation of trade, a large reduction in the price of staple articles. Real property is rapidly depreciating in its nominal value, and its rents or profits are exceedingly diminishing. Many highly respectable traders have become bankrupts, and it is agreed that many others must "go;" the banks are refusing the accustomed accommodations; confidence among merchants is shaken, and three per cent. a month is offered for the discount of promissory notes, which, a little while ago, were considered as good as "old gold," and whose makers have not since suffered any losses to render their notes less valuable than heretofore."

From the same, of August 16, 1819, Mr. Niles gives the following woeful condition of the workingmen in the large cities:—

gress possesses to purchase literary and other productions, at least beyond the wants of Government for public offices and library.

"It is estimated that there are 20,000 persons daily seeking work in Philadelphia; in New York, 10,000 able-bodied men are said to be wandering about the streets looking for it, and if we add to them the women who desire something to do, the amount cannot be less than 20,000; in Baltimore there may be about 10,000 persons in unsteady employment, or actually suffering because they cannot get into business. We know several decent men, lately "good liver," who now subsist on such victuals as two or three years ago they would not have given to their servants in the kitchen."

The Kentucky Argus, of June 7, 1819, a paper edited by a Federalist, says that "never within the recollection of our oldest citizens, has the aspect of the times, as respects MONEY and PROPERTY, been so alarming!"

Now we come to 1821. In Niles' Register, of April 15, 1821, we find the following:—

"It has become a *serious affair* to the *laboring man* to purchase himself a new garment—his wages, on an average, do not furnish him half as much as they did. A gentleman in Western Virginia directs the Register to be stopped, because he used to pay for it annually with *one barrel of flour*, but that *three* will not do it now. Another, a miller in Ohio, on paying his advance to my agent, observed that he had sold four barrels of flour to obtain the \$5 note which was remitted. Corn in Cincinnati is 10 cents a bushel. Wheat in Harrison County, Ohio, has fallen to 25 cents, and in some instances to 12½ cents. Flour at Pittsburg is \$1 a barrel; one bushel and a half of wheat will buy a pound of coffee, and a barrel of flour will buy a pound of tea."

Here we come to 1824; and we give the language of the great National Bank champion—HENRY CLAY, himself; and where is there a Whig who will gainsay his authority. The following is an extract from his speech, delivered in Congress, in 1824. After speaking of the "general distress which pervaded the country," and lamenting over the "successive unthreshed crops of grain perishing in our barns for want of a market," &c., he says:—

"The truth is, that no class of society suffers more, in the present stagnation of business, than the laboring classes. The wages of able-bodied men vary from five to eight dollars per month, and such has been the want of employment in some parts of the Union, that instances have not been unfrequent of men working merely for the means of present subsistence. If the wages for labor here and in England are compared, they will be found not to be essentially different."

But lest these assertions of Mr. Clay should not be relied on, we will bring another great gun of Federalism "to the breach." We mean DANIEL WEBSTER. In a speech delivered in Congress in 1824, he said:—

"The paper system of England had certainly communicated an artificial value to property. It had encouraged speculation, and excited over-trading. When the shock, therefore, came, and this violent pressure for money acted at the same moment on the continent, and in England, inflated and unnatural prices could be kept up no longer.

A reduction took place, which has been estimated at 30 if not 40 per cent. The depression was universal, and the change was felt severely in the United States, though not equally so in every part of them. Mr. Speaker [Clay] has alluded to the strong inclination in various parts of the country to issue paper money, as a proof of great existing difficulties. *I regard it rather a very productive cause of those difficulties*; and the House will not fail to observe, that there is at this moment much the loudest complaint of distress, precisely where there has been the greatest attempt to relieve it by systems of paper credit."

John White, Cashier of the United States Bank, Baltimore, describes embarrassments, &c., during 1819 to 1828 inclusive. He closes a letter of 1830 thus—"Dishonesty alike subversive of social happiness and morals."

We now present a short extract of a letter, written by John White, Cashier of the United States Bank at Baltimore, who gives a rapid view of the bank convulsions which distressed the people of the country during the years 1819 to 1828, inclusive. This letter is dated Feb. 15, 1830. He writes as follows:—

"Look back to the peace, a short period, fresh in the memory of every man, the wretched state of the currency for the two succeeding years cannot be overlooked; the disasters of 1819, which seriously affected the circumstances, property and industry of every district in the United States, will long be remembered. A sudden and pressing scarcity of money prevailed in the spring of 1822; numerous and very extensive failures took place at New York, Savannah, Charleston, and New Orleans, in 1825; there was a great convulsion among the banks and other monied institutions in the State of New York, in 1826; the scarcity of money among traders in that State, and eastward, in the winter of 1827 and 1828, was distressing and alarming; failures of banks in Rhode Island and North Carolina, and amongst the manufacturers of New England and this State, characterize the last year; and intelligence is just received of the refusal of some of the principal banks of Georgia to redeem their notes with specie, a lamentable and rapid succession of evil and untoward events, prejudicial to the produce of productive industry, and causing a baleful extension of embarrassment, insolvency, litigation, and dishonesty, alike subversive of social happiness and morals."

Now we ask every man, after having read the above extracts, to answer if he believes the creation of a National Bank would have any other effect than that of exciting a spirit of ruinous speculation, which, though it might have the appearance of prosperity for awhile, would end in the bankruptcy of all who were engaged in it, and consequent misery of the people?

Daniel Webster, 1816.—"No nation had a better currency than the United States—there was no nation that had guarded the currency with more care—for the framers of the Constitution, and those who enacted the early statutes on the subject, were hard money men; they had felt, and therefore duly appreciated the evils of a paper medium; they therefore sedulously guarded the paper currency

of the United States from debasement. The legal currency of the United States is gold and silver. This is a subject upon which Congress has run into no folly."

LANDLORD'S WARRANTS.

With remarks on their peculiarly oppressive character, and suggestions to the State Legislature, on the propriety of placing Landlords in a situation similar to other creditors.

As the period will shortly arrive when the Legislature of our State will be in session, we would impress on their attention the subject of *Landlord's Warrants*. There is no feature in our legislative code more generally oppressive in its character, or more obnoxious to the people, than that which empowers a landlord, *to the prejudice of all other creditors*, to seize on and appropriate to himself, the goods and chattels of an unfortunate tenant. It is a remnant of feudal aristocracy that we would gladly see erased from our statute book. Upon what principle of equal rights or equal justice, we would ask, is the landlord the *only* creditor who should be protected by legislative enactments—peculiar in their character—summary in their process, and injurious in their consequences? Why should he alone be secured from that risk which attends all other commercial transactions, to the injury of the merchant or the mechanic, with the proceeds of whose industrious enterprise he is enabled, by law, to avail himself? The merchant parts with his goods, and the mechanic with the produce of his labor, upon the same principle to that on which the landlord rents his premises—the expectation of an equivalent. Their security is based upon the common principles of commercial honesty.

If, from any cause, the purchaser of their goods becomes unable to pay his debts—two alternatives are presented to them—either to lose the principal and interest of their debts, or to sue at common law for their recovery. Should they choose the latter alternative, the landlord comes on the premises with his warrant, and long before a judgment can be obtained, strips the unfortunate debtor of the goods belonging to his other creditors, and leaves them with the total loss of their property added to the legal expenses incurred. We are aware it may be said the merchant and mechanic are not compelled to give credit. We admit the proposition. Neither is the landlord: he has an undoubted right to secure to himself the payment of his rent, either by responsible securities, or by an advance of money. We would yield to him every right that depends on his own agency—but we would invest him with no legal privileges beyond such as all who buy and sell are entitled to.

The law which authorises distress for rent, has descended to us from the most tyrannical periods of English jurisprudence: the vox populi from which alone all laws in a republic should emanate, has had nothing to do in its creation. It is in direct opposition to that equality of rights upon which our glorious constitution is based. Upon what principle of *justice* is the landlord secured by this extra judicial authority? Is his investment more precarious than that of the merchant—are his risks greater—is his principal more exposed to loss? The merchant hazards his goods, and the mechanic the produce of his labor—if they lose their merchandise or goods, the *principal* and *interest* are alike irrevocably gone. But the landlord merely risks the *interest* of his principal. The latter still remains immovably fixed on its foundation—its value undiminished in any respect. His quarter's interest is indeed gone, if no *goods* are available, but this trifling loss bears no comparison with that of the merchant, manufacturer, or mechanic, when exposed to a loss in trade—of it be total. Is he less able to bear his loss than the commercial and producing classes? The very fact that he is able to purchase and *hold* landed property, pre-supposes that his ability to sustain a trifling loss is much greater than that of his less fortunate brethren. The landlord is sufficiently secured in the *stability* of his *principal* to require no other means than those which are open to the general creditor, to recover his interest. Equality in rights—impartial justice—imperiously demand some revision of our law in relation to this class of citizens, and come it *must*, sooner or later.

We have above merely adverted to the effects of Landlord's Warrants on the rights of other creditors. What are its effects on the unfortunate sufferer? His property is forcibly wrested from him. Within five days after the execution it is sold, *under a forced sale*, at public auction—probably at not one-fourth of its value!! The man is deprived of his property—without the means to reinstate it—his legitimate business is neglected, in the relative and absolute distress occasioned by an oppressive measure, and he becomes a beggar. Such are some of the moral consequences attendant on the execution of Landlord's Warrants: they may be seen daily in our city, in the ruin of men once respectable in life, and the desolation of their families. We would call upon the people to exercise the rights of petition to the Legislature for redress of this legal grievance. Let them be firm, and success will assuredly attend them.

"Make haste Slowly."—How many millions and millions of dollars might have been saved by the people of those states where the internal improvement fever has raged highest, if this whole-

some maxim had been observed. And not only dollars, but that which is of greater value—credit and honor. We regret to perceive that, notwithstanding the severe lessons that we have been taught upon this subject, many people are still indisposed to act wisely. Various newspapers and individuals are declaiming in favor of this canal and that railroad, and pointing out the wonderful advantages, the rich and splendid results, which their completion will produce; and it is denounced as almost treason to speak of any delay or moderation in prosecuting these works.

Now these same mad-caps are the most deadly enemies that the cause of internal improvements ever had. They drive at their work with such desperation that they throw away their energies, and waste all their strength at the first onset, and are then obliged to lie down exhausted in the half-turned furrow, and are not a whit better off—nay, they are much worse off—than they were before they begun. They can never listen to any thing but the glowing accounts of what is to result from the completion of all the works which they have in view. The *means* by which these works are to be carried on are never deemed worthy of a thought. They resemble an inexperienced sportsman, who is always so eager for his game, that the moment he gets his eye upon it, he blazes away without stopping to see which way his gun is pointed, and so he always misses his mark.

The prudent man, when he has a desirable object in view, looks with deliberate and earnest anxiety to the means of achieving it, and always takes care that they are proportioned to the end. If he has not such means at hand, he waits patiently until he can get them. He is like the experienced sportsman, who keeps his eye upon his gun as well as his game, and therefore seldom fails of bringing down the latter with his deliberate and unerring aim.

But, to speak no further in parables, what are the facts? On the face of the whole globe there is not another country that has done so much in so short a time, in the construction of vast and splendid public works, as America. We refer only to such works as are completed and in operation. Had the states been content with the mighty results by which they had already astonished the world, until they were in possession of the means for going farther, they would in a few years have exhibited still more wonderful achievements. But they were drove on with reckless and inconsiderate haste by crazy adventurers, until, like Napoleon at Moscow, they suddenly awoke, and found that they had taken one step too far—that ambition had overleaped itself. Great works are brought to a dead stand, and all the money that has been expended upon them is lost. Worse than this, the credit of the states is ruined; their former glory is tarnished, because they refused to be satisfied with achievements which were far more brilliant than they had reason to hope for. They have now before them long years of toil and suffering to restore them to the advantageous position which in one rash hour they lost.

What is the plain common sense view of the condition of those states whose obligations have depreciated from thirty to seventy per cent.? Had they rigidly refused to embark in the splendid enterprises which have ruined them, it is true that

less work would have been done heretofore upon their unfinished canals and railroads than is now done; but they would have preserved their strength and vigor for a steady, a slow but sure progress, and five years hence would have found them farther advanced than twenty years will now find them. How great and how fatal has been their mistake!

Will New York follow on in the same road to ruin? We trust not. We admit all that can be said in favor of the various works in progress; we know they are great and important, and for that very reason we say, let us "make haste slowly." Let us see to it, that our means are adapted to the end we have in view. In this way only can we hope to realize our object.—*New York Sun*, 14th Dec. 1841.

The next Democratic Candidate for President of the United States.—We find by our exchange papers, that the Hon. James Buchanan, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, is brought forward as a candidate for that high and important station. We willingly admit that few men, if any, are better qualified to fill it. In our number for November, 1841, we stated our doubts as to the propriety of agitating the subject of the Presidency for 1844. Not having seen any thing to change our views then expressed, we republish the article.

"The next President of the United States.—We regret to see the several nominations that have recently been made, through newspapers, &c., of individuals as Democratic candidates for the next Presidency—we regret it, because we do not think the time is arrived to agitate that subject. For ourselves, we will support the candidate that may be regularly nominated by the great Democratic party, with all the means and ability in our power; but we do think it advisable to let the subject rest until that time arrives. It is true, every one has a right to express his opinions and views of the subject—under this privilege we say, that we are decidedly in favor of the re-election of Martin Van Buren, and we feel persuaded that it is now the wish of a large majority of the American people. Nobly have they responded to the "Sober second thought of the people" in the recent elections in Vermont, Maine, Maryland, Georgia, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Ohio, &c."

A Picture of Coon-skin Governing, drawn by a Whig.—The *Ohio State Journal*, in reference to the Democrats superseding the Whigs in the administration of our State affairs, says—"The loco-focos have only thrust their heads into a hornet's nest."

That's it, exactly! The people seen that the Whigs were about building themselves a nest, hornet-like, where they could go in and out at pleasure, to come forth to gather the products of the earth and return to their well-secured mansions to live at ease. The people have thought best to arrest the progress of this "hornet's nest;" and they have appointed the Democrats to do it. IT WILL BE DONE, spite of the stinging the occupants may threaten.—*Ohio Eagle*.

THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC GUIDE



THE blessings of Government, like the dews of Heaven, should be dispensed alike on high and low, the rich and the poor.

The privilege of self-government is one which the people will never be permitted to enjoy unmolested. Power and wealth are continually stealing from the many to the few.

JACKSON.
WILLIAM LEGGETT.

VOL. I.

FEBRUARY, 1842.

No. IV.

AN ANALYSIS

Of the second and third volumes of the late President Madison's Papers, giving a copious outline of his Reports of the Debates during the Congress of the Confederation, Federal Convention, &c. A concise chain of events embraced in the Madison Papers are now laid before the public.

(Continued from page 93.)

Insurrection in Massachusetts.

An interregnum occurs in these congressional documents from 1783 to 1787. In February of the latter year we find Mr. Pinckney on the floor of congress, supporting a motion which he had previously made in opposition to the enlistment of government troops to aid in quelling an insurrection in Massachusetts. The motion was strenuously opposed by Mr. Rufus King, who implored congress not to support the motion of Mr. Pinckney. Mr. Madison, while conceding that congress had no delegated power to order an enlistment of troops for the purpose of deciding a contest between the citizens of a state, yet opposed the motion, on the ground that when foreign interference was suspected, which, in its effects, would ultimately reach the federal government, it became the duty of congress to arrest its progress in its most early stage, under whatever disguise it might appear. Mr. Pinckney's motion was rejected.

"Convention at Annapolis to amend the articles of the Federal Constitution."

Although the various colonies had united in a general confederation against the power of Great Britain in a moment of universal danger, it was not without

many strong protests on the part of some of them, and a reservation of particular rights. One of the principal barriers to a general union was the distribution of the crown lands, held prior to the revolution, as the exclusive property of the British crown. In the federal compact the respective states claimed the above lands as a legitimate portion of their respective territories. On the other hand, congress asserted its claim to them, on the principle that no individual having any legal right to them, they became the property of the general government, for the equal benefit of all. So vast was the extent of this property, and so valuable was it considered, that some of the states refused to sign the articles of confederation while the question concerning it remained unsettled. Maryland was among the latter. She declined signing the articles of confederation until 1781. After many stormy debates and various appeals to the legislatures, the matter was finally disposed of by the states, within whose territory the crown lands lay, ceding to congress a portion of them, of which the latter accepted.

"Collection of the revenue from the respective States."

A second and alarming subject of contention between the states and the general government was that of collecting the quotas of each under the original articles of the federal constitution. The necessities of the government, combined with the tardy collections of money in the states, to carry on the war and subsequently to the peace of 1783, to pay off our foreign loans, caused congress to declare its intention of collecting the necessary amounts through one of its own officers. The states, ever jealous of their sovereignty,

resisted the measure, and congress found, too late, that the mode of collection was not authorized by any article in the original constitution. The causes, combined with others of a similar nature, dependent on defects in the federal compact, led to a convention at Annapolis in Maryland, in the year 1786, to amend the same.

"Convention at Annapolis."

In this convention five states only were represented—its members separated without any effectual measures in behalf of its object, save that of avowing in their report that defects did exist in the general government, and recommending a future convention, formed by delegates from all the states, to assemble in Philadelphia in 1787. Which report was submitted to congress.

"Action of congress upon the report from the convention at Annapolis."

Upon the reception of the above report it was submitted to a committee, which, by a majority of one vote, coincided in opinion with the convention in relation to the actual want of amendment in the constitution, and its recommendation for a future general convention to carry the measure into effect. By many of the members in congress the recommendation of the convention was considered as aiming a death blow at the federal constitution, while others declared it would not stand in its present condition. One member, Mr. Bingham, openly avowed his desire that the confederacy might be subdivided into smaller and distinct confederacies—its interests being too great and multifarious for one government. For the sake of connexion, we shall now carry our readers on to the federal convention established at Philadelphia, on the 14th of March, 1787; subsequently referring to some political letters which intervene between the recommendation of congress and the meeting of the convention.

"Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 for revising the Federal Government."

The convention was composed of twenty-nine members: one from Massachusetts, two from New York, three from New Jersey, four from Pennsylvania, three from Delaware, seven from Virginia, four from North Carolina, four from Georgia. George Washington, on the motion of the members from Pennsylvania, was unanimously chosen president of the convention. After several days spent in the formation of rules and regulation for the guidance of the convention, and resolutions exposing the defects of the general government, and suggestions for remedying them, Mr. Charles Pinckney offered to the convention the plan of a federal constitution which he had drawn up for the decision and agreement of the respective states. On Wednesday, May 30th, the house, after going into a committee of the whole, submitted the first resolution

of Mr. Randolph: to wit, "that the articles of confederation ought to be so connected and enlarged as to accomplish the objects proposed by their institution: namely, common defence, security of liberty, and general welfare."

The above proposition was postponed, to give place to the following three propositions:

First, "That a union of the states merely federal will not accomplish the objects proposed by the articles of confederation, namely, common defence, security of liberty, and general welfare."

Secondly, "That no treaty or treaties among the whole or part of the states, as individual sovereignties, would be sufficient."

Thirdly, "That a national government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislature, executive, and judiciary."

The first and second propositions underwent but little discussion. On the question on the third proposition some technical remarks were made on the words *supreme* and *national*. Mr. Gouverneur explained the distinction to be, that a federal government was merely a compact on the good faith of the contracting parties: whereas a national supreme government was one which has a complete and compulsive operation, and the latter was necessary to the welfare of all communities. An attempt was made on the part of Mr. Read, of Delaware, and Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina, to postpone consideration of the third proposition, which was overruled, and the original proposition carried.

"The right of suffrage in the national legislature."

The second proposition, "that the rights of suffrage in the national legislature ought to be proportioned to the quotas of contribution, or to the number of free inhabitants, as the one or the other rule may seem best in different cases," was postponed after a debate in which it was found that the opinions of the convention were much at variance.

"Election of members to the first branch of the national legislature."

The fourth resolution in its first clause, "that the first branch of the national legislature ought to be elected by the people of the several states," gave rise to a powerful contest between the advocates of aristocracy and democracy; the former contending that such election should be dependent on the state legislatures; the latter, that it should spring directly from the people. Among the advocates for depriving the people of their national rights we find Mr. Gray, of Massachusetts, Mr. Sherman, of Connecticut, Mr. Pierce Butler, of South Carolina. Among the people's advocates, Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, Messrs. Madison and Mason, of Virginia. Democracy triumphed, and the resolution was carried by a vote of five to two. "The people," said Mr. Sherman, "should have nothing directly to do with the general government; they want

information and are constantly liable to be misled." Such was the language of the aristocrats in 1787, and such it continues to be among the federal whigs of 1841. Is not this assumption of exclusive information and talent by the "chosen few" almost equal to the *divine right of kings*?

In the eloquent language of Mr. Wilson on that occasion, "we are for raising the federal pyramid to a considerable altitude, and for that reason wish to give it as broad a basis as possible."

"Election of senators in the national legislature."

On this clause of the fourth resolution a stormy discussion ensued—some of the members contending for the election of the senate by the first branch of the national legislature, while others, among them Mr. Wilson, contended for the *popular* election. The clause in the resolution, proposing the election of the senate out of the first branch of the legislature, was lost by a vote of seven to three.

"Legislative powers."

A proposition in the sixth resolution, "for giving legislative powers to congress in all cases in which the state legislatures were individually incompetent," was carried "nem con," with the exception of a single vote—Mr. Sherman, of Connecticut.

"Coercion against a delinquent state."

Mr. Madison moved that this last clause of the sixth resolution might be postponed, which was carried in the affirmative without a dissenting voice.

"National executive—Resolution 7th."

By the above resolution it was resolved, "that a national executive be chosen by the national legislature for the term of — years, and to be ineligible thereafter to possess the executive powers of congress."

Much discussion arose in the convention on the first clause of this resolution, in reference to the propriety of the executive being invested in *one* or more persons, and the limitation of the executive authority. A postponement of the clause was finally agreed to. Subsequently to the postponement of the consideration of the above clause, an addition to it was proposed by Mr. Madison, limiting the powers of the chief magistracy "to the carrying into effect the national laws—to appoint officers in cases not otherwise provided for, and to execute such other powers, not legislative or judiciary in their nature, as from time to time may be delegated by the national legislature." Mr. Pinckney seemed to consider the latter portion of Mr. Madison's addition to be unnecessary; contending that the sentence, "to carry into effect the national laws," included every necessary safeguard against the encroachment on the judiciary and legislative powers, and with this curtailment Mr. Madison's amendment was added; after which the clause stood thus, "that a national executive be chosen by the national legislature to carry into effect the national laws."

"Presidential term."

The question on the last clause of the 7th resolution, in reference to the duration of the presidency for a single term, was based on two propositions, the one for *three* and the other for *seven* years, and on the ineligibility to fill the office a *second* time. The proposition for a term of seven years was finally carried by a vote of five against four.

"Mode of electing the chief magistrate."

The first clause of the original resolution on this measure resolves, "that the chief magistrate should be chosen by the national legislature." On its consideration another struggle took place between the leaders of democracy and aristocracy. We find Mr. Wilson and Mr. Gerry strenuously contending that the election of the national executive should be vested in the people: the aristocracy advocating the election by the national legislature; the latter proposition prevailed, vesting the election of the president in the national legislature, and for the term of seven years.

"Compensation of the executive."

No vote was taken on this clause. Its introduction into this convention gave rise to a celebrated letter from Dr. Franklin, in which he warns the country against making the executive a place of *profit* as well as a post of honour, and contends that a true patriot, with the example of Washington before his eyes, should be content to serve his country as its chief officer for the honour of the appointment and the welfare of his fellow-creatures.

"Removal of the executive by the national legislature."

A motion was made by Mr. Dickinson "that the executive be made removeable by the national legislature, on a request of a majority of the legislatures of individual states." This motion was negatived, and the clause which makes the president ineligible for a second term agreed to.

"National executive resumed."

The question, "shall the executive be confined to one individual, or more individuals than one?" was resumed on the motion of Mr. Wilson. The question for a single executive was agreed to.

"Appointment of judges."

The ninth proposition resolved, that a national judiciary be chosen by the national legislature, &c. This resolution was opposed by Messrs. Wilson, Franklin, and Madison, so far as the appointment by the national legislature was concerned, and finally lost by a vote of nine to two.

"National and state legislatures."

"Mr. Pinckney, according to previous notice and rule obtained, moved that the first branch of the national legislature be elected by the state legislatures." Mr. Gerry and Mr. Wilson, as on a former similar motion, contended with that fervid eloquence which

a sense of justice inspires against such an encroachment on the people's rights as that contained in the above motion. Mr. Madison and Col. Mason were also arranged under the banner of the people. With such a powerful array of talent combined against it, it is hardly necessary to add, that the motion of Mr. Pinckney was negatived.

"National and state laws."

It was moved by Mr. Pinckney, in relation to this portion of the debates, that the national legislature should have authority to negative all laws of the states that might be contrary to the articles of the Union or treaties with foreign powers. In opposition to this motion, it was contended by some of the members that such an authority would be an unnecessary interference with the sovereign power of the states in their internal policy. That it would have an effect in the smaller states of a most injurious character. Mr. Bedford, of Delaware, declared it would amount to a deprivation of the equal right of suffrage among the states. He contended that, as Delaware would possess only one-ninetieth part in the national legislature, and Pennsylvania and Virginia one-third of the whole, it would place a power in the hands of the latter which might be fatal to the state rights of the former. The motion was lost.

Throughout the whole of the debates in convention the struggle for national legislative power is strongly marked. Some of its members, among them Colonel Hamilton, boldly avowed their desire that state governments might be altogether abolished. It was urged that, if this proposition were not agreed to, there would be a continual warfare between the general and state legislatures, which would ultimately lead to a dismemberment of the Union.

Powerful contests also arose on every question in which the election of the first branch of the national legislature was claimed for the state legislatures. The democratic feeling became instantly aroused; nor could the sophistry of aristocracy make any impression on that force of argument which resisted and triumphed over all opposition to the rights of popular election, when the subject was discussed.

After five weeks' deliberation in the convention, the reader cannot but feel astonishment at the trifling progress made in amending the federal constitution. On great political questions where aristocracy sought to trample on the rights of the people, democracy made a stand and triumphed. But in the case of other motions, so opposed were the various interests of different states, that the negative and affirmative votes were pretty equally divided. At this period of the debates Dr. Franklin rose, and, in a speech remarkable for its moral purity and religious tenour, moved that previously to entering on the important business of the convention, daily prayers should put up to

heaven for the blessings of God upon their labours. No vote was, however, taken on the motion.

"Proportioned votes of the states in electing the first and second branches of the national legislature."

In debating on the original articles of the confederation, this subject had given rise to much angry debate between the more powerful and smaller states. The former contending that votes should be made dependent on extent of free population; and the latter, in reply, asserting that the preponderance of power thus gained in the national councils would place the smaller states at the mercy of any measure their more powerful neighbours might propose and agree to. After many arguments on each side of the question among the framers of our constitution, it had been finally agreed to, as one article of the federal compact, that in the election of the national councils each state, without reference to population or taxation, should have an equal voice. This question again agitated in the federal convention of 1787, gave rise to debates no less protracted and violent than those which had preceded them in drawing up the articles of confederation: the larger states contending for a vote proportioned to their population and taxation, and the smaller ones insisting on the strict observance of the original article in the federal constitution, on identical grounds to those taken at that period. Our limits will not allow us to follow the debates in the convention through their whole extent: every inch of ground was contested by both parties; when, on a motion being made, founded on a report from the committee to whom the subject had been referred, "that each state should be allowed one member for every forty thousand votes in the first branch of the legislature;" it was agreed to. The motion, "shall the second branch of the national legislature be elected by an equal vote from each state?" gave rise to a powerful opposition on the part of the larger states. Mr. Gouverneur Morris declared, after the vote passed or taken on the election of the first branch of the legislature, he was surprised at this attempt to support a motion which would, in effect, create two separate legislatures instead of two branches of one. Local feeling, he contended, had too much governed the views of the various delegates to the convention, and not the glory of the American empire.

"Report of the committee on state votes."

On the 9th of July, the committee to whom it had been appointed to consider and report on the clause apportioning one vote in the states' legislatures for every forty thousand inhabitants, in electing the first branch of the national legislature, reported, that New Hampshire should have two members; Massachusetts, seven; Rhode Island, one; Connecticut, four; New York, five; New Jersey, three; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, four; Virginia, nine; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; Georgia,

two. total, fifty-six. They recommended, at the same time, that as the states enlarged the legislatures should be empowered to augment the number of representatives. The convention not agreeing in opinion on the merits of this report, a second committee was appointed, the members of which reported, that the first meeting of the general legislature should be represented in the house of representatives by sixty-four members, as follows: New Hampshire, three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island, one; Connecticut, five; New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; Georgia, three. The above apportionment was finally agreed to. The motion, that in the second branch of the national legislature each state should have an equal vote, passed in the affirmative. An attempt was made by some of the members, on a reconsideration of this affirmative vote, to set it aside by one more proportioned to the number of inhabitants in each state, but it was lost on division.

The feeling produced by the vote in favour of an equality among the states in electing the second branch of the legislature threatened at one period to dissolve the convention.

"State laws and national legislation."

An attempt was made at the latter period of the convention, as it had previously been, to give to the national legislature the power to negative state laws. The motion upon which it was founded was, as it before had been, lost upon a division.

"Election of president."

It was proposed in a motion made in the convention, that the election of the first magistrate should be made by the national legislature and not by the people. Mr. Gouverneur Morris was decidedly opposed to the mode of election. He said it would be like the election of a pope by the cardinals, and a source of perpetual intrigue and cabal in the national councils. He moved to erase the clause "national legislature," and insert in its place "by the people of the United States." The amendment of Mr. Gouverneur Morris was negatived; thus leaving the presidential election in the power of the national legislature. The clause which rendered the president ineligible for a second election was also negatived.

"Term of presidency."

Seven years was proposed as the period of a single presidency, and amendment to the motion on which this proposition was founded, "that the president remain in office during good behaviour," gave rise to a warm debate.* It seemed to many of the members so to mingle the executive and legislative departments as

* The mover for the insertion of a clause to this effect was Dr. McClurg. The object of the motion was to enforce the argument against the re-eligibility of the president, and for keeping him entirely independent of legislative influence.

to place the former not only under the influence, but the control of the latter; that it was, in fact, creating a power higher than that of the chief magistrate—a power that might be fatal to public liberty in cases where the president might be a weak or a bad man. It was the repetition of a motion that had, on a proper occasion, been negatived by a large majority, and met with a similar fate, being rejected by a vote of six to four. The motion to strike out seven years as the presidential term was also lost on a division.

"Negative vote of the president."

The motion brought before the convention in reference to the negative power by the president over legislative acts, not afterward passed by two-thirds of each branch, was carried in the affirmative, "nem con."

"Reconsideration of the mode of electing the president."

On a reconsideration of the mode of electing the president, it was moved to strike out "national legislature," and to insert in its place, "to be chosen by electors appointed by the legislatures of the states." The latter proposition was agreed on. Subsequently this motion was reconsidered by the convention, and a motion by Mr. Houston, that "national legislature" should again be inserted in the place of "electors appointed by the state legislatures." The motion of Mr. Houston was carried in the affirmative by a vote of seven to four.

"Ineligibility of the president for a second term."

This question, which had long agitated the convention, was decided on Thursday, July 18th, 1787, on a motion of Colonel Mason, of Virginia, by resolving, that the president was not eligible to a second election.

"Constitution of the federal convention."

On the 6th of August, 1787, the committee of detail made its report in the formation of a constitution, to be submitted to congress, based upon the resolution and amendments to which we have already adverted.

End of second volume.

(THIRD VOLUME.)

"Debates on the report of the committee of detail, on the various articles forming the constitution which they had furnished to the federal convention, Aug. 7th 1787."

A motion made by Mr. Pinckney, that the report of the committee of detail be referred to a committee of the whole house, was negatived; two members only, Maryland and Virginia, voting in the affirmative.

The preamble of the report having been agreed to without a dissentient voice, the first and second articles embracing the name of the government (the United States of America) and its division into three departments (executive, legislative, and judicial) were passed without a division.

"Senate and house of representatives—Negative votes."

The third article which adjudged the legislative

power to be vested in two separate bodies, a senate and house of representatives, each having the power to negative the vote of the other in *all cases*, gave rise to considerable discussion. Colonel Mason, of Virginia, objected to the clause, "all cases," as having a tendency to intercept the course of public business, as in the case of balloting for appointments. Mr. Gouverneur Morris moved to insert the words, "legislative acts" for "all cases;" this was objected to by Mr. Morris, as extending to *treaties*; although they had been assigned to the guardianship of the senate alone. This gentleman moved as an amendment, the words, "all cases requiring the distinct assent of the two houses."

Mr. Madison, in referring to the above amendments, doubted much their use; he contended that the clause "distinct bodies," as applied to the senate and representatives, having been previously expressed in the article, established their independent character; and as their respective powers were designated in a subsequent article, he moved to strike out the clause relative to their negative vote on the acts of each other. Mr. Madison's amendment passed on a division by seven against three.

"Period of assembling the national legislature."

The committee of detail, in reporting their constitution, had recommended the second Monday in December as the period on which the legislature should meet, yearly. Some of the members strongly opposed constitutional interference in this matter; among whom were Mr. Madison, Gouverneur Morris, Mr. Mason, and Mr. Sherman. By these members it was contended, that the time of meeting had better be fixed by law—while some of them desired May rather than December as the time to be appointed. The article as reported by the committee of detail was finally passed; the clause, "unless a different day shall be appointed by law" being inserted for the "second Monday in December."

"Members of the house of representatives—Qualification of electors."

The first section of the fourth article, as reported by the committee of detail, says, "the members of the house of representatives shall be chosen every second year," &c., and consequently "the qualifications of the electors shall be the same, from time to time, as those of the electors in the several states of the most numerous branch of their respective legislatures." In the debate on the latter clause of this section the cloven foot of aristocracy again showed itself; the declaration "that all men are created equal" seemed to have been forgotten by some of the members, while others watched over the genius of republicanism with a lynx's eye and a lion's heart.

Mr. Gouverneur Morris, of Pennsylvania, moved, as an amendment to the latter part of the section, to erase it, beginning at the words "qualifications for

electors," that some other substitute might be offered which would restrain the right of voting for the national legislature to FREEHOLDERS alone. Mr. Morris was supported in this attempt to interfere with the right of universal suffrage by Mr. Mercer, of Maryland; Mr. Fitzsimmons, of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Dickinson, of Delaware. These members were opposed by Mr. Williamson, of North Carolina; Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania; Mr. Ellsworth, of Connecticut; Mr. Madison and Colonel Mason, of Virginia; Mr. Butler and Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, and Dr. Franklin, of Pennsylvania. With such a combination of talent arrayed against it, based on the fundamental principle of liberty, and in strict unison with the "Declaration of Independence," the amendment of Mr. Morris was lost by a vote of seven to one. Delaware alone supporting this aristocratic measure.

"Age and requirement necessary to be a member of the house of representatives."

The committee of detail, in framing the constitution, had fixed the necessary age of a "representative" at twenty-five years; his citizenship at three years previous to his election, and an actual residency in the state for which he may be chosen.

A very considerable portion of the house received this article with considerable jealousy in reference to the short term of citizenship required, and the means which it would afford to foreign influence quickly to mingle in our national councils. Col. Mason, of Virginia, moved, as an amendment to this article, that "seven years citizenship should be required as a necessary preliminary to election." Connecticut, through Mr. Sherman, being the only state which opposed it; the amendment was carried.

In the amendment, as it stands above, no distinction is made between native Americans, inhabiting different states, and adopted citizens; a debate arose on the necessity of making such distinction, or of lessening the probation required. It was, however, finally determined that the rule should apply in all cases on the ground that citizens of distant states could scarcely know more of the internal administration of a state which (under any other clause) they might be elected to the house of representatives, than an adopted citizen.

"Progression of numbers in the house of representatives."

The fourth section of the fourth article of the constitution, as reported to the federal convention by the committee of detail, provided that the number of representatives should be regulated by the number of inhabitants, according to provisions subsequently made, at the rate of one for every forty thousand. Upon this section being called before the house, Mr. Williams, of North Carolina, moved to erase the clause, "according to provisions hereinafter named," and to substitute for it, "according to the rule hereafter to be

provided for direct taxation." The amendment was negatived on a division by a vote of nine to two. The vote on this amendment called up Mr. King, of Massachusetts, who, in a speech of great length, contended for the unfairness of the section, as it made no distinction between the free white and coloured population. The citizens of the southern states, he argued, might increase the number of their slaves, "ad libitum," and thus gain an increase of their number in the national legislature by this traffic; while the exports dependent on the labour of those slaves were not taxable: he proposed that if representation was founded on actual population, without distinction of colour, that taxation should also be thus proportioned by a tax on the exports produced from the labour of the slave states. Mr. Gouverneur Morris followed on the same side, and concluded a speech of considerable force by declaring "that he would sooner submit himself to a tax for paying all the negroes in the United States than saddle posterity with such a constitution. He moved to insert "free" before inhabitants. On a division Mr. Morris's amendment was lost.

"Supply of vacancies in the senate."

By article fifth of the amended constitution, reported to the house, it was provided, "in case of any vacancy occurring in the senate at such period as the legislature of the state to supply the vacancy was not in session, it should be filled up by an appointment from the executive of such state until the next meeting of the legislature."

Upon the first section of this article being taken up, it was opposed by Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, on the ground that it was removing the appointment too far from the people. The section was finally carried as reported by the committee of detail.

"Requisites for a national senator."

By the third article of the fifth section, under the amended constitution, it was provided, "that every member of the senate shall be at least 30 years of age, and shall have been a citizen of the United States for four years."

Upon the taking up of this section, Mr. Gouverneur Morris moved to insert *fourteen* for *four* years. The most prominent speakers were considerably divided in their opinions on the utility or justice of this motion. Messrs. Pinckney, Mason, and Butler supported the amendment of Mr. Morris; basing their arguments on the dangers of foreign influence in the national councils. On the other side were arrayed, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Madison, Mr. Ellsworth, Mr. Randolph, and Mr. Wilson. Mr. Madison argued that such a clause in our constitution as the amendment of Mr. Morris, would operate as a drawback to that portion of European population most desirable—of men who were ready to transport their fortunes to our shores, under the invitation originally held out to all, and promises guaranteed. Mr. Wilson, in a strain of fervid elo-

quence, contended against the admission of this clause; the extreme illiberality of its complexion and its peculiar effect on himself. "I am not," said he, "a native; and if the ideas of some gentlemen are carried out, I shall be incapacitated from holding any situation under a constitution which I shall have shared in the trust of making." Mr. Morris's amendment was negatived, and nine years, subject to a contingency, subsequently agreed on as the period of citizenship necessary to a qualification for senators.

"Property a requisite to election for the national legislature."

The second section of the sixth article of the constitution, as amended, gave rise, upon being taken up, to a warm and animated discussion. It was "that the national legislature should have the authority to establish such uniform qualifications, in relation to property, of the members of each house as should appear expedient."

Mr. Pinckney, in defence of his argument as a necessary qualification to a senator, seems entirely to have overlooked the peculiar characteristic of republican institutions, and to have conceived that wealth was an indispensable companion for honesty. He required the president to be worth \$100,000; the judges \$50,000 each, and the members of legislature in proportion. His position was based on the responsibility of the stations alluded to. Had he taken a retrospective glance at the revolution, its heroes, and their sacrifices, he might have found responsibility and poverty twin offsprings of liberty, rocked in the cradle of aristocracy and buffeted by the waves of misery; offering around the chosen altar of their worship the most holy aspirations for the benedictions of Providence on their country, and defending, in rags and nakedness, the graves of their fathers and the homes of their children and friends.

The celebrated Dr. Benjamin Franklin, in debating on this section, said, that property begat the desire of property; that the greatest rogues he had ever known were *rich* rogues. One might almost imagine that, with a prophetic ken, the once solitary wanderer on the banks of the Delaware—the future philosopher of his country—the sage of two hemispheres (so pronounced by Mirabeau in the national convention of France) had stretched his vision into futurity and beheld the peculations and frauds which distinguish the rich rogues of the present day: the Biddles and Co. with their extensive ramifications and melancholy results.

Mr. Pinckney's amendment to this section, requiring the president, judges, &c., to swear, previously to taking office, as to their unencumbered property, was rejected without a division. Messrs. Madison and Wilson opposed the section altogether, as investing the legislature with a dangerous power, and it was finally stricken out.

"Constitution of a quorum in the national legislature."

By the third section of the sixth article it was provided, that a majority of the members, in each house, shall constitute a quorum, but that a smaller number may adjourn from time to time. Several attempts were made by members to modify this section by reducing the numbers necessary, by its wording, to constitute a quorum; the delay of business was urged as a strong reason for amending it; but strong constitutional objections were taken to any modification which might place the power of legislating for the Union in the power of a few states, whose proximity to the seat of congress might enable their representatives and senators always to be present. Colonel Mason, of Virginia, strongly opposed any act which might empower the legislature to alter the section as it had been reported, on the principle that, if once interfered with, the number necessary to form a quorum might be so reduced that the states would be governed by a junto. The section passed as reported, with the added clause, proposed by Messrs. Madison and Randolph, "that the smaller number be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, and under such penalties as the house may provide." Pennsylvania alone dissented.

"Right of expulsion in congress."

On the sixth section of the sixth article being taken up, which provides "that a majority of either house may expel a member," Mr. Madison strongly objected to its provisions; he moved that the words, "with the concurrence of two-thirds may expel," &c. The amendment was accepted.

"Raising and appropriating money."

The fifth section of the fourth article of the amended constitution, in relation to vesting the exclusive power to raise money bills for public purposes in either house, had by a previous vote been set aside. The section claimed this right as appertaining to the house of representatives; which position was violently opposed by Mr. Gouverneur Morris, who contended that it more properly belonged to the senate. On a motion of Mr. Madison the section was erased. Mr. Randolph, of Virginia, gave notice that he should move a reconsideration of it.

Since the former consideration of the bill, Mr. R. had so far conceded his opinion as to allow the senate to discuss the propriety of money bills for the revenue; but not so to amend them as to demand, increase, or diminish the sum proposed by the house of representatives. Colonel Mason, of Virginia, supported Mr. Randolph; his idea, he said, of an aristocracy was, "that it was government of the *few* over the many;" that the duration of the senate being much longer than that of the house of representatives was, in itself, a great objection; that the senators were not the representatives of the people, but of the states; and that a

power so important as that of raising money for public services, should be vested in the immediate representatives of the public. He adduced, in support of his position, the British parliament, were the house of lords, not emanating from the people, had no power to tax them. Mr. Gerry and Mr. Dickinson followed on the same side, but the motion, as amended by Mr. Randolph, was negatived on a division.

"Ineligibility of members of congress to hold office under the authority of the U. S. during the period for which they shall be elected."

The section which proposed the ineligibility, &c., as above stated, was warmly contested. Messrs. Pinckney, Wilson, Gouverneur Morris, and Mercer opposed the section, as calculated to deprive the executive of men whose talents might peculiarly qualify them for the station. Mr. Pinckney contended that the measure would be degrading to the members, as implying that their election had unfitted them to enjoy the confidence of the people. He was followed in the same argument by the members abovenamed. Messrs. Sherman, Williamson, and Ellsworth, in support of the section, argued, that if it were modified or negatived, congress would be enabled to keep among its members the highest offices of the states, while other merits, among the people, would be entirely excluded. A general postponement of the section was finally agreed on.

"Payment of members of congress."

The section in the amended constitution providing, that members of congress should be paid by the respective states which elected them, produced considerable discussion, and was omitted.

"Veto power of the president."

The section in the reformed constitution, in relation to the veto power of the president provided, that every bill which passed the two houses should, before it became a law, be submitted to the president for his approval. But that if, for constitutional reasons, it should appear to him objectionable, he should return it to congress with his objections stated; that the two houses should have the power to reconsider such bill: that if, upon the reconsideration, two-thirds of each house should agree to its provision, it should, notwithstanding the veto, become a law: that if such bill, upon its original presentment to the president, be detained by that officer beyond seven days, it should also become a law, unless the intervening adjournment of the legislature should prevent its return. Mr. Madison was anxious to associate in the veto power the judges of the supreme court, which he moved as an amendment to the section, and also to substitute *three-fourths* instead of *two-thirds* of each house. The motion was seconded by Mr. Wilson, and supported by Mr. Mercer and Gouverneur Morris, but was lost on a division.

Mr. Williamson subsequently moved that *three-fourths* should be substituted for *two-thirds*, which passed in the affirmative.

"General powers of congress."

The clause in the section delegating the general powers of congress, empowering it "to emit bills on the credit of the United States," brought forth into the field all the former opponents of *rag money*. Foremost in the opposers of this clause were seen old Virginia, through her Mason and Madison; Pennsylvania, through her Wilson and Morris; Delaware, through her Read; and Connecticut, through her Ellsworth. Mr. Read declared that the words "to emit bills," &c., if not struck out, would be as alarming as "*the mark on the beast in Revelation*." Democratic influence prevailed, and the words were fortunately expunged from our constitutional code.

"State powers to coin money."

The 12th article of the amended constitution provided, "that no state should coin money," &c.

On every question occurring in the convention in reference to money, the advocates of a sound currency, in opposition to *paper* emissions, have risen in their strength. Upon the taking up of this article, Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, moved to insert after the words "coin money," "*nor emit bills of credit, nor make anything but gold and silver a tender in payment of debts*." He was followed and supported by Mr. Sherman, of Connecticut, and the section, as amended, became an article of the constitution.

"Presidential election—Term of duration," &c.

Numerous efforts were made, in debating on the remodelled constitution, to fix the power of electing the president with the *senate*, and to extend the term from *four to seven years*. Against such provisions the advocates of the people's rights, to whom we have so frequently alluded, ever opposed a strenuous resistance and gained an ultimate triumph. Colonel Mason, in opposing the senatorial influence in the election of the president, declared "*he would prefer the government of Prussia to one which would put all power into the hands of seven or eight men, and fix an aristocracy worse than absolute monarchy*."

"Origin of bills to raise the revenue."

This mooted point was finally settled by a compromise, by which all money bills were made to originate in the house of representatives, and to be subject to amendments and alterations in the senate.

"Veto power of the president reconsidered."

It will be recollected by our readers, that in a preceding part of the "*analysis*," we have stated the convention had decided that three-fourths of each of the houses of congress should have power, upon reconsideration of a bill, to pass it into a *law*, should the president have vetoed it. Upon a reconsideration of this subject it was determined that *two-thirds* of each house should possess this power; among the supporters of this diminution, in numbers, we find the states of Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland, (with

one exception,) North and South Carolina, and the "*Old Dominion*," so far as Colonel Mason and Mr. Randolph were concerned.

"Adoption of the amended constitution by the convention," &c., &c.

On the 15th of September, 1787, the Constitution of the United States, as adopted by the federal convention, received the signatures of the members constituting that body, previously to its being forwarded to congress. In tracing that constitution through its various dependencies and ramifications—the varied local interests which entered into its construction, and the extreme difficulty of concentrating opinions on particular points—it was, perhaps, as a *whole* the most favourable which could be adopted. It must, however, be conceded, in looking over its details, that a most powerful aristocratic influence was brought to bear heavily on the privileges and rights of the working and producing classes, more especially on those sections which had reference to moneyed institutions. Over these attempts we rejoice, with our democratic friends, that the principles of pure republicanism generally triumphed. The Masons of Virginia, the Franklins and Wilsons of Pennsylvania, with a host of other illustrious names, whose voices shook corruption to its centre, can never be forgotten; they are land-marks to which the future pilgrim of liberty may point to when the innovators on our constitution would seek to mislead his footsteps; mental monuments, amid the solitude of time! Mr. Randolph and Colonel Mason, at the conclusion of their conventional labours, solemnly declared that they viewed the constitution, as amended, as giving a dangerous power to congress, which might subvert the liberties of the country, and sustained this declaration by another, more strongly marked in its character, viz.: *that unless it was left open to such amendments as a majority in the state legislatures advised*, they could not add their signatures to those of their political brethren in recommending its adoption by congress: their names consequently do not appear among the signers of this political document. Mr. Gerry also withheld his name from the amended constitution for the following causes: the duration of the senate—the power of the house of representatives to conceal its journals—the power of congress over places of election—the right of voting to negroes in the proportion of five to every three freemen—the power of congress to establish commercial monopolies. In addition to the above, and, to him, more objectionable in their character, were the powers of congress to make what laws they might deem "*necessary and proper*," without an appeal to the people—to establish a tribunal without juries, &c.

In looking through the detail of the various remarks made by this convention, we are forcibly struck with the conviction that the popular sentiment is decidedly opposed to moneyed monopolies of all descriptions.

Monopolies which had their origin in the distractions of disordered finances, and the avarice of speculators on the sufferings of a people.

We would call especially on the present members from the "Old Dominion" to take a retrospective glance at the period described by Mr. Madison in these papers—to visit the shades of their ancestors—to listen to the voices which call upon them from the sepulchres of death, and bid them beware of the encroachments of a moneyed aristocracy—a fictitious credit, on the freedom which they and their predecessors secured at so much hazard to themselves and peril to their descendants.

The Fiscal Agents of those days were like the Fiscal Agents of the present times; the instruments with which corruption sought to subjugate liberty—the means by which to stamp a fictitious value on all kinds of property—to create an *apparent* prosperity by which the *few* would enrich themselves, while the *many*, the victims of a glittering delusion, were hurrying on to the vortex which would overwhelm and swallow up all. We appeal not to the imagination of our fellow-citizens for the truth of the above remarks; the fact stares them in the face in every section of our country. Moneyed monopolies produced the panic of 1826, and the latter one of 1836 and '7—what have been their effects? why, that the man of property, the lordly holder of immense landed property and the successful *fund*-holder have doubled, or nearly so, within a few years their former unwieldy fortunes: the one by foreclosing his mortgages, the other by discounting or shaving notes on terms eventually fatal to the interests of those to whom they were made payable. If the mere shaving of notes and foreclosing mortgages are obnoxious to the community, what shall be said of our present banking (we had almost said bankrupt) system? How long are these wholesale institutions of plunder to exist in the midst of the ruins they have created and are creating? How long are the rents of our houses and the value of the goods necessity compels us to purchase, to be enhanced by a nonrepresented *rag* currency? How long are the holders of our bank-notes daily, almost hourly, to suffer loss from the failure of the rotten institutions which have sent them forth on an unsuspecting community? and how long is the power to inflict universal distress (dependent on the fluctuating value which is given to property by these false creations) to remain in the hands of its present abettors?

Mechanic and producer, these are questions for you to answer at the ballot-box. Be not deluded by any *appearances* which a Fiscal Agent may assume; it is now as it was in 1783—aristocratic in its formation and associations. It is but another name for a United States Bank, chartered by the national legislature, an institution for which we have no constitutional provision, and which is inconsistent with the principles of democracy.

We alluded in a preceding page to the letters of Mr. Madison, which preceded the convention of 1787; upon looking them over we see nothing of material importance, and have, therefore, for the sake of brevity, omitted to notice their contents. Many portions of the "papers" have, in like manner, been passed over. The limited space allowed for an analysis of 2000 pages left us no liberty to indulge in portraying anything not having some reference to the present political period. If we have succeeded, we shall rejoice in the presentation of much valuable information to our political friends; for the residue we must refer them to the work itself.

An Address to the working men of the United States, embracing the situation of the working classes in ancient and modern times, the credit system, how it defrauds mankind, character of the banking system, great question for the decision of the working men of the United States, &c., &c.; to which the attention of the producing and working classes are particularly called.

REMARKS.—The following address, by a committee of working men, in the District of Columbia, was delivered at their meeting in September, 1840, which we now republish, believing as we do that it is not only one of the best productions of the kind we ever read, but that it is highly honourable to the working men's committee who prepared the address, which shows conclusively that "all the talent and all the learning" does not belong to a certain class of men, who view the labouring classes as mere machines in the hands of the *wealthy* and *well-born*: for more satisfactory evidence on this subject we refer the reader to an article in our first number, entitled "Friends of Equal Rights," &c., page 18. In connexion with the working men's address, we would respectfully solicit our subscribers to read the selections from the Rev. Mr. Channing's Lectures on the Elevation of the Labouring Classes, published in our last number, page 76.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: We separate you from other portions of society in this address, not because we consider you entitled to precedence before the rest, but to call your attention to your peculiar condition, and attempt to induce you to assert that equality which you are entitled to, but do not enjoy. Constituting a vast majority of the people, you ought to have, according to the theory of our institutions, a preponderating influence in the government. The creators of all the wealth in the country, you ought, if yourselves prudent and wise, to possess, in the highest degree, the comforts it confers.

Does it require any argument to prove that to the working men is every country indebted for its wealth and its power? It is their hands which clear off the forest, build the houses, till the soil, and exercise all those mechanic arts by which civilized society is built up, sustained, and enriched. What wealth is there in the most fertile soil, without the hands to till it? What riches are there in mines of silver or gold, copper or iron, without hands to dig up the ore and purify the

metal? How could the manufactory and railroad be constructed without working men, and what profit would they yield to their proprietors without labourers to manage and keep them in order? If the working man were to cease his labour, the business of the world would stop. It is he who not only raises the fruit, the grain, the cattle, the sheep, the cotton, the linen, and the silk, which feed and clothe the high as well as the low, the rich as well as the poor, but it is he who prepares them for market, who drives the cart and the wagon, manages the car, and navigates as well as builds the boat and the ship which convey them from place to place and from nation to nation. If he were but for a single year to withdraw his aid from what are called the higher classes of mankind, with what dismay and poverty and suffering would they be overwhelmed! Thrones and hierarchies, principalities and powers, all those costly and splendid establishments built up by the sweat and toil of the human race, would vanish like the gorgeous clouds of a summer sky. The millions of little streams which pour their united torrents of wealth into the coffers of the few, would be dried up; the bank stock-holder, and the holders of government stocks, the lord with his thousand tenants, and the merchant with his hundred ships, the capitalist with his stock in manufactories, railroads, and turnpikes would stand aghast at the loss of his income, and those who now assume to be the highest among mankind would find themselves as helpless and miserable as their coachmen and their gardeners.

What makes one man better than another? Are not all made of the same earth? Do not all breathe the same air, eat similar food, and drink the same water? Are not all alike endued with the same immortal mind, all alike created in the image of their Maker? Have not all similar thews and sinews? Are not all, in a degree, alike improveable in their physical powers and mental faculties? Are they not alike in their hopes and fears, their joys and sorrows, their passions, appetites, and aspirations?

With this natural similarity among men, why, as a class, do those who create all the wealth of the world enjoy the least of it? Why is it that so many of those who hold in their hands the power of the human race, are everywhere found, under one name or another, toiling for masters? Is it because the mass of mankind have everywhere suffered themselves to be conquered like the horse, and driven like the ox? It is because, sunk in ignorance, blinded by superstition, dazzled by show, and misled by multiplied arts, they have suffered themselves to be led, driven, worked, and butchered, with a docility almost equal to that of the brutes which they themselves lead, drive, ride, and butcher. It is because they have not duly cultivated the immortal mind which God has given them as a guide and a shield. It is because, in the blindness of the mind, the mighty arm in which rests the strength of nations has hung powerless by their side, or if nerved to action by a sense of oppression or a glimpse of heaven-born liberty, it has wasted its strength in furious, ill-directed, and ineffectual blows, and sunk again to rest, paralyzed by the spasmodic effort. It is because the working men of the earth have not made themselves sufficiently acquainted with their own rights or power, or the means of safely vindicating the one by the exertion of the other.

We are not levellers. God has made some men superior to others in physical and mental power. To these distinctions and their just consequences we submit with implicit faith in the wisdom of their author.

To protect the strong against the combinations of the weak, as well as the weak against the power of the strong, we hold to be the first duty of government. To protect the property rightfully acquired by the strong, however unequal it may be, we hold to be as much the duty of the government as to protect the humbler possessions of the weak. To the advantages of superior strength, intelligence, and skill, so exercised as to wrong no one, we hold every man to be entitled, and that it is the duty of government to protect him in their full enjoyment. By the equality of man we mean only an equality of rights and an equality of protection in his person and in his property, honestly acquired, and not an equal distribution of property or an equality of condition.

While we hold it to be the duty of government thus to protect even the strong, we deny its right to add to these advantages by human legislation. We deny its right to double his strength or double his property, thus giving him advantages over his fellow-men in addition to those he derives from his Maker. We deny its right to change the relative position in which God has placed man to man, to cut the sinews of the strong, or strengthen the arm of the weak, to take from the poor and give to the rich, or from the rich and give to the poor; but we maintain, that its only duty is to protect all, strong or weak, rich or poor, in the enjoyment of personal security and the property honestly acquired by their own industry and skill.

Working men in ancient times.—In the early ages of society man seems to have considered his fellow-man, so far as regards his personal rights, in very much the same relation to him as the beasts of the field, and in the same manner to be subjected to his dominion. With the flocks and herds of the patriarchs are mentioned their hundreds and thousands of man servants and maid servants, who laboured for them for a bare subsistence; and the man servants went out to war against the man servants of their neighbours whenever their masters commanded. Collected in little cities, each society submitted itself to a petty king, to be taxed at his will, and employed at his pleasure in plundering and destroying their neighbours. When conquest united millions of men in the same empires, property, liberty, and life were still held at the will of the monarch. The myriads of ancient Egypt laboured to fill the granaries of the Pharaohs; hecatombs of human beings are said to have perished in building the pyramids to gratify their vanity; and the fields of Asia and Africa were fertilized by the bodies of men sacrificed to their ambition. The liberty of the Greeks was but a troubled dream, in which helots and tributaries were among the most prominent images. The liberty of Rome was but the liberty of man's master. The walls were scarcely built when the patricians usurped authority over the plebeians; masters had power over even the lives of their slaves; the Roman Senate made use of the plebeians to conquer their plebeian neighbours; and then, by artfully arraying nation against nation, made man the blind instrument to plunder and destroy his fellow-man, until a groaning world became tributary to the Imperial City. The conquerors of Europe in the middle ages appear to have enjoyed, in their aboriginal forests, the liberty of savages; but in the possession of their conquests they quietly submitted to be the slaves, serfs, or feudatories of their military leaders, bound to labour and fight for them; from which condition their descendants over half that continent have not entirely relieved themselves to the present day.

Commerce, in the earlier ages, enlarged the bound-

daries of knowledge; but, instead of setting man free, only increased the number of his masters. Wherein were the mass of the people in ancient Tyre and Carthage, or modern Venice and Genoa, under their commercial aristocracies, better off than the subjects of the Pharaohs or the tributaries of conquering Rome? They equally laboured for the aggrandizement of masters, and fought to gratify their ambition.

Working men in modern times.—Within a few centuries past the art of printing, added to the extension of commercial intercourse, has been gradually awakening the sleeping giant, and the individual man begins to understand his rights, interests, and duties. In Europe an all-powerful public opinion has, in most nations, taken the place of the will of princes and kings; and a larger portion of the human race have a voice, directly or indirectly, in their own government. This public opinion, however, is derived in but a moderate degree from those who possess the physical power, and create the wealth of nations, and can be considered, as to them, only the dawn of that glorious day, when the sun of knowledge shall illuminate and set free the minds and bodies of men in every condition, however humble.

But before the old establishments which kept so large a portion of the working men in bondage, have been swept away, new ones have sprung up, tending, through other means, to the same end. Under the feudal system, which in England grew out of the Saxon conquest, the mass of the people were bound to labour for their respective military chieftains in peace, and follow them in war, without the semblance of personal independence. Blind and implicit obedience was considered as much a duty as it was in ancient times among the subjects of eastern despots; and he who refused it died the death of a traitor. This state of things has passed away; but that which has succeeded it is but little better for those who live by the labour of their hands. To the lords of man who sprung out of the wars of barbarous ages, now vanishing from the scene, have succeeded a new set, to whom the subjection of the working men is scarcely less absolute or oppressive, although they are mocked with the name of liberty. They are not obliged, it is true, like their ancestors, to follow their chieftains to war; but they are subject to be dragged by press-gangs from their homes and families whenever their services are needed in the army or navy. They do not, like their ancestors, work for masters by that name; but the profits of their labour are quite as effectually appropriated to the use of others through taxes exacted by government, the church, and corporations, as when the means of subsistence were all they could claim. They have lost the aid and comfort of masters in times of sickness and distress, and the equivalent they have gained is the name of liberty without the reality.

The British credit system.—As we have copied our institutions in a great degree from England, it becomes Americans seriously to inquire into the causes which have produced and maintain the degradation of the working classes in that kingdom, and profit by their warnings.

The taxes to support the government, with its great military and naval establishments, its army of civil officers, sinecurists, and pensioners, and to pay the interest on the national debt, constitute the overwhelming burden which bows to the earth the working man of the British isles. Her banking system has had no small influence in creating this burden; and by its own exactions and the fluctuations in business, which it produces, has greatly added to its weight.

In 1694 the English government wanted money,

and, in consideration of a loan of £1,200,000, granted those banking privileges which originated the Bank of England. In consideration of another loan of £400,000 in 1708, the charter was continued, and the capital increased to £4,402,343. It was subsequently increased to £15,000,000 or over \$70,000,000.

There had previously been banks upon the continent of Europe, but they were banks of deposit merely, not authorized to lend their credit or money. The merit of inventing a plan by which credit is made to take the place of money, the shadow of the substance, and falsehood of truth, belongs exclusively to the English. That the working men not only of England, but of the rest of the world, have been in many ways the victims of this new system, is fast becoming the conviction of mankind.

The Bank of England, as we have seen, sprung out of a national debt, and the two grew up together, forming parts of a great "*credit system*." It was in effect a combination or copartnership between the government and the stock-holders of the bank to tax the people for their common benefit. The government borrowed their money and taxed the people to pay the interest; and, in consideration of the loan, it authorized the stock-holders to lend their credit to the people as money in the shape of bank-notes, and tax them to pay interest upon it. Thus the national debt and individual indebtedness grew up together, while the interest on both had to be paid, directly or indirectly, by the labour of the working men.

How the British credit system defrauds mankind.—By the common consent of civilized man, gold and silver have been adopted as a standard of value, and governments have stamped certain marks upon them by which the quantity and quality of each piece is readily recognised without weighing or analysis. By this standard, thus prepared, the value of labour, and of everything bought and sold, is compared and regulated. To debase the coin of a country—that is, to lessen the quantity of pure metal which it contains, still requiring it to pass at the same rate—is a fraud upon mankind which has been denounced by all history. It not only defrauds the creditor out of a portion of his just dues, but it virtually takes from the seller a part of his goods, and cheats the working man out of a part of his wages. What can be said in favour of any other measure which notoriously produces the same result? Yet such is the effect of the British system, which converts *credit* into currency. Every credit dollar or bank-note added to the mass, so long as it is redeemable in specie, has the same effect in depreciating the whole as if another specie dollar were added. Millions of credit dollars added have the same effect as millions of specie dollars; every specie dollar becomes less valuable than it was, as effectually as if it were debased by copper; the creditor gets less than his debt; the seller less than the just price; the labourer less than his stipulated wages. Thus, the debasing of the currency by the Sultan of Turkey in mixing it with copper, and its depreciation by the government of England in mixing it with credit paper, produce the same effect on the trading and working interests, and ought to be classed together in history, as they stand in the same class in morals.

Indeed, the Sultan's fraud operates on few except his own subjects, and is temporary in its effects, while that of the British government extends to the whole commercial world, and is repeated as often as the bank through which it is produced increases its issues. In Turkey all classes soon become familiar with the real value of the debased currency, and the prices of labour,

and all things sold, nominally rise, and thus accommodate themselves to the altered standard, while the currency of the rest of the world remains unaffected. But in England the value of the currency is never stationary. Millions of credit are thrown into it in the shape of bank-notes redeemable in specie, which produces a redundancy and depreciation. The specie part of it thus depreciated, being more valuable in other countries where it has not been mixed with credit, is exported; and being added to the general mass abroad, depreciates the currency and affects contracts and prices throughout the commercial world.

Suddenly the over-issues of the bank, inordinate speculation, short crops, the policy of the bank, or other causes, produce curtailment of the currency in England, a consequent increase of its value, and finally a returning current of the precious metals from abroad, which also increases the value of the currency in other countries. The value of all debts is augmented, the price of property falls, improvements cease, manufacturing is interrupted, and the working man who was defrauded in the depreciation, is often ruined in the reverse operation by being deprived of all employment. These fluctuations, though felt in all the civilized world, operate with tenfold force in England, where the tide is necessarily raised higher and sunk lower than in other countries, to produce the currents which cause them. Thus, an eternal round of expansion and contraction, reducing the value of his wages one month, and throwing him out of employment the next, tortures and impoverishes the working man of England, inflicts wrong and injury on the rest of civilized man, and benefits no class which deserves the favour of government. If the mechanic and other labouring men appear to prosper awhile in the flood-tide of expansion, they soon find themselves, like the fish whom the swell of the ocean has tempted to revel among the high grass of the marshes, left by the ebb, gasping for their native element, and struggling for life.

The mischiefs to the working classes do not stop here. They bear in a great measure the *responsibilities* of the credit currency, which to them yields nothing but unqualified evil. On every bank-note they receive, they become, while they keep it, the security of the bankers who issue it. If the bank become insolvent, the loss is thrown upon them by a process much more rapid than a recovery from an ordinary endorser in a court of justice. If the stock of the bank, in consequence of fraud or mismanagement, is not sufficient to pay its notes, the working men are doomed, not only to mourn over their losses in silence, but to see the very men who have committed the frauds or profited by them, exempt by law from all pecuniary or personal responsibility, enjoy unbounded wealth and revel in luxury, as if in derision of all that is honest and right among men.

Such is a faint picture of the condition in which the Bank of England and the country banks founded on similar principles, have placed the working men of that kingdom. But the whole truth is not yet told.

How the British credit system was completed.—The partnership between the bank and the government has produced a national debt unprecedented among men, and utterly beyond hope of redemption. Much of this debt was contracted in hiring the working men of Germany and the British Isles to shoot the working men of America in a vain effort to reduce our fathers to bondage. A much larger portion sprang from hiring the working men of the rest of Europe to mangle and kill those of France, who, having broke the fetters which kingcraft had been for ages twining around

their limbs, and stimulated to madness by the coalition of despots to re-enslave them, were marching from victory to victory and endangering the royal establishments of the European continent and of England herself. To save those establishments required an extraordinary effort. In that effort the glories of the "credit system" were eminently displayed. By order of the government the Bank of England suspended payment, and remained in a state of suspension twenty-six years. Her depreciated notes were a tender. The government exchanged its own credit for that of the bank, and forced the bank-notes upon its soldiers, its sailors, and its people. With the aid of this stupendous system of credit and fraud, it kept up armies and navies, and subsidized nations; it did much to induce the working men of France to submit to an emperor, and then gave their chosen emperor a refuge and a grave in a distant isle of the ocean. But if the French people had been as just and prudent as they were patriotic and brave, the energies of the "credit system" would have been spent upon them in vain, and they would now have been enjoying peace, liberty, and a glorious prosperity in the midst of regenerated Europe. What did nine-tenths of the English people gain by the resistance of their government, first to the storm of revolution, and then to the ambition of the ruling spirit, who was thrown up by its convulsions? Arc they more happy or more free than before the carnage began? Has the blood of Aboukir or Trafalgar, of Talavera or Waterloo, brought deliverance or comfort to them? Had the thousands of English and Irish, of Scotch and Hanoverians, led out to the slaughter on those occasions, or the millions of their fellow working men at home, any real interest in the result, more than the myriads of men driven forth by the despot of Persia and his dependent satraps, to be butchered by the Macedonian madman and his Grecian bull-dogs? The glory of a nation is dearly purchased when centuries of degradation and suffering, throughout all its working population, is the price. Better had the government of Great Britain, from their own fast anchored isle, witnessed the eruptions of the revolutionary volcano without an effort to arrest its rivers of lava, than to have placed their own people in a state of oppression and wretchedness from which, after centuries of endurance, they can be relieved only by a revolution perhaps as fearful and bloody.

Effects of the British credit system upon the working men of England.—To the working men of England the "credit system" is no bubble. The bubbles of glory which it raised are fast passing away; but they have left behind a sad reality in a taxed, oppressed, and often starving people. By the wars of the French revolution the national debt of that kingdom was increased to an amount exceeding £800,000,000, or a little less than four thousand millions of dollars. The annual interest upon it is about £25,000,000, or over one hundred and twenty millions of dollars. For other purposes the government raises annually, by taxation, about £25,000,000 more, making the amount exacted from British industry every year, in government taxes, something short of two hundred and fifty millions of dollars. To this may safely be added for church rates, the poor tax, corporation and county taxes, more than \$150,000,000, making the whole annual amount paid from the avails of the working man's labour in Great Britain, for the support of government and its establishments, at least four hundred millions of dollars. Add to all this so much of the rents of numerous landlords, the income of numberless manufactories, and the profits of trade, as is not absorbed in taxes, and we may

form some conception of the mountains which weigh down the working men of England. The fabled giant of Mount *Ætna*, half consumed by never-dying fires, whose agonized throes cause earthquakes and fearful eruptions, is scarcely an adequate picture of the miseries of that people whose despair will some day shake the fast anchored isle with convulsions more awful than those of the volcano.

After these abstractions from the proceeds of labour, it is no wonder that the average wages of a working man in England do not exceed \$1.50 per week, not more than a common mechanic now receives in Washington for a single day, while a considerable portion of even this pittance is snatched from him in taxes. It is no wonder that the lowest class of labourers cannot get meat to eat more than once a week, and the better sort not more than two or three times, while, owing to oppressive com laws, bread is extremely dear. "The English pauper," says the London Quarterly Review, "is better fed than the independent labourer; the suspected thief receives considerably more food than the pauper; the convicted thief receives still more; and the transported felon receives every day nearly three times as much food as the honest peasant." No wonder that felonies multiply; that the prisons are crowded; that the halter has its daily work; and that ships freighted with wretchedness and crime frequently disgorge their living cargoes upon the isles of the distant sea. No wonder that one-sixth of the population are already paupers; that from 1814 to 1832 they increased twenty-five per cent., and the poor rates more than three hundred per cent. No wonder that when the labourer having a family is sick, or, when a curtailment of the currency by the bank throws him out of employment, his wife and children suffer with hunger, and sometimes die from starvation. No wonder that the offspring of overworked and half-fed parents, neglected and almost naked, pine away and perish by untold thousands, escaping, by an early and happy death, from a life of unceasing toil, irredeemable suffering.

WORKING MEN OF THE UNITED STATES, these are the effects, as stated by English writers and parliamentary documents, of the great credit system of England which already has its offspring and advocates in our own happy country. Never was man placed in a position so favourable to the maintenance of his heaven-bestowed rights, as in the first settlement of this continent. Seeking only liberty for themselves, instead of the conquest of their fellow-men, our ancestors had no military leaders to assume authority over them, under the plea of necessity or choice. A common poverty made them practically equal, and each started in his new life of labour upon a level with his neighbours. That inequalities of property and of influence should grow out of inequalities of strength, health, habits, and intelligence, was to be expected. Such inequalities are the necessary offspring of God's laws; and to attempt to prevent or remedy them by human enactments or institutions, is as presumptuous as it is impracticable. But to avoid making them greater—to avoid increasing by law the strength of the strong, the wealth of the rich, and the influence of the sagacious—was not only practicable and proper, but the duty of those to whom the people intrusted the powers of government. This duty has not been faithfully performed. There were those before our revolutionary war who aspired to personal and family distinctions, and began to ape the follies of nobility in the mother country; but their influence was not so great as to prevent or question the announce-

ment of true principles in the Declaration of Independence, as the basis on which the revolution was to be conducted and a new government established. But the revolution was scarcely ended before some of its leaders evinced a settled contempt for its principles, and a predilection for a government of orders and privileges, of splendour and power, enabling a rich and intelligent few, like the noble and rich of the old world, to rule over the labouring and ignorant many, taking their earnings to gratify their luxurious tastes, and using their bodies to carry on wars of conquest, hatred, and ambition. The man who was afterward our second president, once declared, as we are informed by Mr. Jefferson, that, stripped of its corruptions, the British Government, with its king, lords, and commons, its hierarchy and its bank, was the most stupendous fabric of human wisdom; and our first secretary of the treasury at the same time said, that, *with* its corruptions, it was the best government on earth, and *without* them, wholly impracticable.

Introduction of the British credit system into the United States.—It was natural that statesmen who differed only upon such a point, should co-operate in efforts to assimilate our government, in its forms, institutions, and laws, to the monarchy of the mother country. In the claims upon the several states and the United States growing out of the revolutionary war, were found materials which were soon imbedded into a formidable national debt, and a Bank of the United States, established on British principles, was soon found associated with the government. To these means, by which the legislative power might be controlled, were soon added—a sedition law, to muzzle the press in its comments upon the acts of government; alien laws, to check the influx of Republican foreigners, flying from the corruptions and oppressions of European establishments; an increasing army and navy, to check the uprisings of the Democratic spirit; and a system of taxation capable of indefinite enlargement, embracing not only all the imports of the country, but the lands and houses, together with much of the personal property and private business of the people. The broad foundations were thus laid of a system which was destined in its natural consequences to place the working men of America in the same condition with those of England, and convert our free people into a nation of lords and paupers. All this paraphernalia of monarchy was, however, scattered and dissipated by the triumph of the Democratic spirit in 1800, which placed Mr. Jefferson in the presidential chair. The army and navy were reduced, the alien and sedition laws repealed, the internal taxes abolished, the increase of the national debt arrested, its payment commenced, and the National Bank left to expire with the termination of its charter. The war of 1812 interrupted the successful career of Democratic rule in our national affairs, largely increased the national debt, and, shaking by its calamities the sound principles of some of our statesmen, led to the establishment of a new National Bank, more privileged and more powerful than the old. This debt and this bank we have seen all swept away by a second triumph of the Democratic spirit in support of the able, honest, and intrepid hero of New Orleans.

Thus, so far as our general government is concerned, the efforts to place around it those corrupt and corrupting establishments which have reduced the people of England to a condition not to be envied by the serfs of Russia, and have yet recommended that monarchy and its institutions as a model to many American statesmen, have been signally unsuccessful. Erect in its own independence, and looking alone to an en-

lightened popular opinion for support, our government has passed its fiftieth year in its original purity and simplicity, both of form and administration.

The stealing in of the British credit system through the state governments.—During the struggles of the Democracy to maintain the principles of the revolution in the general government, an insidious enemy has been stealing upon the working men from another quarter. It was the obvious and admitted object of the constitution to establish, for the protection of contracts, property, and labour, a specie currency for the whole United States. That object is clearly displayed in the provisions authorizing congress to coin money and fix the value of foreign coins, prohibiting the states from coining money or making anything but gold and silver a tender in payment of debts, and in the absence of any grant of power to establish banks, or create a paper currency. If, as the constitution shows on its face, an express grant was deemed necessary to confer on the new government the benignant authority to fix and protect the standard of value, much more was such a grant necessary to confer on it power to render that standard uncertain, if not fraudulent, by mixing with the coin a paper currency as fluctuating as the sea and as changeable as the winds.

Unfortunately, two or three state banks existed when the constitution was adopted, and no provision was made for winding them up. It is difficult to make a satisfactory reply to the argument deducible from this fact, that it was not intended to suppress or prohibit state banks. Yet it cannot be doubted that it was the object of those who framed, as well as those who adopted, the constitution, to guard, by providing a specie standard, against the recurrence of such scenes as the state banks have repeatedly brought upon us—the substitution of a paper for a specie currency, with its never-ending train of frauds, fluctuations, and explosions. By the indiscreet use or abuse of this power left to the states, the object of the constitution in this respect has been in a great measure defeated, and the mischiefs of the British banking system have silently crept in upon us until our working men are startled at finding themselves hurrying on to the condition of dependence, taxation, want, and misery, which is the doom of their race in the mother country.

The character of the banking system.—Let us take a dispassionate look at this system in its principles, inception, and progress, and consider how far it is adapted to a society governed by equal laws. In its least objectionable form, what is it? One man's property is in lands and buildings, another's in produce or merchandise, another's in mechanical skill and its products, another's in his good name and capacity to labour, while the property of one in a thousand is in money. While all are left by the law to manage or dispose of their lands, houses, produce, merchandise, labour, or money, according to their own skill and judgment, all stand on an equal footing, and none have a right to complain. But the principles of the British banking system step in and authorize the man whose property is in money to make promises to deliver three times as much property as he really has, to lend these promises to his neighbours as money and takes notes therefor bearing interest. For every one hundred dollars in money actually owned by him, he is thus enabled to get interest on three hundred, more or less, according to the amount of promises he lends. If it were possible for the law to confer similar privileges on other classes, would it be just? Would it be just to authorize the farmer to sell and promise to convey or deliver three times as much land or produce as he has,

the artisan to promise three times as many manufactures as he can make, the labourer to promise eighteen days' work in a week, the merchant to sell three times as many goods as he has, and enable all to get interest upon their hollow promises? Does the law attempt to give the farmer three crops from the same field for the labour necessary to produce one? Does it attempt to triple the work of the mechanic's chisel, or multiply each day's work of the labourer into three? All this is obviously impossible, and would as obviously be unjust and impolitic, if it were possible. Yet the law gives to the man who has money a privilege which, in fact, and of necessity, is withheld from every other man, thus making him the object of its special favour. Until it at last authorizes every one, in whatsoever may be his property or capital, virtually to multiply it in a similar way, our licensed bankers are a "privileged order," established in direct violation of the principle of equal laws, which professedly forms the basis of our institutions. So far from authorizing others to issue promises to deliver what they have not, with a view to make a profit by imposing on their fellow-citizens, the law in some cases stigmatizes it as a fraud, and punishes it as such, sometimes with the infamy of the penitentiary. In most states, when the unprivileged owner of money itself loans his real dollars at nine per cent. interest, where six is the legal rate, the law punishes him by fines and forfeitures, when the same code authorizes his neighbour to take twelve or eighteen per cent. interest on his real dollars, through the magic of a bank and its delusive promises to pay; and while the banker is enabled to profit by the fiction, he is held responsible only for the reality. When he has paid out the one dollar of stock, he is no longer bound to redeem the three dollars in promises. He enjoys in security the balance of his wealth, while his unprivileged neighbour is left to pocket the loss.

What advantages do the rest of society gain by granting these privileges and exemptions, and recognising a few men's promises as money? Gold and silver are property—as much so as lands, produce, manufactures, and merchandise. Is a promise to deliver property better than the property itself? Are men as safe in possessing the promise as the thing promised? Is a working man as safe in having one of the three promises issued upon a silver dollar, as in having the silver dollar itself? Is there no danger that it will be abstracted by some officer or servant of the bank, or stolen by some rogue from without, or that some holder of one of the other two promises will step in before him and take it away? Who bears the responsibilities from which the bankers are exempted? On whom falls the depreciation when they stop payment? Who incurs the loss when they break? The holders of their notes, not those who profit by these privileges; the farmers, mechanics, and labourers in particular, who are not in situations to foresee these events or to guard against them. The farmer has converted his land into bank-notes, and loses it—the mechanic has received his price for building a house in bank-notes, and loses it—the labourer has laid by the savings of years to buy him a little farm, and loses it—tens of thousands encounter loss—families are plunged into hopeless poverty—misery and despair brood over many a dwelling: and all this is a tax paid by the working man—a tax of losses, tears, and sufferings, if not of blood, to enrich other men by the toil of his hands, for which the law neither gives nor can give him any equivalent whatever.

Though nominally granted to the money-holder, these privileges really attach to those whose wealth is

much less substantial. The amount of specie in the United States, as computed by Mr. Gallatin in 1830, was but thirty millions of dollars, and the whole amount at any time since has not probably exceeded eighty millions. The privileged portion, or that vested in the banks, can scarcely have exceeded fifty millions.

Yet our "banking capital," so called, now enjoying these special privileges, is not far from two hundred and thirty-five millions. It is far beyond, not only all the money in the country, but all the money and all the bank-notes used as a currency put together! How is it that, for banking purposes, two hundred and thirty-five millions of money have been made out of fifty? There is not probably a bank in the Union whose entire capital, or even a majority of it, has been paid in real money. Sometimes the subscriber for stock gives his note on interest, which is counted as stock paid in, called a stock-note. Sometimes he pays in one or two instalments in money, and the bank, having gone into operation, gets a note discounted to pay the balance. Generally notes of other banks, called "specie funds," are received for stock as equivalent to money. Where the states have peremptorily required by law that a certain portion shall be paid in specie, the requisite amount has sometimes been borrowed at other banks, hauled to the new establishment, formally received, and then hauled back again in the conveyance which brought it. Legal restrictions and solemn oaths in these, as in other respects, have been inefficient to check the arts and devices of the "credit system."

Thus, by considering credit as cash, and piling credit upon credit, fifty millions of money have been converted into two hundred and thirty-five millions of "banking capital;" one dollar of a stock-holder's note discounted in bank has become the basis of two or three dollars lent out to others by the same bank; one bank's specie, and even notes, have been made the capital of another; men without money have become money-lenders, creating the currency they issued; men without property have been enabled by law to realize an income without labour, appropriating the labour of others to their uses; and a system has been built up more unsound and unsafe than its British model.

How far the British credit system already taxes the industry of our country.—From data in the Treasury Department, and other sources of information, we have made up the following statement, showing, with an approach to accuracy, the growth of this system and the amount it levies upon the productive industry of the country, viz.:

Periods.	Average bank capital per year.	Rate of gross profit.	Total gross profits.	Revenue of the U.S. Government.
1780 to 1790	\$3,000,000	8 pr. ct.	\$2,400,000	\$20,000,000
1790 to 1800	15,000,000	9 "	13,500,000	50,421,860
1800 to 1810	52,000,000	10 "	52,000,000	124,823,993
1810 to 1820	100,000,000	11 "	110,000,000	172,708,974
1820 to 1830	140,000,000	11 "	154,000,000	204,700,935
1830 to 1840	235,000,000	12 "	282,000,000	285,666,341
			\$613,900,000	\$858,327,103

The bank stock for the last period is supposed to be less than the real amount, while the revenues of the general government are made out from the actual returns.

It will be seen that the tax levied upon our country by the privileged bankers is now twenty-eight millions of dollars a year, about equal to the whole revenue of the general government, and that the amount collected by them since the revolution exceeds six

hundred millions of dollars. This tax is now equal to at least five dollars annually on every head of a family in the United States. And this is not a tax for interest on money loaned to the people, but for the loan of credit, for the exchange of notes not bearing interest, for notes bearing interest.

This is not all. In 1837 the bankers had so far abused their privileges, that they were obliged to stop payment, in consequence of which their notes at once depreciated, on an average, at least ten per cent. At that time their circulation probably exceeded \$150,000,000, so that the loss to the note-holders was about fifteen millions, or a tax of about three dollars on every head of a family. Add this to the regular bank tax for that year, and it makes about eight dollars for each family, or forty-three millions in all.

In 1838 the same scene was repeated in more than half the Union, with similar consequences. And now these privileged establishments are, one after another, exploding altogether, leaving their entire circulation on the hands of the people.

In addition to these enormous taxes upon industry, the fluctuations of this system affect the interests of a portion of the working men in another way still more fatally. When the banks are in the full tide of prosperity, and issuing notes without restraint, speculators and aspiring men obtain by loans the means of constructing houses to rent or for occupation, and of purchasing an abundance of costly furniture. Mechanics whose occupation it is to build houses and manufacture furniture, are in great demand; their wages rise and their numbers increase.

Suddenly, either from necessity or policy, the course of the banks is changed; they cease to loan, and call upon their debtors; improvements stop, and mechanics are thrown out of employment; in idleness and complaining they spend all they made in the days of prosperity, and many of them are finally driven into other occupations, and forced to seek employment in other regions. The same effect is in some degree produced upon every class of labouring men. The price of produce and manufactures is made to rise and fall by the same operation, as also the wages of the day labourer in every business of society. It requires no argument to prove that steady prices, though moderate, are better for the advancement as well the morals of the farmer, mechanic, and labourer, than a system which gives him an abundance to-day, to be snatched from him to-morrow, baffles all his calculations, unsettles his habits, prevents him collecting a family around him, or, if he have one, subjects them to disappointment, change, and distress. Nothing could more effectually prevent his moral and intellectual improvement, keep him in poverty, and make him the blind or corrupt instrument to support those who aspire to an effectual dominion over the minds and bodies of men.

Thus we have fixed upon us already, to some extent, not through the organization and power of a National Bank, but through about nine hundred banks created by the States, one branch of the British credit system. Through the same channel the other branch of that system is already fastened upon some of the States. State banks have not only brought on the country a direct individual indebtedness of some three hundred and fifty millions of dollars, but they have also drawn after them State debts now amounting to about two hundred millions. On these State debts our people have to pay an interest averaging more than five per cent., and amounting to more than ten millions of dollars annually. If this were diffused over the whole Union, it would be equal to an annual tax of two dol-

lars on every head of a family. Distributed as it is, the tax in some States is equal to at least sixteen dollars to a family.

Hence, fellow working men of America, you see that the "British credit system," which has reduced a large portion of the people of England to a condition worse than slavery, is already upon us through the indiscreet legislation of the several States. It taxes us, through the banks, twenty-eight millions of dollars a year, and, throughout State debts, ten millions more, making an annual tax of thirty-eight millions of dollars, in addition to that paid by us for the support of the General and State Governments, county, town, and city taxes, church rates, and voluntary contributions.

The British credit system more degrading to the working men of America than of England.—In some aspects this system is calculated to be more degrading to the working men of America than it is to the same class in England.

The British labourer, in his disfranchisement and suffering, has at least the consolation that his servitude is not accompanied by national degradation, and the British pauper the comfort of reflecting that he is supported out of the wealth which in better days he laboured to create. Even this poor recompense will be denied to the working men of America, should they suffer themselves to be made the dupes and the victims of the British credit system. Each branch of that system is a cord to bind America to the proud mistress of the sea, and make our working men labour for her aggrandizement. We have all seen how dependent these banks of credit are on each other. In 1837, when the banks in New York stopped payment, the banks throughout the Union were compelled to follow the example. In 1838, when the banks of Philadelphia suspended, nearly all the banks south and west followed the example. The immediate cause of the stoppage of the New York banks, in 1837, was the refusal of the Bank of England to give credit to those houses and individuals in England who managed the trade with America, as well in stocks as in produce and merchandise. As soon as credit was gone, money had to come; and the New York banks, on which the demand first fell, not having enough to supply it, stopped payment, and threw it upon the neighbouring banks. Much less had those banks, assailed by panic at home as well as the demand from abroad, power to sustain themselves; and thus suspension spread with the rapidity of the mails to the extremes of the Union. This scene illustrates the true principles of the British credit system. In essence and in power it is one, however numerous or distant are the establishments which form its parts. Its seat of empire is in England; its monarch, the Bank of England; its dominion, all the commercial world which admits a credit currency; its subjects the presidents, directors, officers, servants, stock-holders, and debtors of banks; and its allies their attorneys, stipendiaries, and dependants. Through these avenues its power already reaches the extremes of our Union; and on its policy, caprices, or necessities our commerce and currency in a great measure depend.

If one branch of the British credit system subjects a vast mass of our people to the power of its British head, the other branch makes our whole labouring population the tributaries of its lords and nobles. Of our State stocks and bank stocks, the amount now held in England exceeds, it is believed, two hundred millions of dollars, the annual interest on which is at least ten millions. To the extent of ten millions of dollars, therefore, our country is annually tributary to the lords

of the credit system in the British Isles. This tribute has to be paid out of the proceeds of the working men's labour. The cotton of the south, the flour of the middle States, and the manufactures of the north annually exported from the country, to the extent of ten millions of dollars, give us no return. To our country the effect is the same as if, when prepared for market, they were piled up and burned. Upon Great Britain they have the effect to increase her riches and her power.

Thus, if our banks be increased, the power of monarchists and monarchical institutions is extended among our people; if our public debts be increased, we become more and more the tributaries of a foreign land. It sends the fruits of our labour to be consumed in England, and, as far as it goes, places our working men on the footing of the Irish tenantry who toil for landlords residing in England and France, while a bare subsistence is all that is left to them. Every million added to our State debts abroad increases the tax; and should our general government enter upon the career which some of our statesmen recommend, it is impossible to foresee the amount of the burden which may be imposed on our country, or the extent of the individual and national poverty, dependence, and degradation which may grow out of it. This instrument may be found adequate to achieve a conquest to which all the fleets and armies of the British empire have twice proved to be incompetent.

The great question for the decision of the working men of the United States.—The grand, the all-absorbing question with the working men of America is, shall we suffer this system to grow upon us, until, as in England, it takes one-third of the earnings of labour to pay the taxes of the government; until our wages become \$1.50 a week; until we and our families shall not have the means to taste meat more than once or twice a week; until, when our pittance of food is cut off by sickness or want of employment, we see our emaciated and half-naked wives and children starve around us; until, instead of having the means to educate our offspring and give them an equal rank among their fellow-men, we feel an inward joy at seeing them die in infancy, and go to a world where there is at least hope that their lot will not be one of hopeless misery and irredeemable degradation? What do we hear agitated among those who participate in our legislation? Nothing less than the imbecility of the elements of this system now somewhat disordered and scattered, and its organization and enlargement in close connexion with the general government. Under pretence of regulating our currency, its derangement is to be made perpetual by the issues of a new National Bank on British principles, with a capital of fifty millions of dollars.

Under pretence of relieving the states, it is proposed that the general government shall, directly or indirectly, pay their debts out of its means, and, to place all the members of the confederacy on an equality, give its credit to those not at all or but a little indebted, thus substituting for the two hundred millions of state debts a national debt of perhaps more than a thousand millions. Attempt to relieve the indebted states as we may, by any measure not palpably unjust, such in effect will be its practical results; and the people of those states, instead of being actually relieved, will only see the people of the other states sunk to the same level of taxation and oppression with themselves. Nay, if this career be once entered upon, where will it stop? If the managers of the British government, to gratify their hatred, first of liberty and then of Napo-

leon, found it easy, by piling credit on credit, to throw a debt of £800,000,000 upon the working men of England, what shall prevent the managers of our government, under pretence of aiding the states, from throwing upon the working men of America, by the same means, a debt of \$10,000,000,000? Be that as it may, the design is already announced to establish a new bank of fifty millions, and in some way relieve the states from their debts—measures which, in any shape that can be devised, will fix the British credit system upon the government of the United States, and at once largely increase the tax upon labour and the depression of the working men. We call upon you, therefore, as you value your own independence, and especially the rank your children are to hold among men, their health, morals, comfort, and liberty, to unite with us in the measures necessary to prevent the engrafting of this man-degrading system upon our general government.

Our means of defence.—Fortunately, we are not so defenceless as the working men of England. We have not, like them, or at least not to the same extent, been deprived of our inborn right to a voice in our own government. Though constantly resisted by the few who aspire to be the lords of the many, the right of suffrage has, from the revolution down to the present day, been extending itself with the adoption of every new state constitution, until the working men in most, if not all the states, have acquired power to control the state governments. And as the same votes choose the electors of president and vice-president of the United States, representatives in congress, and the members of the state legislatures, who elect the senators, they have also, directly and indirectly, power to control the general government. The British working man has no hope but in revolution; you have present security in the right of suffrage if it be exercised for your own benefit and protection. Think you the working men of England would bear for a year the burdens which sink them into the earth, if they had the control of their government? And will you not exercise your control to prevent a state of things in this country which to them is so intolerable?

The measures of defence.—You will ask, perhaps, through what means your power can be exercised to accomplish this great end? To this we answer, first fix your minds steadily upon the measures to be prevented: adopt as your watchwords,

NO NATIONAL DEBT.

NO NATIONAL BANK.

NO INCREASE OF STATE DEBTS.

NO INCREASE OF STATE BANKS.

As your action shall be on these heads, so will the question of liberty or slavery for the working men of America be for ever decided. The effects of a wrong action now cannot be easily recalled. Give those who do not work a license to increase at will the burdens of those who do, either through the banks or the government, and you make yourselves and your posterity their slaves. Once placed within their dominion, your right of suffrage, exercised under their directions, will only go to increase their individual power as your labour has already increased their individual wealth; and lest the miseries of nakedness and starvation should induce your children, in some moment of rebelling nature, to exert it for their deliverance, it will be taken from them altogether.

The men on whom we may rely.—You will perhaps further ask, on what men can rely to maintain your rights and promote your true interests in the le-

gislative hall and the executive chair—in the state governments and in the general government.

Not, we emphatically reply, on men or a class of men who have, from the beginning of the government, denied your capacity to manage your affairs, and withheld from you, as far as they could, the right of suffrage.

Not on the Hamiltons or their followers, who believe, and teach, and practise upon the doctrine that a government, in any degree popular, cannot be successfully conducted without corruption. (1)

Not on the Adamases or their followers, who teach that, because the rich and powerful always impose on the poor and weak, it is best to legalize their impositions, by erecting them into a separate order with special privileges and exemptions, and vesting them with power, as a branch of the legislature, to check or control all the legislation of the country. (2)

Not on the Websters or their followers, who so far underrate immortal man and his celestial mind, as to be in favour of basing government upon property, thus making creation's lord the inferior of the sleeping earth which he tills, and the ox and the ass that he uses in the process. (3)

Not on the Leighs and their followers, who teach and practise upon the false assertion, and the principle more false, that the working men never do, never can, and never will take an active or intelligent part in the affairs of government. (4)

Not on the men who would deny to their fellow-men, seeking emancipation and comfort by emigrating from oppressed Europe, the hospitality of our shores and the rights of men.

Not on men who divert you from the protection of your own rights and interests, by occupying your attention upon the condition of the coloured man while they enslave the white.

Not on those who tell you that the general government is responsible for the suspensions, bankruptcies, and frauds of banks, which it neither establishes nor has the power to control, and for the fluctuations, losses, embarrassment, and distress which grow out of them.

Not on those who tell you that the evils of banking are to be remedied by an increase of banks; that the burden of debt is to be lightened by an increase of indebtedness; and that the working man is to be made more free by the extension of a system which takes from him the profits of his labour, dooms him to perpetual dependence, and makes him and his country the tributary of a foreign land.

Not on men who attempt to procure your suffrages by any other appeal than truth, or through any other channel than reason.

Not on men who lay off their fine broadcloth and put on the tow hunting shirt, when they come out to address you.

Not on men who come down from their carpeted and gilded parlours in mansions of stone and of brick, where you, as equals, are never permitted to tread, to meet and greet and wheedle you in a log cabin before an election.

Not on men who come from tables loaded with Madeira and Champaign, to nauseate their pampered stomachs with "hard cider," that they may appear before an election on a level with their labouring fellow-citizens.

Not on men who attempt to influence you by the noise of bells, drums, trumpets, and shouts, as the farmer does the swarming bees whose honey he wishes to eat.

(To be concluded in our next.)

British Special Mission to the United States, with observations in relation to said Mission, &c., by the Editors.—By the arrival of the British steamer *Britannia*, advices are received that the British Government are about to send a Special Minister to the United States, for the purpose of negotiating and settling all existing differences between the two countries. We draw this inference from private information and notices in the *London Morning Chronicle* and *Times* newspapers, from which we copy the following :

From the *Morning Chronicle*.

Special Mission to the United States.—Lord Ashburton's appointment has been favorably received in commercial circles, and given a tone of confidence to the holders of State stocks. His lordship's appointment will be acceptable to the Americans, as the Messrs. Barings have been for many years most extensively engaged in American affairs, and, in fact, the agents of the American Government in monetary operations. His lordship is besides a citizen of the great republic, and one of the largest landed proprietors, too, in the State of Pennsylvania. His talents as a man of business are well known. He is one of the largest householders in the United States, and Lady Ashburton (late Miss Bingham) is an American by birth. Well versed in the history and value of State bonds, and of the peculiar structure of the American Constitution, he will be able to press upon the attention of the Americans the necessity of punctual provision for the public engagements. The Americans themselves are the greatest sufferers by the distrust with which their securities are looked upon, for they are thereby deprived of one of their principal means of supporting their own prosperity, and, until their credit be restored, their trade and manufactures must be in a depressed condition. But a satisfactory arrangement of their differences with this country is, in the first place, absolutely necessary, as a prelude to the future happiness and welfare of the Union; and this important object, we trust, will now be accomplished.

Speaking of Lord Ashburton's special mission, the *London Times* says :

"With immense mercantile interests, extending over the whole world—interests which, while peculiarly identified with America, cannot suffer interruption in any quarter without incurring a serious injury in their entire range, his lordship has the advantage of proceeding to the United States, not only with the highest claims upon the consideration of the trading community, but with a direct personal concern in the maintenance of general peace. Thus, while the independence and integrity of Lord Ashburton place him above the suspicion of unduly yielding to extravagant demands which he can well afford to resist, his lordship's large and intimate connexion with American commerce may naturally be supposed to deter him from all such petty sticklings as may obviously tend to interrupt it. The noble lord, moreover, is thoroughly acquainted with the whole question touching the right of search, as affecting among all nations, the perfectly compatible interests of humanity and trade. That Lord Ashburton's appointment will be acceptable to the United States

Government may be fairly inferred from Mr. Everett's concurrence: and we certainly augur from it the most auspicious results. Heaven grant that we be not disappointed."

Whatever other opinions may be formed in relation to Lord Ashburton's mission to the United States, we fondly hope it will be beneficial to both countries. But while we thus express ourselves, we must confess that we have our doubts as to the final result. Were we not already aware that Lord Ashburton represents the moneyed aristocracy of England, with her two hundred millions of American State stocks, bonds, bank, rail road, canal stocks, &c., the notices in the *London papers* fully carry out that supposition. With this view of the subject, where will Lord Ashburton's mission commence, in settling the existing difficulties between John Bull and Brother Jonathan?—Will that distinguished gentleman commence his negotiations at the top or bottom of the ladder? By this we mean, will he be for commencing with the long-pending question of the disputed territory, or attempt to get the General Government to assume the State debts, &c.? Should his lordship attempt the latter, we do not doubt but that Jno. Tyler will be found to be a second Patrick Henry, even though our coast and borders be threatened with "fleets and armies." We conceive the first step in the ladder is the disputed territory: let this be settled, then the outrage on the steamer *Caroline* at Fort Schlosser; then the right of searching American vessels for slaves, &c. When these points are satisfactorily adjusted, it will be quite time enough to *try* to get the American Government to assume the debts of speculators, stock-jobbers, &c.,—on both sides of the Atlantic. From what we have said in relation to State bonds, stocks, &c., it will be inferred that we are opposed to the General Government assuming State debts. This, we frankly admit, is our decided opinion, in which we feel confident that we have the bone and sinew of the country with us to a man. In thus expressing ourselves, we by no means wish to be understood as being in favor of States repudiating their just and legitimate bonds, stocks, &c.; on the contrary, we consider them bound in honor and morality, to pay them whenever they may be able to do so. But for the General Government to pay them, either by disposing of the public lands or otherwise, we conceive preposterous.

Since writing the foregoing, we have received the *New Era* and the *Sun*, of New York, each containing notices of Lord Ashburton's mission. Being desirous to lay before our readers the opinions of other American journalists on this all-important subject, we republish the notices from the papers just mentioned.

From the New Era.

Lord Ashburton.—Who is Lord Ashburton? is a question which has been asked of us by very many yesterday, who had learned that he is entrusted with a special mission to this country on matters and things in general. Lord Ashburton is no less a personage than Mr. Baring, who demanded of the States "a more comprehensive guarantee" of their ability to pay their indebtedness than their own individual resources, and upon which demand the Courier and Enquirer, and the Federal press generally, advocated the assumption of the State debts by the General Government. Upon the intimation of the newly manufactured lord, the "Whigs," at the extra session, passed the distribution law, as an earnest that they were willing to give the "more comprehensive guarantee" required by his lordship in behalf of the British fundmongers. It is the same gentleman who engaged Daniel Webster, while in England, as counsel, and paid him *five thousand* dollars for his opinion on State bonds. The appointment of this Lord Ashburton on an apparently conciliating mission at this particular time, is so unlike the arrogant policy of the British Government, that it has suggested itself to our mind, whether Mr. Webster has not, from his known British bias, intimated to that Government that something more can be made from this mission than he is willing to let the American people know; or, whether the British Government, appreciating the position and feelings of Mr. Webster, does not hope, through Lord Ashburton, to obtain some degrading concession from this Government on the matters in issue between them.

From the Sun.

The Mission of Lord Ashburton.—Since the close of the last war with England, nothing has transpired calculated to produce such important results to the relations between the two countries, as the appointment, by the British Government, of this special mission to the United States, for the purpose of bringing to an amicable settlement all existing difficulties. We have a word to say to our countrymen, as to the manner in which this momentous crisis should be met.

We regret to see suspicions expressed in some quarters as to the real motives for sending this embassy. It is said that the main object is to get the endorsement of the Federal Government upon the State bonds held in London. The fact that Lord Ashburton is deeply interested in these securities, is adduced as sufficient evidence that such suspicions are well grounded. We are free to admit, that the selection of that gentleman for this delicate and important trust was unfortunate, inasmuch as it will naturally give rise to suspicions upon this subject calculated to operate injuriously. The very reasons which induced the British Government to appoint him, if they had been correctly understood and appreciated, would have led to the appointment of almost any other individual in preference to him. His American interests are of such a character as to create prejudices against him. Let it be generally supposed that he comes to make an effort for the assumption of State debts by the Federal Government, and his usefulness will be at an end, his influence gone, and all his exertions vain and fruitless. But we appeal to our government and people to put away all such

premature and ungenerous suspicions; let them not be entertained until we see sufficient cause for them; let us, in this instance, frankly take the British Government at its word, and confide in its professions; let it not be said, that we have lost or slighted any opportunity to cement the bonds of peace and promote the welfare of the world; if, in the end, we find that we have been deceived, that we have given confidence where none was deserved, we shall lose nothing by it; the odium and the injury will fall on those only who attempt to practice the deception.

We are told, semi-officially, in the London Times, that Lord Ashburton's mission is for the purpose of settling "all existing differences." Of course the boundary line, the right of search, and the affair of the Caroline, are included as the first, most important and serious of these differences. The Times, in announcing the appointment, drops the tone of insolence with which it has been accustomed to speak of this country, and, in a long article, discourses upon American affairs in terms of courtesy and kindness. Allowing the avowed motives of the mission to be sincere, (and until we have conclusive reasons for thinking otherwise, it would be dishonorable and unmanly not to regard them thus,) the mission, and the language in which it is announced, are highly complimentary to our country. And the selection of Lord Ashburton was avowedly made because it was honestly believed in England, that he would, on account of his interests here, be more acceptable to the Americans than any other man. If the British ministers erred in judgment in this respect, they at least deserve credit for their kind and liberal intentions. It must be admitted that they have evinced a commendable spirit in thus coming forward to meet us and carry on the negotiations at our own capital. Let us by all means meet them in the same frank and manly spirit. If the real object of this mission be to settle "all existing differences," the world may long have cause to bless the results to which it will probably lead. If other and unworthy motives have caused the step to be taken, the fact will be soon enough known, and the contrivers of the scheme branded as they deserve, before any mischief can possibly arise from it. Therefore, we say, if an honorable and long continued peace be our object, and if we wish to convince the world of our sincerity in this respect, let us not cast suspicions upon this mission in advance, but let us meet it in the same kind and honorable spirit with which it professes to come to us, bearing in mind, that if it fails in consequence of any false steps on either side, the breach, instead of being healed, will be greatly widened, and ages to come may mourn the calamities that will be likely to ensue.

The Events of the past Year.—Never, perhaps, was illustrated more signally the saying that "truth is stranger than fiction," than in the events of the past year. Circumstances of such momentous import have crowded upon each other with such rapid pace—circumstances that the wisest failed to predict, and that baffled the shrewdest even to fathom—that the whole seems like a dream.

Let us retrace some of these occurrences.—When the year commenced the country had hardly

recovered its senses from the political delirium that had gone over it the year previous. One political party was filled to excess with the exultations of victory; the other could hardly bring itself to believe that the people had been guilty of the folly of effecting "a change of rulers" under such flimsy pretexts as the "hard cider campaign," presented for arguments. If the one party indulged in hopes which power never fails to excite, the other reposed calmly, but firmly, upon its principles, conscious that time would rectify the errors that indiscretion had committed, and that the immutable and true would soon be triumphant. This "change of rulers" was hailed as auspicious by the mercantile interest of Great Britain, as a harbinger that the "destructive doctrines," as they were termed, of the Democrats, would no longer depress the price of stocks or the pecuniary affairs of the country. At home and abroad the change that was promised was looked for with confidence. Who could have dreamed the events that followed?

On the 27th January, 1841, William Henry Harrison bade adieu, forever to North Bend.—Crowds of exulting political partisans greeted him on his journey. On the 4th of March he delivered his inaugural address. What scenes were then exhibited! How disgraceful to our institutions! The rush and impetuosity of thousands of office-seekers—the shouting of crazy partizans—the festivals, the uproar, that filled the capital. The cabinet was appointed! removals from office by the hundreds determined upon; an extra session called, March 17th; and ere the hungry crowd had dispersed, the individual who had been selected to answer the ends of the party was in his shroud. Harrison died on the 4th April.—Then succeeded the funeral ceremonies, performed without distinction of party; it was the mourning of the nation for the death of its chief.

Then a new subject of interest arose. How would John Tyler administer the affairs of the government? And the great question narrowed itself down, between both parties, to his course on the establishment of a bank. Nothing definite appeared in his inaugural address—he only promised to be guided by the light which the great republican founders of our institutions furnished. Meantime, the Whig party had called the extra session. In May, a programme of its objects appeared in the official organ, the National Intelligencer; and then was first developed the great schemes of Whigism as dictated by the disappointed statesman of the West. This laid out the course that—so far as party drill could work—was adopted by Congress. The distribution bill, the loan, the repeal of the independent treasury, the establishment of a bank, the alteration of the tariff, were all pressed. But the most important of the whole—the foundation on which they all rested—was vetoed by the President in the messages of August 16th and September 9th. Then the ultra whigs burst forth in one general groan throughout the country. On the 11th of September the Harrison Cabinet was broken up—the members of which have not yet ceased discharging their Parthian arrows. On the 13th of September, the Clay Whigs set forth their famous address, absolving themselves from all responsibility for the doings of the Executive; on the same day Congress adjourned. So ended the

first six months of the Whig administration: its supporters divided among themselves; the great party that placed it in power dissolved.

Then ensued the exciting news of the fall elections. Never was there exhibited a greater change of popular sentiment in so short a time. The Democracy rose as one man, and gained State after State that the enemy had wrested from them during the contest of 1840. It is useless to affirm that this was owing to lukewarmness of Whigs; to charge it all to "general apathy." The measures of the Government, it cannot be denied, were strongly condemn'd by a large portion of those who had united in placing it in power, and they refused to appear in its support. We need not now recapitulate results that must be fresh in the minds of all. The Whig party fell at once into a minority: the Democratic party, without receding one inch from their ground, stood ready to come forth with triumphant success, in proclaiming their principles.

Another extraordinary series of events were seen in the revelations attending the downward progress of the late United States Bank. After having been defeated in obtaining a charter from the General Government, the country saw it revived, if it could credit its great master-spirit, "stronger than ever;" and under the title of a Bill to carry on the Internal Improvements of Pennsylvania. Fit connection! Events were soon to transpire calculated to wed the American system and the Bank system to one eternal infamy. Biddle soon retired from his office, carrying with him to "Andalusia, Bucks county," his splendid service of plate. On the 15th of January, 1841, the Bank made its tardy and last resumption of specie payments. This continued but a short time, although uncommon effort had been made to enable it to sustain this movement. Documents were circulated filled with statements calculated to restore the already lost confidence of the public in this institution. The salaries of its officers were reduced. Its condition was said to be sound—its resources improving. On the 4th Feb., another suspension drove these statements to the wind.—Then came the frightful panic in the State stocks. Then followed the astounding reports of the new directors; then Biddle's nonchalance letters, from "Andalusia, Bucks county,"—so fitly compared to the opening of the seven seals. In these epistles was first proclaimed the astounding fact of the attempt of the U. S. Bank to break the New York Banks, in 1839. One revelation followed another in such quick succession, that the public mind ceased to be surprised at new villany. Men holding high stations were implicated in a manner that will forever sully their fame. Deep, already, as are the lines of guilt indelibly traced on the managers of this institution, the public are still promised an additional cup of horrors. To crown the whole, the man whom a large portion of the nation regarded as a Solon in financial wisdom—as a patriot of the purest stamp—as a friend to cities in their distress—is seen with able counsel defending himself in a court, like the commonest villian, from an indictment of a jury of his country! It is now history—all this damning record. England and France existed centuries, before arose a South Sea Bubble or a Mississippi Scheme; the United States have already produced more than their equal in infamy!

Keeping pace with these "strange, eventful scenes," are the circumstances of the indebted States. Looking back for a few years, and what perfect infatuation seems to have marked their course on the subject of internal improvements! Then railroads and canals were not only to transport merchandise, but even to create business sufficient to defray their expenses. How shrewd was Jonathan thought to be in seizing upon foreign capital with such avidity, for the purpose of constructing internal communications! The past year has demonstrated to States the folly of getting entangled in debt.

Melancholy indeed is the condition of some of the indebted States; even the interests of loans can only be paid by new loans! while the works on which so much foreign capital has been expended, are rapidly going to decay. One State—Mississippi—has already repudiated a portion of her debt; other States are about following her example; and a measure, that a year only ago, was looked upon with abhorrence by all, is now discussed wholly as a matter of expediency! The condition of many of our sister States shows the absurdity of the "American System." How did its supporters exult in the prospect that arose before them ten years ago! The inflation of the circulating medium made "money cheap;" this was the gilded bait that tempted so many to ruin. Money was as "cheap" (or "cheaper") in England as it was here. How rich would be the country if "its resources could only be developed by means of foreign loans at a low rate of interest." "We intended to have given," said Niles' Register, Oct. 8, 1831, "a list of all the railroads now about to be commenced, or which are seriously contemplated—but have not either time or room to present it. Many long and important roads will soon be begun; and, when in use, we shall powerfully experience the good of the "American System," in the savings of time and money which these roads will cause." This "system" is a misnomer. It deserves not the name of American System. It is not native in its origin, nor in its results. It is an exotic. It was copied from models to be found abroad. It is British in its nature—British in its tendency—and if persisted in, will make this noble country a copy of Great Britain. The "American System" has much to answer for. It is composed of a High Tariff—a National Bank—and schemes without number for Internal Improvement by the Government. The first has already endangered our Union; the second has filled it with crime and misery; the last is now weighing, like an incubus, on some of its fairest portions. What is there but Hobson's choice of two enormous evils; a sponge, on the one hand, or enormous indebtedness, for posterity to bear, on the other hand? A National Debt renders the mass of the people of Great Britain slaves: to carry out this so called "American System," the nation must assume the debts of the States, fund them, and tax the people to pay the interest.

Such are a few only of the strange events of the past year. While the consequences of political chicanery—of false principles of finance—of an undue haste to be rich, have developed themselves, still our country has gone on in its slow, majestic march in the road of prosperity and greatness. Business has been good. Crops have been good.

The great mass of the nation, who earn the bread they eat by useful labor, have enjoyed the fruits of their toil in peace. No pestilence has swept across our borders. Except in one corner of our wide domain, no war has disturbed the merchant, the mechanic, the manufacturer, or the agriculturist. The industrious classes only require to be relieved from the enormous fluctuations of paper circulations, to enjoy, comparatively, an even tenor of life; obeying, in the creation of their products, the great law of supply and demand. Then surplus capital—*real* capital—would seek investment. As the country became settled—as wealth increased—as actual business demanded—internal improvements would multiply: increase, as a general principle, full as fast as the good of the country required. The puffs of the steam car would not disturb, so soon, the wild birds in their forest recesses; the day for extravagance and luxury might be postponed somewhat; but that which constitutes a state—"high-minded men"—would be more abundant; and the land would not groan under indebtedness; ruin would not so often overwhelm the innocent with the guilty; nor would folly and crime so often mar the moral beauty of this western abode of intelligence and freedom.—*Boston Morning Post.*

Market for American Produce.—We intend now to sink the last plank of the drowning Tariff men. We intend to extinguish the last fox-fire glimmer which now gleams from the decomposing fragments of their system, only to make the darkness with which it is surrounded more visible.

It will have been observed by all, that the standing pretence for protective duties in this country, is that the ports of Europe, and of England in particular, are closed against the admission of American bread stuff and provisions, by protective or prohibitory duties; and that, in order to secure those markets for our products, we must retaliate with like restrictions.

On the other hand, we have contended, that the tariff system of England did not exclude our commodities at all, but operated entirely on the agriculture of continental Europe, which could supply England cheaper than we can. And in proof of this position, we have stated that the cheap land all of the Baltic coast more particularly, and above the excessively cheap labor of those countries, enabled them to supply wheat at much lower prices than this country, and from their vicinity to England, to deliver it in that market far below its cost from the United States. We have also shown from the official record of our foreign trade, that we ourselves have imported, recently, almost as much provision, including hides, from abroad, and a good deal of it from the north of Europe, as we exported to all the world. We are now enabled to present a statement of facts, which triumphantly sustain every thing we have said on this part of the subject—and render the anti-tariff doctrine perfectly invincible.

Major Toehman, the intelligent and patriotic Polander, who has been lecturing recently in New York, has given a statement of the wages of labor and prices of produce in that country, to illustrate its present condition. We find the substance of this information in the Boston Atlas, (a Whighigh-tariff paper,) in the form of a communication,

with the signature of Major Tochman himself. He tells us that,

"At the present time, a Polish florin, which is equal to one shilling, New York currency, (12½ cents,) is divided into thirty very small pieces of copper, called grotze. For one such piece of copper, that is, for one-thirtieth of a New York shilling, you have a loaf of bread sufficient for the breakfast, dinner and supper of an American gentleman.

"The price of wheat is from 18 to 25 cents per bushel. Rye, barley, and oats, at one-half or two-thirds the price of wheat. In some parts of Poland incorporated with Russia, these articles may be had at a much lower price."

Now the country where these prices prevail is about — miles distant from England, by water navigation. And yet the Tariff men are protesting, day and night, that if England would repeal her corn laws, we, who are 3500 miles off, would supply her with bread stuffs. Although here wheat is one dollar per bushel, and it is never less than 60 to 75 cents, or three times as high as in Poland, where flour is worth but little more than one dollar per barrel. But let us go on with Major Tochman:

"A common laborer gains in Poland from 6 to 12½ cents per day. A mechanic seldom gains more than 25 cents. A female servant in the country has from 37 to 75 cents per month. A male servant from 50 cents to \$1."

And yet the Tariff men insist that the farmers of this country, where labor is high, can cultivate the soil, and send our wheat to the very neighborhood of Poland, and sell it as cheap as it can be supplied from that country. But some of these tariff men, after being compelled to acknowledge that other countries could supply wheat cheaper than ours, have yet maintained, that we could furnish England with beef, pork, butter, cheese, tallow, &c., &c. Let us hear Major Tochman again:

"The cattle, flocks, and herds, are also very cheap. A milch cow sells from \$2.50 to \$8. An ox for labor from \$6 to \$15; one for the purpose of slaughter, from \$10 to \$30. A horse, such as in this country costs about \$70, may be bought, in some parts of Poland, for about \$25. In those portions of the country incorporated with Russia, a horse of that description may be had from \$7 to \$12. A common sheep may be had from eighteen cents to one dollar."

It thus appears that the articles of beef, butter, cheese, tallow, candles, soap, &c., can be had in Poland at about one-third the price in this country. It is therefore impossible for us to compete with Poland in the supply of England with these commodities. Major Tochman also says:

"The clothing of the laboring class, of both sexes, is very comfortable, but very coarse and poor,—made of linen cloth, woollen cloth, and furs of the country. The entire dress of a country female per year, costs from \$1 to \$6. The dress of a laboring man, from \$5 to \$8, including shoes and boots. A pair of shoes, such as are used by laboring females, costs from 18 to 37 cents. A pair of boots for a laboring man costs from 37 to 75 cents."

These facts demonstrate that the United States can supply no produce, the cultivation of which is permitted by the climate of Poland, or any other

country of Europe where labor is so cheap, and sell it in an open market so accessible from the coast of Europe as England. Therefore the corn laws of England, instead of excluding our grain and flour, do, in a season of scarcity there, give them a market they could not otherwise have.

If the restrictive system of England were abolished, as the tariff men pretend to desire, the agricultural labor of England and Poland would be nearly equalized in money value, and the cheapness of provisions would reduce the money price of manufacturing labor in England about one-half. The effect of all this, on the United States, would be important. It would—

1. Deprive us of the occasional market for wheat and flour, which England now affords.

2. It would deprive us of the entire English market for tobacco, as in that case it could be produced cheaper in England than here.

3. It would prostrate at least one-half of all the existing manufactures in the United States—amounting annually to one hundred millions of dollars—for English labor, thus reduced in money price, would undersell ours at our own doors.

4. It would therefore increase our importations from abroad that amount.

5. It would increase our exports of cotton accordingly. That which now goes to Lowell would go to Manchester. The reduced price of cotton fabrics would, however, extend their consumption throughout England and the world, and supercede large quantities of woollens and cut up our woollen manufactures.

6. And finally, it would create a great additional demand on the Southern States for raw cotton, who in turn would consume larger quantities of our products, and thus the repeal of the corn laws would be of immense advantage to the west.—*Cincinnati Enquirer*.

Treasury Notes.—Who has forgotten the outcries of the Federal orators, in and out of the Congress, against an issue of Treasury Notes, and the declamation from the same quarters in favor of a Government loan or debt? Last year, and in previous years, when Mr. Woodbury proposed this mode of obtaining means for carrying on the Government, it was scouted by the Federal leaders, and every obstacle that could be suggested by the ingenuity of a factious opposition, was thrown in the path of the fiscal officers under Mr. Van Buren's administration. Such, however, was the skill with which the affairs of the Treasury were conducted by Mr. Woodbury, that not only was an issue of Treasury Notes found to be adequate to the great and pressing emergencies of Government, under the expenses of the Indian wars and the derangements of the currency, but the public credit was, under all circumstances, fully sustained. Every demand was promptly met—the issues of Treasury Notes were at par, and in no instance involved a loss to the Treasury or the holder.

Under the Whig succession, the panacea of a Government debt was at once resorted to. Pursuing the earlier Federal notions of financiering, a funded debt was claimed to be the only reliable resource of the Treasury; and in the midst of the Federal strife to distribute or give away the National income, and even while partisans of that school were gravely suggesting the payment to

the States of the fourth instalment debt! a Twelve Million loan was authorised. And what has been the result of the device? The Secretary of the Treasury has already informed Congress, that the loan, beyond a comparatively small portion of it, could not be negotiated; has recommended, as one alternative, an issue of Treasury Notes; and finally, Mr. Fillmore, chairman of the ways and means, and a prominent Whig leader, presents, in the House of Representatives, a bill providing for an issue of five millions of what the orators of the same school, a twelvemonth since, characterized as the "Van Buren currency."

We perceive also, by a report of the present Secretary of the Treasury, a few days since, that had it not been for the issue of Treasury Notes proposed by the late administration, and authorised among its last acts, the Treasury would have been literally empty, and the Government altogether without the means of support. It appears that the issues of 1837, '38, '39, and '40—the four years of Mr. Van Buren's administration, amounted to \$26,681,337, of which \$25,361,673 had been redeemed; and that of the amount authorised by the act of last February, only \$673,681 were issued by the late administration, while by the present administration, \$5,624,575 have been issued; being, in fact, nearly its only resource. The aggregate of outstanding Treasury Notes on the first instant, was \$6,840,723 30.

It is rare that occurrences, in the history of a Government, present so striking an admonition of the emptiness of party invective and the futility of party devices. When Congressional leaders adopt, at this moment, what a year ago they scouted and denounced, what further admission of error and injustice to political opponents, and to the late Democratic administration, may we expect?—*American Manufacturer.*

Democracy vs. Federalism.—How very different are the modes of operation as now developed by the two great political parties of this country—their measures are as different as their principles. Look at the system of political tactics adopted by the Democratic party. The Democratic party spread their principles before the world in all their primitive beauty and simplicity, unvarnished and uncolored—they conceal nothing—they love the light of TRUTH—they seek inquiry and investigation. Democracy requires not a cloak to cover up her deformities, or a suit of embellishments in order to bring out the beauty of her principles and command the admiration of her worshipers. Democracy places her standard upon the EQUALITY OF HUMAN RIGHTS—upon THE ACCOUNTABILITY OF THE SOUL TO GOD—upon THE ETERNAL PRINCIPLES OF TRUTH & JUSTICE—upon THE DIVINE LOVE THAT CHRISTIANITY BEARS TO SUFFERING, BLEEDING HUMANITY.—The Democratic party wish to keep politics separate from all religious and sectarian considerations; free from all questions, except those that develop the legitimate science of government—believing that "the blessing of Government, like the dews of Heaven, should be dispensed alike on high and low, the rich and the poor"—and that it is the duty of government to protect and preserve the equal rights of individuals agreeable

to the principles of Truth and Justice, leaving all questions, all subjects, all interests, and all principles, to develop themselves by the force of their own intrinsic moral worth. The Democratic party contend for civil liberty in the largest and fullest acceptance of the term.

How very different are the *modus operandi* of the Federal party! Nothing for the *public eye*—no bold, open declaration of principles. No confidence in the virtue and intelligence of the People—no warm, heart-felt expressions for the hard working classes.

The political system of the Federalists is a cold and selfish one. The advocates of this system believe it to be the *part of political wisdom to found Government on property*—that the rights of property are superior to the rights of man. This system is a restrictive one; unequal and tyrannical in its operations and consequences; building up monopolies, and giving exclusive privileges to particular classes, to the injury of the great body of the masses—it is British in its origin, British in its operation, and British in its consequences. You have but to look to England to see the effects of such doctrines; there, at the expense of making every sixth individual a PAUPER, it builds up a rich, proud, haughty, aristocratic Nobility. Such a system can never be carried into full operation in this country, so long as the people are so virtuous, so intelligent, and so intelligent as they now are. Such a system of government may be established in the old world, but not in enlightened and republican America.

The Federalists, seeing and feeling the weakness of their political measures, instead of letting the party rise or fall upon the truth of their political principles, are always connecting themselves with some popular question of the day, and, by so doing, sometimes deceive the people and ride into power—but it has always happened, as soon as they are in office, that they throw off the cloak of hypocrisy, and attempt to fasten upon the country their odious system. Let any one compare the professions of the Federalists before the last Presidential election with their practice since they have been in power, and they cannot fail to discover the truth of our statement.—*New Hampshire Gazette.*

Reasons for their Defeat.—It is well known that the Federalists came into power in this state, chiefly upon their *promises* of "Retrenchment" and "Reform!" The people have been made bitterly to feel how valueless such promises are. No sooner had they assumed the cares of government, than new offices were created, in order to gratify the clamors of the hungry swarm of expectants, who stood ready to grasp the "loaves and fishes." Instead of retrenchment, the state has been plunged headlong into the vortex of an immense DEBT which cannot now be less than *TWENTY-THREE MILLIONS!* With this species of *retrenchment and reform*, the people soon became disgusted, and the authors of it have been driven from the councils of the people. It now devolves upon the Democracy to commence and carry out a rigid system of *economy, RETRENCHMENT, and REFORM!* Let there be no half-way work about it.—*Batavia Times and Journal.*

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

As amended and adopted 10th of November, 1821.

We, the people of the State of New York, acknowledging with gratitude the grace and beneficence of God in permitting us to make choice of our form of government, do establish this constitution.

ARTICLE 1. § 1. The legislative power of this state shall be vested in a senate and an assembly.

2. The senate shall consist of thirty-two members. The senators shall be chosen for four years, and shall be freeholders. The assembly shall consist of one hundred and twenty-eight members, who shall be annually elected.

3. A majority of each house shall constitute a quorum to do business. Each house shall determine the rules of its own proceedings, and be the judges of the qualifications of its own members. Each house shall choose its own officers, and the senate shall choose a temporary president, when the lieutenant-governor shall not attend as president, or shall act as governor.

4. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and publish the same, except such parts as may require secrecy. The doors of each house shall be kept open, except when the public welfare shall require secrecy. Neither house shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than two days.

5. The state shall be divided into eight districts, to be called senate districts, each of which shall choose four senators.

The first district shall consist of the counties of Suffolk, Queens, Kings, Richmond, and New York.

The second district shall consist of the counties of Westchester, Putnam, Dutchess, Rockland, Orange, Ulster, and Sullivan.

The third district shall consist of the counties of Green, Columbia, Albany, Rensselaer, Schoharie, and Schenectady.

The fourth district shall consist of the counties of Saratoga, Montgomery, Hamilton, Washington, Warren, Clinton, Essex, Franklin, and St. Lawrence.

The fifth district shall consist of the counties of Herkimer, Oneida, Madison, Oswego, Lewis, and Jefferson.

The sixth district shall consist of the counties of Delaware, Otsego, Chenango, Broome, Cortland, Tompkins, and Tioga.

The seventh district shall consist of the counties of Onondago, Cayuga, Seneca, and Ontario.

The eighth district shall consist of the counties of Steuben, Livingston, Monroe, Genesee, Niagara, Erie, Allegany, Cattaraugus, and Chautauque.

And as soon as the senate shall meet, after the first election to be held in pursuance of this constitution, they shall cause the senators to be divided by lot into four classes, of eight in each, so that every district shall have one senator of each class: the classes to be numbered, one, two, three, and four. And the seats of the first class shall be vacated at the end of the first year; of the second class, at the end of the second year; of the third class, at the end of the third year; of the fourth class, at the end of the fourth year; in order that one senator be annually elected in each senate district.

6. An enumeration of the inhabitants of the state shall be taken, under the direction of the legislature, in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five, and at the end of every ten years thereafter; and the said districts shall be so altered by the legislature, at the first session after the return of every enumeration, that each senate district shall contain, as nearly as may be, an equal number of inhabitants, excluding aliens, paupers, and persons of colour not taxed; and shall remain unaltered, until the return of another enumeration, and shall at all times consist of contiguous territory; and no county shall be divided in the formation of a senate district.

7. The members of the assembly shall be chosen by counties, and shall be apportioned among the several counties of the state, as nearly as may be, according to the numbers of their respective inhabitants, excluding aliens, paupers, and persons of colour, not taxed. An apportionment of members of assembly shall be made by the legislature, at its first session after the return of every enumeration; and, when made, shall remain unaltered until another enumeration shall have been taken. But an apportionment of members of the assembly shall be made by the present legislature according to the last enumeration, taken under the authority of the United States, as nearly as may be. Every county heretofore established, and separately organized, shall always be entitled to one member of the assembly, and no new county shall hereafter be erected, unless its population shall entitle it to a member.

8. Any bill may originate in either house of the legislature; and all bills passed by one house, may be amended by the other.

9. The members of the legislature shall receive for their services a compensation to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the public treasury; but no increase of the compensation shall take effect during the year in which it shall have been made. And no law shall be passed increasing the compensation of the members of the legislature beyond the sum of three dollars a day.

10. No member of the legislature shall receive any civil appointment from the governor and senate, or from the legislature, during the term for which he shall have been elected.

11. No person being a member of congress, holding any judicial or military office under the United States, shall hold a seat in the legislature. And if any person shall, while a member of the legislature, be elected to congress, or appointed to any office, civil or military, under the United States, his acceptance thereof, shall vacate his seat.

12. Every bill which shall have passed the senate and assembly, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the governor: if he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it with his objections to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it: if, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of the members present shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered; and if approved by two-thirds of the members present, it shall become a law; but in all such cases, the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journals

of each house respectively; if any bill shall not be returned by the governor within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the legislature shall, by their adjournment, prevent its return; in which case it shall not be a law.

13. All officers holding their office during good behaviour may be removed by joint resolution of the two houses of the legislature, if two-thirds of all the members elected to the assembly, and a majority of all the members elected to the senate, concur therein.

14. The political year shall begin on the first day of January; and the legislature shall every year assemble on the first Tuesday in January, unless a different day shall be appointed by law.

15. The next election for governor, lieutenant-governor, senators, and members of assembly, shall commence on the first Monday of November, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two; and all subsequent elections shall be held at such time, in the month of October or November, as the legislature shall by law provide.

16. The governor, lieutenant-governor, senators, and members of assembly, first elected, under this constitution, shall enter on the duties of their respective offices on the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three; and the governor, lieutenant-governor, senators, and members of assembly, now in office, shall continue to hold the same, until the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, and no longer.

ART. 2. § 1. Every male citizen of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been an inhabitant of this state one year preceding any election, and for the last six months a resident of the town or county where he may offer his vote; and shall have, within the year next preceding the election, paid a tax to the state or county, assessed upon his real or personal property; or shall by law be exempted by taxation; or being armed and equipped according to law, shall have performed within that year military duty in the militia of the state; or who shall be exempted from performing militia duty in consequence of being a fireman in any city, town, or village in this state: And also, every male citizen of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been, for three years next preceding such elections, an inhabitant of this state, and for the last year a resident in the town or county where he may offer his vote; and shall have been, within the last year, assessed to labour upon the public highways, and shall have performed the labour, or paid an equivalent therefor, according to law; shall be entitled to vote in the town or ward where he actually resides, and not elsewhere, for all officers that now are, or hereafter may be, elective by the people; but no man of colour, unless he shall have been for three years a citizen of this state, and for one year next preceding any election shall be seized and possessed of a freehold estate of the value of two hundred and fifty dollars, over and above all debts and incumbrances charged thereon; and shall have been actually rated, and paid a tax thereon, shall be entitled to vote at such election. And no person of colour shall be subject to direct taxation, unless he shall be seized and possessed of such real estate as aforesaid.

2. Laws may be passed, excluding from the right

of suffrage persons who have been, or may be, convicted of infamous crimes.

3. Laws shall be made for ascertaining, by proper proofs, the citizens who shall be entitled to the right of suffrage, hereby established.

4. All elections by the citizens shall be by ballot, except for such town officers as may by law be directed to be otherwise chosen.

ART. 3. § 1. The executive power shall be vested in a governor. He shall hold his office for two years; and a lieutenant-governor shall be chosen at the same time, and for the same term.

2. No person, except a native citizen of the United States, shall be eligible to the office of governor, nor shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not be a freeholder, and shall not have attained the age of thirty years, and have been five years a resident within the state; unless he shall have been absent during that time on public business of the United States, or of this state.

3. The governor and lieutenant-governor shall be elected at the times and places of choosing members of the legislature. The persons respectively having the highest number of votes for governor and lieutenant-governor, shall be elected; but in case two or more shall have an equal and the highest number of votes for governor, or for lieutenant-governor, the two houses of the legislature shall, by joint ballot, choose one of the said persons, so having an equal and the highest number of votes, for governor or lieutenant-governor.

4. The governor shall be general and commander-in-chief of all the militia, and admiral of the navy of the state. He shall have power to convene the legislature (or the senate only) on extraordinary occasions. He shall communicate by message to the legislature, at every session, the condition of the state; and recommend such matters to them as he shall judge expedient. He shall transact all necessary business with the officers of government, civil and military. He shall expedite all such measures as may be resolved upon by the legislature, and shall take care that the laws are faithfully executed. He shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased or diminished during the term for which he shall have been elected.

5. The governor shall have power to grant reprieves and pardon after conviction, for all offences, except treason and cases of impeachment. Upon convictions for treasons, he shall have power to suspend the execution of the sentence, until the case shall be reported to the legislature at its next meeting; when the legislature shall either pardon, or direct the execution of the criminal, or grant a further reprieve.

6. In case of the impeachment of the governor, or his removal from office, death, resignation, or absence from the state, the powers and duties of the office shall devolve upon the lieutenant-governor for the residue of the term, or until the governor absent or impeached shall return or be acquitted. But when the governor shall, with the consent of the legislature, be out of the state in time of war, at the head of a military force thereof, he shall still continue commander-in-chief of all the military force of the state.

7. The lieutenant-governor shall be president of the senate, but shall have only a casting vote therein. If, during a vacancy of the office of governor, the lieutenant-governor shall be impeached,

displaced, resign, die, or be absent from the state, the president of the senate shall act as governor, until the vacancy shall be filled, or the disability shall cease.

ART. 4. § 1. Militia officers shall be chosen, or appointed, as follows: Captains, subalterns, and non-commissioned officers shall be chosen by the written votes of the members of their respective companies. Field-officers of regiments, and separate battalions, by the written votes of the commissioned officers of the respective regiments, and separate battalions. Brigadier-generals, by the field-officers of their respective brigades. Major-generals, brigadier-generals, and commanding officers of regiments or separate battalions, shall appoint the staff-officers to their respective divisions, brigades, regiments, or separate battalions.

2. The governor shall nominate, and, with the consent of the senate, appoint, all major-generals, brigade-inspectors, and chiefs in the staff departments, except the adjutants-general and commissary-general. The adjutant-general shall be appointed by the governor.

3. The legislature shall, by law, direct the time and manner of electing militia officers, and of certifying their elections to the governor.

4. The commissioned officers of the militia shall be commissioned by the governor; and no commissioned officer shall be removed from office unless by the senate on the recommendation of the governor, stating the grounds on which such removal is recommended, or by the decision of a court-martial, pursuant to law. The present officers of the militia shall hold their commissions, subject to removal, as before provided.

5. In case the mode of election and appointment of militia officers hereby directed, shall not be found conducive to the improvement of the militia, the legislature may abolish the same, and provide by law for their appointment and removal, if two-thirds of the members present in each house shall concur therein.

6. The secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general, surveyor-general, and commissary-general shall be appointed as follows: The senate and assembly shall each openly nominate one person for the said offices respectively: after which, they shall meet together, and if they shall agree in their nominations, the person so nominated shall be appointed to the office for which he shall be nominated. If they shall disagree, the appointment shall be made by the joint ballot of the senators and members of assembly. The treasurer shall be chosen annually. The secretary of state, comptroller, attorney-general, surveyor-general, and commissary-general, shall hold their offices for three years, unless sooner removed by concurrent resolutions of the senate and assembly.

7. The governor shall nominate, by message, in writing, and with the consent of the senate, shall appoint all judicial officers, except justices of the peace, who shall be appointed in manner following, that is to say: The board of supervisors in every county in this state, shall, at such times as the legislature may direct, meet together: and they, or a majority of them so assembled, shall nominate so many persons as shall be equal to the number of justices of the peace to be appointed in the several towns in the respective counties. And the judges of the respective county courts, or a majority of them, shall also meet and nominate a

like number of persons: and it shall be the duty of the said boards of supervisors, and judges of county courts, to compare such nominations, at such time and place as the legislature may direct; and if, on such comparison, the said boards of supervisors and judges of county courts shall agree in their nominations, in all or in part, they shall file a certificate of the nominations in which they shall agree in the office of the clerk of the county; and the person or persons named in such certificates shall be justices of the peace; and in case of disagreement in whole or in part, it shall be the further duty of the said boards of supervisors and judges, respectively, to transmit their said nominations, so far as they disagree in the same, to the governor, who shall select from the said nominations, and appoint so many justices of the peace as shall be requisite to fill the vacancies. Every person appointed a justice of the peace shall hold his office for four years, unless removed by the county court, for causes particularly assigned by the judges of the said court. And no justice of the peace shall be removed, until he shall have notice of the charges made against him, and an opportunity of being heard in his defence.

8. Sheriffs, and clerks of counties, including the register, and clerks of the city and county of New York, shall be chosen by the electors of the respective counties, once in every three years, and as often as vacancies shall happen. Sheriffs shall hold no other office, and be ineligible for the next three years after the termination of their offices. They may be required by law to renew their security, from time to time, and in default of giving such new security, their offices shall be deemed vacant. But the county shall never be made responsible for the acts of the sheriff. And the governor may remove any such sheriff, clerk, or register, at any time within the three years for which he shall be elected, giving to such sheriff, clerk, or register, a copy of the charges against him, and an opportunity of being heard in his defence, before any removal shall be made.

9. The clerks of courts, except those clerks whose appointment is provided for in the preceding section, shall be appointed by the courts of which they respectively are clerks; and district attorneys, by the county courts. Clerks of courts, and district attorneys, shall hold their offices for three years, unless sooner removed by the courts appointing them.

10. The mayors of all the cities in this state shall be appointed annually by the common councils of their respective cities.

11. So many coroners as the legislature may direct, not exceeding four in each county, shall be elected in the same manner as sheriffs, and shall hold their offices for the same term, and be removable in like manner.

12. The governor shall nominate, and, with the consent of the senate, appoint masters and examiners in chancery; who shall hold their offices for three years, unless sooner removed by the senate, on the recommendation of the governor. The registers, and assistant-registers, shall be appointed by the chancellor, and hold their offices during his pleasure.

13. The clerk of the court of oyer and terminer, and general sessions of the peace, in and for the city and county of New York, shall be appointed by the court of general sessions of the peace in

said city, and hold his office during the pleasure of said court; and such clerks and other officers of courts, whose appointment is not herein provided for, shall be appointed by the several courts; or by the governor, with the consent of the senate, as may be directed by law.

14. The special justices, and the assistant-justices, and their clerks, in the city of New York, shall be appointed by the common council of the said city; and shall hold their offices for the same term that the justices of the peace, in the other counties of this state, hold their offices, and shall be removable in like manner.

15. All officers heretofore elective by the people shall continue to be elected; and all other officers, whose appointment is not provided for by this constitution, and all officers, whose offices may be hereafter created by law, shall be elected by the people, or appointed as may by law be directed.

16. Where the duration of any office is not prescribed by this constitution, it may be declared by law; and if not so declared, such office shall be held during the pleasure of the authority making the appointment.

ART. 5. § 1. The court for the trial of impeachments, and the correction of errors, shall consist of the president of the senate, the senators, the chancellors, and the justices of the supreme court, or the major part of them: but when an impeachment shall be prosecuted against the chancellor, or any justice of the supreme court, the person so impeached shall be suspended from exercising his office, until his acquittal: and when an appeal from a decree in chancery shall be heard, the chancellor shall inform the court of the reasons for his decree, but shall have no voice in the final sentence; and when a writ of error shall be brought on a judgment of the supreme court, the justices of that court shall assign the reasons for their judgment, but shall not have a voice for its affirmance or reversal.

2. The assembly shall have the power of impeaching all civil officers of this state for mal and corrupt conduct in office, and high crimes and misdemeanors: but a majority of all the members elected shall concur in an impeachment. Before the trial of an impeachment, the members of the court shall take an oath or affirmation, truly and impartially to try and determine the charge in question, according to evidence: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present. Judgment, in cases of impeachment, shall not extend further than the removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust, or profit under this state; but the party convicted shall be liable to indictment and punishment, according to law.

3. The chancellor, and justices of the supreme court, shall hold their offices during good behaviour, or until they shall attain the age of sixty years.

4. The supreme court shall consist of a chief-justice and two justices, any of whom may hold the court.

5. The state shall be divided, by law, into a convenient number of circuits, not less than four, nor exceeding eight, subject to alteration by the legislature, from time to time, as the public good may require; for each of which a circuit judge shall be appointed, in the same manner, and hold

his office by the same tenure, as the justices of the supreme court; and who shall possess the powers of a justice of the supreme court at chambers, and in the trial of issues joined in the supreme court, and in courts of oyer and terminer and jail delivery. And such equity powers may be vested in the said circuit judges, or in the county courts, or in such other subordinate courts, as the legislature may by law direct, subject to the appellate jurisdiction of the chancellor.

6. Judges of the county courts, and recorders of cities, shall hold their office for five years, but may be removed by the senate, on the recommendation of the governor, for causes to be stated in such recommendation.

7. Neither the chancellor, nor justices of the supreme court, nor any circuit judge, shall hold any other office or public trust. All votes for any elective office, given by the legislature or the people, for the chancellor, or a justice of the supreme court, or circuit judge, during his continuance in his judicial office, shall be void.

ART. 6. § 1. Members of the legislature, and all officers, executive and judicial, except such inferior officers as may by law be exempted, shall, before they enter on the duties of their respective offices, take and subscribe the following oath or affirmation:

I do solemnly swear, (or affirm, as the case may be,) that I will support the constitution of the United States, and the constitution of the state of New York, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of — according to the best of my ability.

And no other oath, declaration, or test shall be required as a qualification for any office or public trust.

ART. 7. § 1. No member of this state shall be disfranchised, or deprived of any rights or privileges secured to any citizen thereof, unless by the law of the land or the judgment of his peers.

2. The trial by jury, in all cases in which it has been heretofore used, shall remain inviolate for ever; and no new court shall be instituted, but such as shall proceed according to the course of the common law; except such courts of equity as the legislature is herein authorized to establish.

3. The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall for ever be allowed in this state to all mankind: but the liberty of conscience hereby secured shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of this state.

4. And whereas the ministers of the gospel are, by their profession, dedicated to the service of God, and the care of souls, and ought not to be diverted from the great duties of their functions: therefore no minister of the gospel, or priest of any denomination whatsoever, shall, at any time hereafter, under any pretence or description whatever, be eligible to, or capable of holding any civil or military office or place within this state.

5. The militia of the state shall, at all times hereafter, be armed and disciplined, and in readiness for service; but all such inhabitants of this state, of any religious denomination whatever, as from scruples of conscience may be averse to bearing arms, shall be excused therefrom, by paying to the state an equivalent in money: and the legislature shall provide by law for the collection

of such equivalent, to be estimated according to the expense in time and money of an ordinary able-bodied militia man.

6. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require its suspension.

7. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or other infamous crime. [except in cases of impeachment, and in cases of the militia when in actual service; and the land and naval forces in time of war, or which this state may keep, with the consent of the congress, in time of peace, and in cases of petit larceny, under the regulation of the legislature;] unless on presentment, or indictment, of a grand jury; and in every trial on impeachment or indictment, the party accused shall be allowed counsel as in civil actions. No person shall be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall he be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law: nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

8. Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right; and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech, or of the press. In all prosecutions, or indictments for libels, the truth may be given in evidence to the jury: and if it shall appear to the jury, that the matter charged as libellous is true, and was published with good motives, and for justifiable ends, the party shall be acquitted; and the jury shall have the right to determine the law and the fact.

9. The assent of two-thirds of the members elected to each branch of the legislature shall be requisite to every bill appropriating the public moneys or property for local or private purposes, or creating, continuing, altering, or renewing any body politic or corporate.

10. The proceeds of all lands belonging to this state, except such parts thereof as may be reserved or appropriated to public use, or ceded to the United States, which shall hereafter be sold or disposed of, together with the fund denominated the common school fund, shall be and remain a perpetual fund, the interest of which shall be inviolably appropriated and applied to the support of common schools throughout this state. Rates of toll, not less than those agreed to by the canal commissioners, and set forth in their report to the legislature of the twelfth of March, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, shall be imposed on, and collected from, all parts of the navigable communication between the great western and northern lakes and the Atlantic ocean, which now are, or hereafter shall be, made and completed; and the said tolls, together with the duties on the manufacture of all salt, as established by the act of the fifteenth of April, one thousand eight hundred and seventeen: and the duties on goods sold at auction, excepting therefrom the sum of thirty-three thousand five hundred dollars, otherwise appropriated by the said act; and the amount of the revenue, established by the act of the legislature of the thirtieth of March, one thousand eight hundred and twenty, in lieu of the tax upon steamboat passengers; shall be and remain inviolably appropri-

ated and applied to the completion of such navigable communications, and to the payment of the interest, and reimbursement of the capital, of the money already borrowed, or which hereafter shall be borrowed, to make and complete the same. And neither the rates of toll on the said navigable communications, nor the duties on the manufacture of salt aforesaid, nor the duties on goods sold at auction, as established by the act of the fifteenth of April, one thousand eight hundred and seventeen; nor the amount of the revenue, established by the act of March the thirtieth, one thousand eight hundred and twenty, in lieu of the tax upon steamboat passengers; shall be reduced or diverted, at any time, before the full and complete payment of the principal and interest of the money borrowed, or to be borrowed, as aforesaid. And the legislature shall never sell or dispose of the salt springs belonging to this state, nor the lands contiguous thereto, which may be necessary or convenient for their use, nor the said navigable communications, or any part or section thereof, but the same shall be and remain the property of this state.

11. No lottery shall hereafter be authorized in this state; and the legislature shall pass laws to prevent the sale of all lottery tickets within this state, except in lotteries already provided for by law.

12. No purchase or contract for the sale of lands in this state, made since the fourteenth day of October, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, or which may hereafter be made, of or with the Indians in this state, shall be valid, unless under the authority, and with the consent of the legislature.

13. Such parts of the common law, and of the acts of the legislature of the colony of New York, as together did form the law of the said colony on the nineteenth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, and the resolutions of the congress of the said colony, and of the convention of the state of New York, in force on the twentieth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, which have not since expired, or been repealed, or altered, and such acts of the legislature of this state as are now in force, shall be and continue the law of this state, subject to such alterations as the legislature shall make concerning the same. But all such parts of the common law, and such of the said acts, or parts thereof, as are repugnant to this constitution, are hereby abrogated.

14. All grants of land within this state, made by the king of Great Britain, or persons acting under his authority, after the fourteenth day of October, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, shall be null and void; but nothing contained in this constitution shall affect any grants of land within this state, made by the authority of the said king or his predecessors, or shall annul any charters to bodies politic and corporate, by him or them made before that day; or shall affect any such grants or charters since made by this state, or by persons acting under its authority; or shall impair the obligations of any debts contracted by the state, or individuals, or bodies corporate, or any other rights of property, or any suits, actions, rights of action, or proceedings, in courts of justice.

ART. 8. § 1. Any amendment or amendments

to this constitution may be proposed in the senate or assembly; and if the same shall be agreed to by a majority of the members elected to each of the two houses, such proposed amendment, or amendments, shall be entered on their journals, with the yeas and nays taken thereon, and referred to the legislature then next to be chosen; and shall be published, for three months previous to the time of making such choice; and if, in the legislature next chosen as aforesaid, such proposed amendment or amendments, shall be agreed to by two-thirds of all the members elected to each house, then it shall be the duty of the legislature to submit such proposed amendment, or amendments, to the people, in such manner, and at such time, as the legislature shall prescribe; and if the people shall approve and ratify such amendment, or amendments, by a majority of the electors qualified to vote for members of the legislature voting thereon, such amendment, or amendments, shall become part of the constitution.

ART. 9. § 1. This constitution shall be in force from the last day of December, in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two. But all those parts of the same which relate to the right of suffrage, the division of the state into senate districts, the number of members of the assembly to be elected in pursuance of this constitution, the appointment of members of assembly, the elections hereby directed to commence on the first Monday of November, in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, the continuance of the members of the present legislature in office until the first day of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, and the prohibition against authorizing lotteries, the prohibition against appropriating the public moneys or property for local or private purposes, or creating, continuing, altering, or renewing any body politic or corporate, without the assent of two-thirds of the members elected to each branch of the legislature, shall be in force and take effect from the last day of February next. The members of the present legislature shall, on the first Monday of March next, take and subscribe an oath or affirmation to support the constitution, so far as the same shall then be in force. Sheriffs, clerks of counties, and coroners, shall be elected at the election hereby directed to commence on the first Monday of November, in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two; but they shall not enter on the duties of their offices before the first day of January then next following. The commissions of all persons holding civil offices on the last day of December, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, shall expire on that day; but the officers then in commission may respectively continue to hold their said offices, until new appointments or elections shall take place under this constitution.

2. The existing laws, relative to the manner of notifying, holding, and conducting elections, making returns, and canvassing votes, shall be in force and observed, in respect of the elections hereby directed to commence on the first Monday of November, in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, so far as the same are applicable. And the present legislature shall pass such other and further laws, as may be requisite for the execution of the provisions of this constitution, in respect to elections.

Done in convention, at the capitol, in the city

of Albany, the tenth day of November, in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one; and of the independence of the United States of America the forty-sixth.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS, *President.*

JOHN F. BACON,

SAMUEL S. GARDINER, } *Secretaries.*

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY.

Adopted 2nd of July, 1776.

Whereas, all the constitutional authority ever possessed by the kings of Great Britain over these colonies,* or their other dominions, was, by compact, derived from the people, and held of them, for the common interest of the whole society; allegiance and protection are, in the nature of things, reciprocal ties, each equally depending upon the other, and liable to be dissolved by the others being refused or withdrawn: And whereas George the Third, king of Great Britain, has refused protection to the good people of these colonies; and, by assenting to sundry acts of the British parliament, attempted to subject them to the absolute dominion of that body; and has also made war upon them, in the most cruel and unnatural manner, for no other cause than asserting their just rights—all civil authority under him is necessarily at an end, and a dissolution of government in each colony has consequently taken place.

And whereas, in the present deplorable situation of these colonies, exposed to the fury of a cruel and relentless enemy, some form of government is absolutely necessary, not only for the preservation of good order, but also the more effectually to unite the people, and enable them to exert their whole force in their own necessary defence: and as the honourable the continental congress, the supreme council of the American colonies, has advised such of the colonies as have not yet gone into measures, to adopt for themselves, respectively, such government as shall best conduce to their own happiness and safety, and the well being of America in general:—We, the representatives of the colony of New Jersey, having been elected by all the counties, in the freest manner, and in congress assembled, have, after mature deliberation, agreed upon a set of charter rights, and the form of a constitution, in the manner following, viz.

1. That the government of this province shall be vested in a governor, legislative council, and general assembly.

2. That the said legislative council and general assembly shall be chosen, for the first time, on the second Tuesday of August next; the members whereof shall be the same in number and qualifications as is hereinafter mentioned; and shall be and remain vested with all the powers and authority to be held by any future legislative council and assembly of this colony until the second Tuesday in October, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven.

3. That, on the second Tuesday in October

* On the 20th of September, 1777, an act of the legislature was passed, substituting the word *state* for the word *colony*, in commissions, writs, &c.—No other alteration has taken place in the constitution.

yearly, and every year for ever, (with the privilege of adjourning from day to day, as occasion may require,) the counties shall severally choose one person, to be a member of the legislative council of this colony, who shall be, and have been for one whole year next before the election, an inhabitant and freeholder in the county in which he is chosen, and worth at least one thousand pounds, proclamation money, of real and personal estate, within the same county; that, at the same time, each county shall also choose three members of assembly; provided, that no person shall be entitled to a seat in the assembly, unless he be, and have been, for one whole year next before the election, an inhabitant of the county he is to represent, and worth five hundred pounds, proclamation money, in real and personal estate, in the same county; that, on the second Tuesday next after the day of election, the council and assembly shall separately meet, and that the consent of both houses shall be necessary to every law; provided, that seven shall be a quorum of the council for doing business, and that no law shall pass, unless there be a majority of all the representatives of each body personally present, and agreeing thereto: Provided, always, that if a majority of the representatives of this province, in council and general assembly convened, shall at any time or times hereafter, judge it equitable and proper to add to or diminish the number or proportion of the members of assembly for any county or counties in this colony, then, and in such case, the same may, on the principles of more equal representation, be lawfully done, any thing in this charter to the contrary notwithstanding; so that the whole number of representatives in assembly shall not, at any time, be less than thirty-nine.

4. That all inhabitants of this colony of full age, who are worth fifty pounds, proclamation money, clear estate in the same, and have resided within the county in which they claim a vote for twelve months immediately preceding the election, shall be entitled to vote for representatives in council and assembly; and also for all other public officers that shall be elected by the people of the county at large.

5. That the assembly, when met, shall have power to choose a speaker, and other their officers; to be judges of the qualifications and elections of their own members; sit upon their own adjournments; prepare bills to be passed into laws; and to empower their speaker to convene them whenever any extraordinary occurrence shall render it necessary.

6. That the council shall also have power to prepare bills to pass into laws, and have other like powers as the assembly, and in all respects be a free and independent branch of the legislature of this colony; save only that they shall not prepare or alter any money bill—which shall be the privilege of the assembly; that the council shall, from time to time, be convened by the governor or vice-president, but must be convened at all times when the assembly sits; for which purpose the speaker of the house of the assembly shall always, immediately after an adjournment, give notice to the governor, or vice-president, of the time and place to which the house is adjourned.

7. That the council and assembly, jointly, at their first meeting after each annual election, shall, by a majority of votes, elect some fit person within

the colony to be governor for one year, who shall be constant president of the council, and have a casting vote in their proceedings; and that the council themselves shall choose a vice-president, who shall act as such in the absence of the governor.*

8. That the governor, or, in his absence, the vice-president of the council, shall have the supreme executive power, be chancellor of the colony, act as captain-general and commander-in-chief of all the militia, and other military force, in this colony; and that any three or more of the council shall at all times be a privy council to advise the governor in all cases where he may find it necessary to consult them; and that the governor be ordinary or surrogate-general.

9. That the governor and council (seven whereof shall be a quorum) be the court of appeals, in the last resort, in all causes of law, as heretofore; and that they possess the power of granting pardons to criminals, after condemnation, in all cases of treason, felony, or other offences.

10. That captains, and all other inferior officers of the militia, shall be chosen by the companies in the respective counties; but field and general officers, by the council and assembly.

11. That the council and assembly shall have power to make the great seal of this colony, which shall be kept by the governor, or, in his absence, by the vice-president of the council, to be used by them as occasion may require; and it shall be called the *great seal of the colony of New Jersey*.

12. The judges of the supreme court shall continue in office for seven years; the judges of the inferior court of common pleas in the several counties, justices of the peace, clerks of the supreme court, clerks of the inferior court of common pleas and quarter sessions, the attorney-general, and provincial secretary, shall continue in office for five years, and the provincial treasurer shall continue in office for one year: and that they shall be severally appointed by the council and assembly, in manner aforesaid, and commissioned by the governor, or, in his absence, by the vice-president of the council. Provided, always, that the said officers

* We are surprised that the good people of New Jersey should suffer their chief magistrate, and several other important state officers, to be elected by a minority of her citizens. Jerseymen! pause and reflect but for a moment on your state election in 1838, for members of Congress, &c.; had the *broad seal* then been in the hands of a chief magistrate duly elected by a majority of the people, what scenes of corruption and demoralization would have been prevented! We trust there are men in the Legislature of New Jersey, (now in session) possessing sufficient energy, &c. to bring forward immediately such constitutional measures as may be deemed necessary to effect a change in the Constitution of the State, that will ensure the Governor, and several other state officers, to be elected by the people. Should such a reasonable and just proposition, founded on *equal rights*, not meet with the co-operation of the present majority of members in the New Jersey Legislature, it may be set down as a fixed principle and determination on their part, that the majority of the free citizens of New Jersey shall be *hewers of wood and drawers of water* to the minority. People of New Jersey! it is for you to say, whether you shall remain in this state of *bondage* or not. We believe that you will not, unless, indeed, the battles fought at Trenton, Monmouth, &c., for the right of self-government, through the ballot box, are totally obliterated from the feelings and memory of Jerseymen.—Eds. D. G.

severally, shall be capable of being re-appointed at the end of the terms severally before limited; and that any of the said officers shall be liable to be dismissed, when adjudged guilty of misdemeanor by the council, on an impeachment of the assembly.

13. That the inhabitants of each county, qualified to vote as aforesaid, shall, at the time and place of electing their representatives, annually elect one sheriff, and one or more coroners: and that they may re-elect the same person to such offices until he shall have served three years, but no longer; after which, three years must elapse before the same person is capable of being elected again. When the election is certified to the governor, or vice-president, under the hands of six freeholders of the county for which they were elected, they shall be immediately commissioned to serve in their respective offices.

14. That the townships, at their annual meetings for electing other officers, shall choose constables for the districts respectively; and also three or more judicious freeholders, of good character, to hear and finally determine all appeals, relative to unjust assessments, in cases of public taxation; which commissioners of appeal shall, for that purpose, sit at some suitable time or times, to be by them appointed, and made known to the people by advertisements.

15. That laws of this colony shall begin in the following style, viz:—"Be it enacted by the council and general assembly of this colony, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same;" that all commissions granted by the governor or vice-president shall run thus: "The colony of New Jersey to A. B., &c. greeting:" and that all writs shall likewise run in the name of the colony; and that all indictments shall conclude in the following manner, viz:—"Against the peace of this colony, the government and dignity of the same."

16. That all criminals shall be admitted to the same privilege of witnesses and counsel as their prosecutors are or shall be entitled to.

17. That the estate of such persons as shall destroy their own lives, shall not, for that offence, be forfeited; but shall descend in the same manner as they would have done had such persons died in a natural way: nor shall any article which may occasion accidentally the death of any one be henceforth deemed a deodand, or in any wise forfeited, on account of such misfortune.

18. That no person shall ever, within this colony, be deprived of the inestimable privilege of worshipping Almighty God in a manner agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience: nor, under any pretence whatever, be compelled to attend any place of worship, contrary to his own faith and judgment; nor shall any person within this colony ever be obliged to pay tithes, taxes, or any other rates, for the purposes of building or repairing any other church or churches, place or places of worship, or for the maintenance of any minister or ministry, contrary to what he believes to be right, or has deliberately and voluntarily engaged himself to perform.

19. That there shall be no establishment of any one religious sect in this province in preference to another; and that no protestant inhabitant of this colony shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil right, merely on account of his religious princi-

ples; but that all persons, professing a belief in the faith of any protestant sect, who shall demean themselves peaceably under the government, as hereby established, shall be capable of being elected into any office of profit, or trust, or being a member of either branch of the legislature, and shall fully and freely enjoy every privilege and immunity enjoyed by others their fellow subjects.

20. That the legislative department of this colony may, as much as possible, be preserved from all suspicion of corruption, none of the judges of the supreme or other court, sheriffs, nor any other person or persons, possessed of any post of profit under the government, other than justices of the peace, shall be entitled to a seat in assembly; but that, on his being elected, and taking his seat, his office or post shall be considered as vacant.

21. That all the laws of this province, contained in the edition lately published by Mr. Allison, shall be and remain in full force, until altered by the legislature of this colony, such only excepted as are incompatible with this charter, and shall be, according as heretofore, regarded in all respects, by all civil officers and others, the good people of this province.

22. That the common law of England, as well as so much of the statute law as has been heretofore practised in this colony, shall still remain in force, until they shall be altered by a future law of the legislature; such parts only excepted as are repugnant to the rights and privileges contained in this charter; and that the inestimable right of trial by jury shall remain confirmed, as a part of the law of this colony, without repeal, for ever.

23. That every person who shall be elected, as aforesaid, to be a member of the legislative council or house of assembly, shall, previous to his taking his seat in council or assembly, take the following oath or affirmation, viz:

"I, A. B., do solemnly declare that, as a member of the legislative council (or assembly, as the case may be,) of the colony of New Jersey, I will not assent to any law, vote, or proceeding, which shall appear to me injurious to the public welfare of said colony; nor that shall annul or repeal that part of the third section, in the charter of this colony, which establishes that the elections of members of the legislative council and assembly shall be annual; nor that part of the twenty-second section in said charter, respecting the trial by jury, nor that shall annul, repeal, or alter, any part or parts of the eighteenth or nineteenth sections of the same."

And any person or persons who shall be elected as aforesaid, is hereby empowered to administer to the said members the said oath or affirmation.

Provided always, and it is the true intent and meaning of this congress, that, if a reconciliation between Great Britain and these colonies should take place, and the latter be again taken under the protection and government of Great Britain, this charter shall be null and void, otherwise to remain firm and inviolable.

In Provincial Congress, }
Burlington, July 2, 1776. }

By order of Congress:

SAMUEL TUCKER, *President.*

Extract from the minutes.

WILLIAM PATTERSON, *Secretary.*

THE PUBLISHING AGENT'S CIRCULAR.

To the Subscribers of the Democratic Guide :

GENTLEMEN—The publishing and circulating departments of the Democratic Guide being under my management, it became necessary for me to undertake a journey into the interior of this State, to extend the circulation of the Democratic Guide : this, together with the difficulty of procuring a person that understands the manner of putting up packages and sending them away, &c., rendered it advisable to delay the March number, and publish that and the number for April together. This explanation, I trust, will be satisfactory to subscribers.

It affords me pleasure to state that, in my late journey, I have not only greatly increased the circulation of the Democratic Guide, but made other arrangements which, I believe, must ensure the final success and usefulness of the work to the Democratic cause, by diffusing through its pages information, particularly to the producing and working classes, tending to elevate and better their condition, by constantly keeping before them the *path* that will lead them to defend and preserve their equal rights and privileges guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States, and to bear in mind the memorable words of the venerated Jackson, "The blessings of Government, like the dews of Heaven, should be dispensed alike on high and low, the rich and the poor." Although my head is whitened by the frosts of *sixty-five* winters, yet, please God, I trust I shall be spared a few years longer, and be enabled to carry out the measures above stated, which I have long wished to see promulgated in a publication on the plan of the Democratic Guide ; and should I aid in the accomplishment of this desirable object, by my agency, in the People's Democratic Guide, I shall be ready to say I have lived long enough. But to accomplish the great object in view, as above stated, much will depend on the people themselves in their support of the publication : it must be evident to every one that reflects, that it requires an extensive circulation simply to cover the expenses of the publication ; therefore, I trust the friends of Democracy generally will use their influence to promote its circulation ; that is, if they approve of the plan, matter, &c., embraced in the first six numbers now published. An outline of the contents of the said six numbers follow this circular ; and for more information as to the usefulness of the Democratic Guide in the cause of Democracy, &c., I respectfully refer the reader to the cover of the present two numbers, where it will be seen what several editors of newspapers say of the character, &c., of the Democratic Guide.

With the foregoing observations, I respectfully solicit the aid of the Democracy to sustain "The People's Democratic Guide."

JAMES WEBSTER,

General Publishing Agent of "The People's Democratic Guide,"

15 Elm-street, New York.

The following is an outline of the principle items published in the first six numbers, viz. :

No. I.	
Declaration of Independence.	Who pays for Uncurrent Bills ? &c.
Constitution of the United States.	4th of July, 1841, Oration.
Amendments to the Constitution.	Mr. Wood's Speech on the Fiscal Bank Bill.
Identity of the Hartford Convention with the modern Whig party.	Letter of John Bishop, of Charleston, S. C.
Friends of Equal Rights and the Privilege of Self-Government.	Assumption of State debts by the U. S. Government.
The Division of Parties.	The next President of the United States.
Monopolies—True Functions of Government.	State Prison Monopoly.
Rich and Poor.	Federal Whigs' tricks to obtain votes.
	Hamilton's plan for Electing a President of the United States to be confined to the Moneyed Aristocracy.
	Definition of Aristocracy.

No. II.

Prize Dissertation on Political Economy, &c., by a Working Man: this paper ought to be read by all classes of Society.

The spirit shown by Van Buren, Clay, and Webster to the British Government compared.

The Independent Treasury Bill fully explained, &c.

The United States as it should be, &c., by a Working Man.

Federal Whig Harrisburg Convention, 1839.

Principle items of Mr. Van Buren's Message to Congress, 1840.

The memorable Extra Session of Congress, 1841.

General Jackson's Letter.

Can it be possible that Daniel Webster is friendly to a British Alliance.

President Tyler's letter.

Mr. Swackhammer's Speech on the Registry Law.

Articles of Confederation of the United States, 1778: these articles, as well as the Constitution of the United States, ought to be well understood by all classes.

Andrew Jackson's Letter to B. F. Butler, putting the saddle on the backs of the Federal Whigs.

Mr. Woodbury on early Federalism and Democracy.

Bank of the United States—seven millions of dollars lost in Electioneering.

Harmony of Opinions of English Tories and American Federal Whigs.

No. III.

The political character and proceedings of Patrick Henry previous to, and during, the American Revolution: both young and old ought to read and emulate the course pursued by Mr. Henry.

Lectures on the Elevation of the Labouring Portion of the Community.

Martin Van Buren in Retirement, &c.

General Scott, Federal Whig Candidate for President in 1844. "No Military Chief" ought to seek to be President of the U. S. while commanding her armies, &c.

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Correspondence between the American and British Ministers in relation to searching American vessels.

Nicholas Biddle & Co. presented by the Grand Jury of Philadelphia for fraud &c.

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What is expected of the New York Legislature.

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An Analysis of the first volume of the Madison Papers, giving a copious outline of the Debates in the Convention which formed the Constitution of the U. S.

A National Bank in 1819, 1821, and 1823, showing the false statements of the Federal Whigs.

Daniel Webster in 1816—see Daniel about page 9, No. 1.

Landlord's Warrants, or suggestions to the Legislature of New York.

The Democratic Candidate for President of the United States.

Picture of Coon-skin, &c.

No. IV.

An Analysis of the second and third volumes of the Madison Papers, which completes a copious Analysis of the Debates, &c., in the Convention which formed and adapted the Constitution of the U. S.

An Address to the Working Men of the United States. This address will be found highly interesting to all classes, but particularly so to the working men.

British Special Mission to the United States. Quere, Will Lord Ashburton commence his labours at the top or bottom of the ladder.

Events of the Past Year.

Market for American Produce.

Treasury Notes.

Democracy versus Federalism.

Reasons for their Defeat, &c.

The entire Constitution of the State of New York.

The entire Constitution of the State of New Jersey, &c.

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Roosevelt on the Currency, Political Economy, &c.

An Analysis of the Political Papers in the numbers of the United States Magazine and Democratic Review: New Series.

An Address to the Working Men of the United States. Concluded.

A Direct Tax to pay the interest of the enormous debt contracted by the Federal Whigs during their control of the State of New York.

Speech of the Honourable Fernando Wood, of New York, on the operation of the Tariff Laws. Delivered in the House of Representatives, February 8 and 9, 1842.

James Pickering's Letter to the Chairman of the Senatorial Convention, District No. 1, Maine; also the several Resolutions adopted at said Convention.

Importance of the Mental Industry of the People in maintaining their rights, &c.

The Importance of the Useful Arts to Society and Republican Governments not unfavourable to the cultivation of the Fine Arts.

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Census of the United States for the year 1840.

The Constitution of the State of Connecticut.

The Constitution of the State of Pennsylvania, as amended in Convention the second Tuesday of October, 1838.

Distinguished Modern Whig Editors turning Honest.

Paul Grout's Speech in the Assembly to Repeal the Registry Act in the City of New York.

Resolutions passed at the Democratic Convention of Rockingham, Maine, 11th January, 1842.

The Bankers' Circular, in which Messrs. Biddle and Jaudon are represented as the greatest Financiers, Managers of Exchanges, &c., the world ever produced, &c., &c.

A National Bank.

The Beauties of Whig Legislation.

"The ery is, Change, Change, Change!"

The last Presidential Contest.

Modern Whig Retrenchment.

Overthrow of the Federal Whigs.

A Device of the Enemy.

The Disputed Territory.

Proposed Amendment to the Constitution of New York.

Six numbers of "The People's Democratic Guide" are now before the people at a cost of fifty cents. Without entering into the usefulness of the journal to the cause of Democracy or the rights of the people, the question may be asked, is there a subscriber to the work, who has read and made himself fully acquainted with the various articles and subjects treated on, that would dispose of the six numbers for double the subscription price of one year—provided he could not obtain duplicates of them.

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THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC GUIDE



THE blessings of Government, like the dews of Heaven, should be dispensed alike on high and low, the rich and the poor.

The privilege of self-government is one which the people will never be permitted to enjoy unmolested. Power and wealth are continually stealing from the many to the few.

JACKSON.

Power and
WILLIAM LEGGETT.

VOL. I.

MARCH, 1842.

No. V.

OUR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS AND WRONGS CONSIDERED. *Being an Address to the People,*

by a Mechanic.—That the true welfare of the many will be real happiness to the few, is a maxim in which the writer firmly believes. And if the wealthy few who are professors of the religion of Jesus, are true possessors, and practice his moral principles, we also call their attention to the aphorism of the Great Reformer of Nazareth, who has said, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." Matthew 7 ch., 12 v.

If the producers of wealth, the honest and industrious of the nation, be they rich or poor, seek to shield themselves from wrong, they must be watchful and united; they must insist that justice shall be rendered to all and privilege to none. The moral maxim we have quoted was undoubtedly the index that governed our revolutionary worthies, when their wisdom established that block-house against speculation, the constitution of our land.

In the following remarks we acknowledge to have gathered from other men's labours; still, if in this compilation the remarks are based upon the rock of truth, and placed in the clear atmosphere of perception, it is a matter of minor consequence whether they originated in the capacious craniums of wiser and better men, or in the sensorium of an unlettered mechanic. If it be a fact, that it is the natural duty of man to assist his fellow-man, it is also natural that all particular interests should unite for the common welfare. Therefore, every one ought to propose to himself that his own advantages should, at the same

time, promote the general utility. In this discourse we shall not contend about trifles; we contend for constitutional right. It is the duty, and ought to be the pride of all men, to stand firm and demand their lawful and natural rights. The primary question to be considered is, the principal causes which have, year after year, rendered industry and strict economy, even in healthful men, nearly unavailing to procure any other than the merest and meanest necessities of life. In other words, whence comes the incubus which sits so continually and heavily upon the bosom of industry?

Our answer is, that a departure by legislative enactments from the principles of the constitution is the first and greatest cause: we have seen, and still behold, a host of men, worshippers at the altar of mammon, lording it over us; we see the same men, reckless of every principle of right, daily stalking among us, and in their depredations on society legally protected by the panoply of a charter. We believe that through legislative log-rolling and its concomitant iniquity have the cravings of avarice been suspended, until an inordinate thirst for wealth has pervaded the mass that has, like an epidemic, traversed the land, and for the last twenty years may be truly said to have been the evil genius of the age.

All, or nearly all, we have to complain of has arisen from violations of the constitution and a departure from the opinions of the major part that formed it; men who, for clear-sightedness and sterling integrity, stand unequalled in the annals of civilized nations. They bequeathed us an incomparable legacy; and if

the mass do not protect it from every infringement, they are utterly unworthy of the liberty vouchsafed to them, nay, unworthy of the name of Americans!

In modern ages at least, no nation ever produced men in every respect equal to the worthies of our revolution and the founders of our constitution; and, as they in general were the most estimable of men, their successors, that is, many of our later legislators, have been creatures the most detestable. The neglect of the interests of the mass, and a mean, dishonest, truckling subserviency to mammon, has been, and is in a measure yet, the order of the day. Legislators in general, instead of attending to the purposes for which they were elected, have nearly all been mounted on the mules of monopoly, endeavouring to jockey the people out of their rights, and, while sporting on the course of privilege, have ridden madly onward, a perjured multitude, in their reckless and ruinous career; nor would they ever have been brought to the starting post of the constitution, had they not been headed by an insulted and suffering people.

It would be well at this juncture to cite the precise language of that sacred instrument, the Constitution of these United States; it will be found not only sound, but as explicit as the English language can make it, as regards the currency of the country, a question of the most vital importance to the well-being of the great mass of the people. The 7th Clause of the 5th Article of the Constitution is as follows: "Congress shall have power to coin money and regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin; and fix the standard of weights and measures." And at the 8th Clause of the 11th Article is a strict prohibition against a shin-plaster currency, and reads as follows: "No state shall coin money, emit bills of credit, or make anything but gold and silver a tender in payment of debts." Notwithstanding these and other solemn and explicit portions of the constitution, congress after congress, regardless of the rights of the people, have wilfully and shamelessly done violence to that sacred instrument; have wantonly taken pride in their infamy, copying the aristocracy of Britain, guided by the vane of mammon; have disgraced the name of Americans, and, with the mimicry of the monkey species, aped the follies and indebtedness of England.

If the people intend to enjoy their natural and lawful rights they must not remain inert, but must arouse like a giant refreshed by sleep; and it appears that the inner necessity has partially aroused them from the slumber of apathy, and, when thoroughly awake, they will search the bankers' dark recesses, unwrap their ruinous rag cocoons, expose the myriads of money worms that have fed and fattened upon, yea, have become bloated by devouring the substance of an industrious people.

The producing portion of the population, to regain their proper standing in the nation, must be bold and

true men—not the craven, abject creatures of expediency; men determined to expose error must contend in the armour of truth, and bear on their left arms the shield of the constitution, with phylacteries on their foreheads, proclaiming *equal rights and equal justice to all, but privilege to none!*

When a physician thoroughly understands the disease of his patient, the cure in ordinary cases is partially effected; and when the major portion of the producers of wealth perceive clearly the paramount evils which paralyze all the efforts of industry, they will doubtlessly pursue such a course of procedure as will remedy the evils which have borne so heavily on the mass, through the continual partial legislation of successive congresses as well as through the privileges granted to favoured individuals by state legislation.

To understand the constitution honestly is surely within the grasp of ordinary capacities; and that it appears by the record that the framers of that instrument, who held in their hands the *primum mobile** of the national and state powers, and who could adjust the balance at pleasure, should have bestowed upon them an impulse which would necessarily create impingement and conflict in their movement, is not within the range of probability. That men of wisdom and experience, disciplined in the school of adversity, practically familiar with the jealousies and collisions by which the states as well as the general government were authorized to raise and maintain fleets and armies, as well in peace as in war; by which the states were authorized to coin money, to levy imposts or duties on foreign goods, to engage in war in certain cases, without the assent of congress, and to do other acts exclusively appertaining to national sovereignty—that men, who had before their eyes the multiplied evils resulting from the exercise of conflicting jurisdictions and concurrent powers, should have so framed the constitution as to embrace and embody these evils in their most malignant aspect and most durable form, is not, without the production of the most unequivocal testimony, either to be believed or tolerated.

Before proceeding to show that nearly, if not all the evils which cramp the energies of industry are of legislative enactments, let us see what Luther Martin says in his disclosures to the legislature of Maryland: in the 31st and 32d pages he makes the following remarks: "By our articles of confederation, congress have a power to borrow money and emit bills of credit on the credit of the United States; agreeably to which was the report on this system as made by the committee of detail. When we came to this part of the report, a motion was made to strike out the words '*to emit bills of credit*,' against the motion (says Martin) we urged every forcible argument:" then goes on to recapitulate the arguments put forth in favour of what he calls paper credit; after which he says, "but a majority of the convention, being wise beyond

* First movement.

every event, and being willing to risk any political evil rather than admit the idea of a paper emission in any possible case, refused to trust this authority to a government to which they were lavishing the most unlimited powers of taxation. And," says Martin, "they erased that clause from the system." Luther Martin was a man of high standing, the attorney-general of Maryland: he believed with General Hamilton, that the people were incapable of self-government, and that the rich man ought to hold the poor man in subjection. He believed that the aristocracy ought to guide, and not only guide the poor, but grind them also.

Now, as regards the grinding operation, let us examine the opinion of the secretary of state; the honourable Daniel, the right-hand adviser of two presidents, he is surely most excellent authority. Webster has said in substance, "*of all the base contrivances for fertilizing the rich man's field by the sweat of the poor man's labour, is that of a paper currency!*"

Intending to quote no mean or weak authority, your attention is called to the words of the long-known, the gifted, but the disappointed Henry Clay. Harry, in the year 1811, fifteenth of February, in his speech against the renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States, and on the motion to strike out the first section, or enacting clause, is reported to have said in congress many pithy things; among which are the following: "The power to charter companies is not specified in the constitution, and I contend (says Clay) it is of a nature not transferable by mere implication." "It is one of the exalted attributes of sovereignty." He asked, "*what is a corporation?*" And answers himself as follows: "it is a splendid association of favoured individuals, taken from the wealthy portion of society, and invested with exemptions and surrounded by immunities and privileges"

After showing in forcible language the dangerous tendencies of granting privileges by chartering corporations, Mr. Clay, in order to illustrate the momentous subject, calls the attention of congress to that great, unprincipled, and base band of British marauders, the East India Company: a company which has carried dismay, desolation, and death throughout one of the largest portions of the habitable world: a company which has subverted empires, depopulated whole provinces, set up new dynasties; and has not only made war, but warred against its legitimate sovereign. Under the influence of this hateful power (chartered companies) we have seen arise a South Sea and a Mississippi company, companies that distracted and convulsed all Europe, and menaced a total overthrow of all credit and confidence; yea, threatened the civilized world with universal bankruptcy!

"I had resolved," said Henry Clay, "to give a silent vote; but I am urged, by the paramount duty I owe my country and its constitution, to make one effort to avert the passage of what appears to me a

dangerous and most unjustifiable law." Here are brought forward the opinions of Daniel Webster and Henry Clay, who, although deserters from the standard of patriotism, are yet old soldiers in the campaigns of congressional warfare, to show, notwithstanding their present course, that both have advanced patriotic and constitutional objections against our country's bane—soulless corporations.

Having shown the opinions, the early opinions, of the great and lesser apostates from patriotism, we shall, before our endeavours to answer the primary question—to wit, what is the pressure, the incubus, that sits so heavily on the bosom of industry?—yes, before answering that question, give the opinions of men whose patriotism and disinterestedness none will dare to dispute.

George Washington is a name we mention with the highest reverential respect; a name in the annals of the world unsurpassed in true greatness, uniform goodness, and a steady endeavour, "*in the time that tried men's souls,*" to promote the greatest good for the greatest number.

In Spark's Life of General Washington, 9th volume, page 231, is the opinion of that great man clearly expressed; it occurs in a letter to Thomas Stone, then a member of the senate of Maryland, in February, 1787. Which opinion is as follows:

"To Thomas Stone:

"Dear sir—To give an opinion in a case of so much importance as that which has so warmly agitated the two branches of your legislature, is rather a delicate matter; but as this diversity of opinion is on a subject which has, I believe, occupied the minds of most men, and as my sentiments thereon have been fully and decidedly expressed, long before Maryland or Virginia was convened, on that subject, I do not scruple to declare that, if I had a voice in your legislature, it would have been given decidedly against a paper emission."

And in the same letter General Washington emphatically declares his farther opinion as follows:

"The wisdom of man, in my humble opinion, cannot devise a plan by which the credit of paper money would be long supported; consequently, depreciation keeps pace with the quantity of the emission, and articles for which it has been exchanged rise in a greater ratio than the sinking value of the paper. Wherein, then, is the farmer, the artisan benefited? The debtor may be; because, as I have observed, he gives the shadow in lieu of the substance; and in proportion to his gain the creditor or the body politic suffers. An evil equally great is the door it immediately opens for speculation, by which the least designing, and perhaps most deserving and valuable part of the community are preyed upon by the more knowing and crafty speculators. In conclusion I shall only observe, generally, that so many people have suffered by a paper currency, that, like a child who dreads fire, no person will touch who can possibly avoid it. The

natural consequence of which will be, that the specie which remains unexported will be locked up."

The above extracts, being from the pen of George Washington, ought, and will, it is hoped, have due consideration among the producing classes. I might give numerous other specimens of General Washington's hostility to a paper currency, but brevity forbids many. I shall here introduce some extracts from the letters of Washington to the author of the Declaration of Independence. In one letter Washington calls the paper money system "foolish and wicked." In another he says, "I have never heard, and hope I never shall hear, any serious mention of a paper currency in the state. I do verily believe that the greatest enemies we have in the world could not devise a more effectual plan for ruining Virginia."

If it was possible, Mr. Jefferson was still more hostile to a paper currency than General Washington; and he avows in his writings, "that his hostility was strengthened by every year's reflection and experience."

James Madison, in the 44th number of the *Federalist*, one of his acknowledged productions, in a long article on the subject of the currency, has the following passage: "In addition to these persuasive considerations it may be observed, that the same reasons which show the necessity of denying to the states the power of regulating coin, prove with equal force that they ought not to be at liberty to substitute a paper medium in place of coin."

The noble-minded and eloquent Patrick Henry was indignant at the idea of rags being made a substitute for the precious metals; he represented paper money as a nefarious art of the cheating, the useless, and indolent portion, to rob industry of its rights and to look honestly out of countenance. We shall for the present conclude our quotations by one from the firm, the lion-hearted, honest Andrew Jackson, who says, "it is not in splendid governments, supported by powerful monopolies, and aristocratical establishments, that the people will find happiness or their liberties protection; but in a plain system, void of pomp, protecting all, and granting favours to none."

Notwithstanding the sage and weighty opinions of the venerable names here mentioned, the advocates of privilege and the sordid foes of equal rights pretend that, not being commercial men, they understood not the question. But every true, honest citizen, who is but of ordinary capacity and information, must be convinced that both Washington and the other worthies mentioned, all understood the currency question; and as they wished the people to be, so did they advise for the general happiness. The happiness of a nation—that is, of the greatest number—is more affected by its currency than by any other common cause: to illustrate which, let us suppose the blood, the circulating fluid in the human body, is deranged, let it be in a serious or viscid state; and in proportion as it is out of

order, so will every other faculty of the man be deranged. England is celebrated for its having a splendid government, which is often alluded to by our American aristocracy. England is also celebrated for a poverty-stricken, starving population; a people naturally clean and industrious, reduced by a paper currency to the most degraded state, a state pampering the appetites of the few, rendering the many miserable for want of food—forbidding its importation—while thousands are either dying through absolute want, or dragging on a miserable existence in the most squalid wretchedness!

Americans, beware! It behooves you to see that the helm of state is not directed by the rudder of monopoly; for should the state vessel be so directed, she will most assuredly be steered for the haven of aristocracy; and should she cast anchor there, or be moored to the wharf of a moneyed oligarchy, it will cost both blood and treasure to float her again in the sea of a commonweal.

As we despise the pageantry of a monarch, so ought we equally to detest the flippancy of the legislature money worm, the banking butterfly, and the caterpillar of credit. Did these rule, what have the people to expect? I answer, look to the British Isles! behold the mass brow-beaten and beggared, cringing and starving under a soulless despotism, which is supported by a rich, ruthless middle class, as destitute of humanity as is the canine species of immortality!

Let us now call your attention to serious questions, first asking, what have the people to expect should a moneyed oligarchy gain the ascendancy in the United States? They would either abrogate the constitution, or so vitiate its true meaning, that the said oligarchy's version would be by far a greater evil to the people than a total, an absolute abrogation! Again; if, after some unexpected commotion, some great national struggle, a people wearied by calamity—as was the case in France forty years ago—a people desirous of rest, should submit to an ambitious despot, which would, his dynasty or a moneyed oligarchy, be the more lasting, if not the most intolerable? The rule of a despot might be arrested by the efforts of a single patriot, and though the despotism might continue to exist, the death struggles of the victim despot would be a constant and an appalling apparition, solemnly stalking before his immediate successor. Let us reflect but a moment, and we shall perceive that the power of a moneyed oligarchy, if it was even to be nominally republican, would be lastingly omnipotent, watchfully omnipresent, and would, through the power of its innumerable spies, be fearfully omniscient. Having, we trust, illustrated sufficiently, that grants of special privilege of a character tending to monopoly, by any congressional or state legislature, is a direct inroad on the rights of the people, subversive of public liberty, and is also a violation of the constitution; our next attempt will be to show the weak, contradictory, and conflicting assump-

tions of the leading advocates for a gross infringement on our rights and liberties.

A comparison of the pretexts urged by General Hamilton, as secretary of the treasury in 1791, for the incorporation of a bank, with the pretexts used for that purpose in 1816, and of both, with the pretexts since urged by Messrs. McDuffie, Gallatin, & Co., and by the secretary under General Jackson, would, were the subject capable of exciting any other sensation than abhorrence, furnish an amusing commentary upon constructive powers.

No two among the whole phalanx of charter advocates have ever agreed upon the same premises, and yet they all arrive at the same conclusion. They start in opposite directions from one point, and, after having circumnavigated the vast ocean of construction, come safely to anchor in the same happy haven, with its golden sands. General Hamilton derives the power from necessity, the tyrant's plea; Mr. McDuffie from the power to "coin money," or "to currency money," according to his "*Virgilius Restauratus*;"* the venerable Gallatin found the power in many parts of the constitution, without designating them particularly; and this is quite philosophic and ingenious, for the power can be found in one part of the constitution as well as in another: but it is time to drop the examination of the miserable subterfuges, and the little scanty fig-leaves wherewith the advocates of charter granting cover the nakedness of their position. It is time to make an atonement to the constitution and its framers for the outrage committed upon them by temporarily substituting such readings for the genuine text.

Having faithfully given the opinions of many good, great, and liberty loving men, we shall now proceed to show, from our own actual observations during fifty years of watchful scrutiny, that the working portion of the people, the main stay of our institutions, the only real producers of wealth, have year after year been brought nearer and nearer to the hateful, the yawning gulf of dependant poverty. What is the situation of the artisan and labouring portion at the present day? Let us take a retrospect of their situation in the settled portions of the sea-board thirty years ago; then steady, healthful, middle-aged men possessed property; a house and lot at least were the reward of an ordinary energy. Where now is the mechanic of thirty-five years of age who possesses a house and lot free from encumbrance? We say, where in our cities are the men having gained such by the mere dint of industry? We answer, nowhere! The charter mongers and the rapacious paper worms have engrossed all! And the artisan, carman, and labourer are little better than slaves to the very drones of the commonweal! They are mere hewers of wood and drawers of water; nor can they, by the utmost energetic and honest efforts, secure a sufficiency to support themselves in

the decline of life; nay, they are impoverished by the locust of the land; yes, by them; bereft of hope in this life, and must, of necessity, when sick or aged, be subject to the disgusting insolence of aristocratic, purse-proud charity!

A soulless drone will not deny, with all his hardihood, that the same causes produce the same effects; be that as it may, it is all important to the producers of wealth that they keep a watchful eye, and regard with sleepless energy both the doings of congress and state legislatures. Our experience assures us that it is needful to have the vigilance of an Indian and the penetration of a Junius to prevent, as far as the people can do so, the enforcement of legislative fraud; and many must have observed strong indications in the present congress, that a dictatorial Cataline will, as far as in him lies, rule or ruin! Aaron Burr, dangerous as he was to the commonweal, may yet be proven a patriot when compared with an existing demagogue, a man who never sincerely worshipped at the shrine of democracy, at least not since the famous treaty of Ghent; and whose actions prove him as adverse to the interests of the great mass of the people as is the Asiatic Sirocco, the Syrian wind, to the land of its visitation.

The people, especially in the populous portions of the country, ought to be united to protect their own general interests; let us recollect the strength of little rods united in a bundle, and also their weakness in a state of separation; and if the mass in the cities unite and always bear in mind, "*that whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them,*" good must be a consequence of the union. One obstacle, and perchance the greatest against the producers' union, is party spirit; but surely on all great questions, ordinary as well as men better informed, can discriminate between right and flagitious wrong: and when men in power are perceived anxious to deprive the people of the public lands, barter away their birth-right, borrow money on the credit of the nation for the basest of purposes, and tax the people by iniquitous imposts on the necessities of life, it would be sheer insanity to be cajoled by party usages, and to be tethered to the stakes of selfish demagogues!

When the executive for the time being, by its general policy, endeavours to preserve from violation our dearly purchased and admirable constitution, then is he worthy of support by men of all parties, and ought to have both the thanks and esteem of every good man. We should, therefore, render our support to John Tyler for his firmness in curbing, at the supererogate session of congress, the artful and insidious machinations of the BRITISH PROCURATOR! an apostate from purity, who thirty years ago was countenanced in the household of democracy, and who, with a libertine's love and hollow pretensions, professed to be an ardent admirer of Miss Principia Patriotism. We again call your attention to the motto at the commencement of

* Virgil the Restorer.

this address; and if that motto is worthy of the producer's regard, let it be our governing principle—let us do right and we shall succeed—for it is a principle of nature that *right will overcome wrong*. We have had a late exemplification that wrong will injure itself; have we not seen congress, that is, the federal partisans thereof, so reckless of all right as to disgust thousands of men who would have shed their blood to place those pusillanimous braggarts in power?

Whatsoever may be the opinions of others, we contend that political economy is as essential to every producer as is the knowledge and practice of the moral law; and while we read and admire the doctrines of the Nazarine reformer, we learn our duty to our fellow-man, and are instructed in the great principles of pure democracy. It is not our intention to inculcate the principle, that all should be politicians, especially in the sense of searching after the flesh-pots of office; no; but it is needful all should be vigilant and watchful over office-holders, looking sharply after those they suspect to be Peter's children, whose every finger is a *fish-hook* and each thumb two.

It is also the duty of every good citizen to attend the primary meetings; there they can most effectually check the sordid and selfish politician; there will they find in abundance the subjects of *King Caucus*, gentlemen who, although most anxious for the public good, are, nevertheless, very thoughtful about their own. The last is a very serious evil; and, although we may have treated it with some levity, it ought to be, and is, in the power of the people to correct, and if not done, the people have only themselves to blame. The professions of mere party men are often no more to be trusted by the people than are the libertine's professions of honour to the victim he is seeking to delude: we have an illustration of this when we recollect the *log-cabin rowdies*, the *no-bank men*, the *coon-skin saints*, comingled with *hard-cider bacchanatians*! The people must support for legislators men who not only preach but practice the sound doctrine of "*the greatest good for the greatest number*;" nor will it require much sagacity to ascertain with accuracy who will and who will not do that; if we but take a retrospective view of legislation of recent date, facts are as visible and surely as vicious looking as is a tiger's eye, when the monster is crouched to spring upon his prey. It is the right as well as the duty of the people to insist that no enactment shall be valid which is to affect their general interests, except first submitted to the decision of the people exercising their sovereign will. Every honest and candid patriot must have perceived that legislation of late years has run mad, whole states have been plunged headlong into debt by a junta of bold, brazen, and abominable speculators, who have been as reckless of all right as the British marauders toward the anti-opium eaters of China.

It must be apparent to every reflecting and well-ar-

ranged mind, that the people have no essential evils to contend against, except those of legislation; therefore it is a matter of the first importance to correct the main evil. That we are governed too much, is clearly evident; and the very worst kind of men in whom to confide as legislators is the adventurous speculator; next to him is the privileged professional man; as the first keeps his eye steadily looking into the binacle of avarice, watching the compass of self-interest, so is the other narrowly watching the former, knowing that from him and his coadjutors comes his warmest anticipations.

The evil last-mentioned is easier pointed out than the remedy can be applied; still we ought on every occasion to make some effort toward the accomplishment of a more wholesome state of things.

Let us look at the present business affairs of the country; are we not beset with a large army of brokers (the modern appellation for swindlers)? these gentry, like foxes in farm-yards, are not only useless, but dreadfully mischievous; pure legislation would be an effectual trap; yes, would catch and kill, if not all, most of the ravenous bipeds of State, Wall, and Chestnut streets.

We must recur to first principles, or we are a lost people; we must either rout and drive the drones from the *hive of industry*, or the said drones, with their long legislative tubes, will extract all the honey from the working bees. Have we not a bounteous soil, a salubrious climate? are not our females as handsome and as good housewives as the world can produce? have we not a constitution the paragon of documents? Having all these good things, why do we not enjoy them? Let me tell you why; in one instance, I might rather say in many, have the great flock of producers, like simple sheep, been led astray by the bleating Bell-weather of party. Is not eighteen hundred and forty a year unparalleled? Can history, ancient or modern, instance so wild a delusion? We have seen a free nation consisting of seventeen millions of souls, and we claim a higher state of civilization and information than any other people on earth, yet we have experienced a greater delusion than ever did any other nation. We ask, will it be believed in future ages that a large part of a sober, thinking, enterprising, yea, a people jealous of their right, should, at the mere professions of honesty by party leaders, like an avalanche, have rushed, not only to their own ruin, but endeavoured to bury in the cold valley of monopoly every other producer in the land? Let it be believed or not believed, it is, nevertheless, true that, at the instigations of wicked party leaders, a large portion of this nation were deluded by the most frivolous pretensions; ensigns were exhibited and supported, that were enough to make the world believe that the major part of the nation was in a state of idiocy.

The prevailing party selected for president a veteran

in the public service, a man, it is generally believed, that was faithful and honest to carry out what was earnestly represented to him as a public good; but he was not chosen by the party for his ability, but assuredly for his well-known pliability; his every movement was watched by a vigilant committee; his mental powers, such as they were, were under the control and in the keeping of others; he was the complete antipodes to the hero of New Orleans. In fact, we might safely designate him as the spokesman of a political faction, who had determined, at all hazards, that his accession to the high post of honour—the presidency of these States—should be marked by that vassalage so easily created where an excess of vanity is mingled with the weaknesses of age. Of the man himself we have but little to say; death destroys everything but truth, and robs mankind of all, save genius and virtue: but we cannot depreciate too forcibly the political craft that summoned him from the shades of an honourable retirement to fill a station to which his mental capabilities were unequal—for which his talents had never designed him.

Leaving lighter matters, let us inquire in what consists the difference between the producers of wealth and the professional portion of the community, and why should the former be thought by the latter to rank on the social scale many degrees below themselves? We are not about to find any accusation to disparage the men of any profession; as professional men they are, as society is constituted, as needful to the producer as the latter is to them. But why does the class with unsoiled fingers arrogate to themselves that precedence which in a republic belongs exclusively to none? Of all the countries on the earth, or that ever existed on the face of the earth, this is the one where the claims of an aristocracy are the most unfounded, absurd, and abominable. With no claim to hereditary distinctions, with no exclusive rights, except those derived through the fraud of some monopoly, and no power of perpetuating their estates in their posterity, then is the assumption of aristocratic airs in our professional men supremely ridiculous. The true gentleman is to be found in every grade of society. The ploughman, with his sun-burnt face, his muscular and spreading hands, his homely dress, and his open, honest countenance, is oftener found to be possessed of the real attributes of a true gentleman than that mockery of a man, the doll-dressed and swaddled dandy, who owes little to Nature, but much to his corsets, the tailor, and the man milliner. Creatures such as just described are often far more careful of their clothes than of their honour; and either a slit in a glove or a spot on the bosom of their shirt would give them airs, and their countenances would be distorted as if suffering some direful spasmodic affection.

A due sense of propriety of conduct toward all classes of the community is obligatory on every one; and the manners of a man are the mirror which reflects

his disposition and the feelings of his mind. Suavity in a plebeian always gain respect; but if it approaches obsequiousness, it engenders contempt. It will, therefore, be absolutely needful that true republican manners should be a just medium between the French dancing-master and the rude, morose, and inelegant boar. We have many men among us who, although prosperity has elevated them high in the possession of wealth, do not think themselves too good to recognise others who have not been so fortunate as themselves, but whose just claims to respect are equally as great as their own. These are Nature's noblemen and true republicans. Some such we well know. And it is heartily to be wished there were more of them. Their manners show that they are gentlemen. A proper respect to all classes of society constitutes in a republic a gentleman; and wherever such are found they do not measure a man's merit or his respectability by the magnitude of his possessions or by the length of his purse.

It is my duty, ere I conclude, to caution my friends not to show an overweening propensity for political offices, which appears of late to have been the besetting sin of all classes; generally speaking, office-seekers are men of the most hardened effrontery, pushing their way recklessly to public employment, void of all diffidence, and with countenances of the most unblushing assurance; some we have seen so hardened, that their conduct amounted to arrogant, audacious presumption, and could bear repulse without being abashed or dispirited. To solicit a post, and to be competent to fill it, are, we believe, two very different things. When offices are filled by those who intrigue for them, and not by those who are singled out by their fellow-citizens for their worth and their abilities, it augurs ill for the republic. We are aware that the opinions offered in this address may be reckoned intrusive, because they were unsolicited; still they may become precious to some when the pressure of difficulties render them diffident of their own judgment; nor would any ever attempt to do good to their fellow-creature, if every possible objection was to be first overcome.

As Americans, we boast of our free birth and glory in our institutions, still the boast will not perpetuate the security; therefore, let us always be vigilant, and show to the rising generation that we have maintained in their purity our bequeathed and glorious institutions. Let us be jealous of, and keep an eye on, our *scrip nobility*, the attendants upon legislative assemblies for parchment privileges, and, when obtained, are entitled VESTED RIGHTS, although it is evident that such are public wrongs. We ought also sternly to contend that our *laws be simplified*, and that justice be attained at the least possible expense, and that precedents established by foreign tribunals shall not prevail against the decision of an American jury. Let us in union will it, and we must be free!

Roosevelt on the Currency, Political Economy, &c.

In the year 1832 Mr. Roosevelt published an address to his fellow-citizens, embracing a proposition of a new system of political economy. The object of the author will be best understood by quoting his own words.

"In laying open his plan, the writer will be very brief, for he knows the case to be one of extreme difficulty to the people; and the question, like a stony gum, is not to be solved by rivers of words; if solved at all, it must be by concentrated spirit.

"To be understood, we must trace up to the principles of our present policy for the encouragement of domestic commerce and manufactures. The famous report of Mr. Hamilton, of 1790, laid the foundation of the tariff; and to Mr. Hamilton the merchants acknowledge themselves indebted for the establishment of the banking system, also for the facilitation and encouragement of domestic commerce. The tariff was evidently intended to operate on the principle of raising the prices of foreign articles when brought in competition with domestic in our markets; and the banking system was to give the people more money, that they might make more purchases."

This address was followed, in 1833, by a pamphlet explaining his views on the new system of political economy, based on the protection of our home industry. Upon the first appearance of this writer's opinions they were ridiculed as utopian and visionary by many even among our own party. Time, however, which alone can sustain the opinions of men, has proved that they were the productions of a reflective mind, based upon a deeply comprehensive survey of the existing evils in the currency under which we have laboured and are now labouring. The object of Mr. Roosevelt is, to show that the Tariff or American System, founded by Alexander Hamilton, and the Banking System neutralize the effects of each other. We give below his review of the American System:

"Review of the American or Hamiltonian System"

1. "Having seen strange and unexpected results from the system founded by Alexander Hamilton, for the protection and encouragement of manufactures and commerce, the writer has been induced to look for first principles, and by them try whence the good and whence the evil flows. His results have astonished even himself. They are so far from all the received opinions of the people, that it will require much patience to examine, and much magnanimity to admit, the correctness of our argument, however well supported it may be.

2. "It is not our purpose to shake rudely the urn of a departed hero. May his ashes be steeped in tears, and not scattered to the winds. But as every man has his excellences and defects, the greatness of the name of Mr. Hamilton should not deter us from an examination of his work, particularly when so connected with national and individual wealth and happiness as the system is which we propose to review.

3. "We have discovered, and design to show, that this system under which the people are labouring is contradictory; that, notwithstanding our high tariff, our ports are, in effect, open to the world, in theory as

well as practice. Nay, more; that we have given foreigners an advantage over our own citizens in our own markets, by the very acts intended to encourage domestic commerce and manufactures.

4. "It is hard to frame an acceptable argument in a science so little understood as political economy; but truth is simple when discovered, and we hope to render it plain to the most indolent minds. To do so, we shall avoid unimportant considerations, and draw our conclusions from simple facts, with which the world is acquainted.

5. "We all know that to facilitate domestic commerce and manufactures was the intention of Mr. Hamilton.

6. "That, for the facilitation of domestic commerce, he established the original United States Bank. It is true there were other objects in view in this, but they are not connected with our present argument.

7. "That, for the protection and encouragement of domestic manufactures, he laid the foundation of the tariff; and,

8. "That, since Mr. Hamilton's day, to increase the tariff and the number of banking institutions, has been the real American system, which is so unfortunately contradictory.

9. "Now, how was it anticipated that the banks and tariff were to encourage domestic commerce and manufactures? Every one will answer, the banks were to furnish the people with more money, that they might make more purchases, and,

10. "The tariff was to raise the prices of foreign goods so high, when brought to our markets, that domestic manufacturers would have an advantage, by thus being enabled to offer their fabrics cheaper.

11. "Then it was by raising the prices of foreign goods, if brought in competition with domestic, that domestic goods were to be preferred. Let us not forget this.

12. "We intend to prove that, by the banking system, prices of domestic productions have been raised as high, and sometimes higher, than the tariff raises foreign productions in our markets; and it is because both the tariff and the banking systems (so called) have a like effect on the prices, that the obvious purpose of each is destroyed, and the Hamiltonian system is nugatory and worse, much worse, than none at all—it is ruinous. By the banking system the circulating capital of the country has been greatly increased—this we all know.

13. "Now, it has ever happened, that the increase of the circulating capital of a country, or the world, has raised prices accordingly. Look at the history of the bank of England—of the assignats of France, &c. Look back also to the time before the discovery of the silver mines of South America. Before they were discovered and specie was distributed, (for too much specie in circulation has the same effect as too much paper money,) prices generally were much lower than after, as every reader of history knows. Improvements in machinery have brought down the prices of some articles, but the exceptions do not affect the principle.

14. "The people have seen with their own eyes the effect of the increase and decrease of the circulating capital of our country on prices, but they have not noticed it in connexion with this subject.

15. "In the years 1815–16, according to the report of Mr. Crawford, ex-secretary of the treasury, we had one hundred and ten millions of our mixed currency in circulation, and in 1819 forty-five millions. Who does not remember that prices were high and low ac-

cordingly? At the one time our standard of values, viz., a day's labour, ranged from one dollar to two and a half dollars; at the other, from half a dollar to about one and a quarter, and of course all that was produced by labour was affected accordingly.

16. "Such is the case always in every country, and no instance to the contrary can be adduced. Much money makes prices high, and a little, low, of course. Recollecting that men generally are governed in their purchases and sales by prices without regard to abstruse arguments, let us come to the main point.

17. "We have increased the circulating capital of our country, and have thus raised the prices of domestic productions. We have established a tariff, and thus raised the prices of foreign productions presented in our markets.

18. "View the facts in connexion, and the astonishing fact that we intend to prove appears. Our ports are, in effect, open, notwithstanding the tariff, because the increase of the circulating capital which has taken place under the system for the encouragement of domestic commerce, has raised the prices of domestic productions so high as to destroy the inducement to prefer domestic productions, on the score of prices as intended by the tariff.

19. "We need not prove that foreign productions are brought in competition with domestic, notwithstanding every increase which has taken place in the tariff. All see this.* It is this we intended to account for, and have done so; for a cause sufficient has been shown; viz., an increase of prices to such an extent as to enable the foreigner to pay our duties and still retain a profit; and this being a sufficient cause, it is unphilosophical to look for any other."

* "We, notwithstanding, repeat the annual statement of the commerce of the United States for a few years back, from the Journal of Commerce, commencing with 1831.

"Total value of imports, \$103,191,124, including £7,305,945 in gold and silver; of which in American bottoms \$93,962,110, and \$9,229,014 in foreign. Of the whole amount, \$13,456,625 consisted of articles duty free; \$61,534,966 paying ad valorem duties; and 28,199,533 specific duties.

"The value of foreign goods exported during the same period was \$20,033,526; domestic, \$61,277,057. Total exports, \$81,310,583. Of the foreign goods exported, \$11,720,751 were entitled to drawback; the remainder not.

"The domestic exports are thus divided: Fisheries, including whale oil, whalebone, and sperm candles, \$1,889,472; agriculture, \$47,261,433, viz., product of animals, \$2,828,936; vegetable food, \$13,997,472, of which \$9,938,458 consisted in the single article of wheat flour; tobacco, \$4,892,388; cotton, \$25,289,492; other articles, \$253,245; manufactures of all kinds, \$7,147,364; including \$1,126,313 of cotton; unmanufactured articles not enumerated, \$715,311. Total as above, \$61,277,057. In the list of manufactures exported are included \$2,058,474 in specie.

"Value of imports during the previous year, (ending 30th September, 1830,) \$70,876,920; foreign exports, \$14,387,479; domestic, \$59,462,029. Total exports during that year, \$73,849,508. Excess of imports in 1831 over those of 1830, \$32,314,204; excess of foreign exports, \$5,646,047; do. of domestic exports, \$1,815,028. Total increase of exports in 1831, as compared with the previous year, \$7,461,075. We subjoin the total imports and exports of several successive years, ending 30th September, the date to which the returns are annually made up:

	Imports.		Exports.
1831,	\$103,191,124	-	\$81,310,583
1830,	70,876,020	-	73,849,508
1829,	74,492,527	-	72,358,571
1828,	88,509,824	-	72,264,686
1827,	79,484,068	-	82,324,827
1826,	84,574,477	-	77,595,322
1825,	96,340,075	-	99,535,338
1824,	80,549,007	-	75,980,937

"Some argue that the excess of imports over exports

After animadverting on the above system, the author thus proceeds:

"We now offer our measures for the protection of both northern and southern industry, and all that wealth can secure to a nation. It is just the reverse of the system now in operation, as projected by Alexander Hamilton. Instead of operating on foreign goods to raise their prices in our markets by means of a tariff, *we must operate upon the currency*, and, by reducing the amount of bank paper, cause the money prices of domestic productions to sink below the money prices of goods in England.

"Then, as in consequence of the withdrawal of bank paper from circulation, money will become more valuable; all money obligations and debts must sink nominally in amount as the money really rises in value.

"If it should be asked how debts and money obligations are to decrease, as money becomes scarce and valuable by being withdrawn from circulation? this is the rule: 'As the amount of the debt contracted is to the amount of the currency of the Union at the time the debt is contracted, so must the sum to be paid be to the amount of the currency at the time it is to be paid.'

"For instance: A person has contracted a debt of a thousand dollars while there are a hundred millions of dollars in circulation, and government has determined that there shall be only half that sum in circulation at the time it is to be paid. By the rule above given, only five hundred dollars will be paid, for, as one thousand is to one hundred millions, so is five hundred to fifty millions, and so is the value of money altered. Five hundred dollars will buy as much property in our country when there are fifty millions in circulation here, as one thousand will when there is twice the amount. Small exceptions may be made, but there is no more perfect rule to be given while the present kinds of money are in use. Without this rule, when the currency is reduced, those in debt must be greatly injured, if not entirely ruined. They cannot collect moneys due to them, and they must sacrifice twice as much of the produce of industry to procure one thousand dollars when there are fifty millions in circulation as when there are one hundred millions, and it is value for value that honest men desire to give,

proves that the nation is gaining the difference, as if goods were manufactured on the ocean on board of ships. It is true the freight is added to the price of imported goods, but not in the custom-house valuations, which are far more apt to be below the cost in England and France than above it, for this saves duties to importers. The truth of the case is, that when we import more than we export, we are like a farmer who buys more than he sells, and mortgages his farm to make up the difference. The people send certificates of government stock, bank-stock canal-stock, and mortgages on real estate, and these do not appear in the books of the custom-house. Specie also flows imperceptibly away. In 1831, just after our imports had so greatly exceeded our exports, the specie capital of the U. S. Bank sunk from about twelve and a half millions down to about seven and a half millions. In May, 1831, the U. S. Bank had specie in all its vaults, from New Orleans to Maine, \$12,529,381; in December following, only \$7,502,450!!! Its original capital was \$35,000,000, and the first U. S. Bank was broken up ostensibly because foreigners had gained possession of the stock. The amount of stock held by foreigners in this one, by the last account of its President, is 84,055 shares, equal to about one million of dollars more than there was specie in the U. S. Bank and branches to pay the claims of foreigners upon the institution! viz., at \$100 per share, \$8,405,500!! Thus it is in the power of foreigners to break the bank.

"Examine the question as you will, and the truth must flash forth, that, unless we change our policy, all must be lost, not of the U. S. Bank only, but the whole country.

and not a great value for a small one. None but dishonest men can desire others to lose unjustly that they may gain.

"Tables like interest tables can be constructed to render the system easy to the most ignorant, and periodical accounts of the amount of the currency will take away all excuse from those who will desire to say, 'there is a lion in the way,' and it cannot be done.

"These are our measures for the protection of domestic industry of all kinds, and the satisfaction of our southern fellow-citizens, who, by this means, may be enabled to buy their supplies cheaper at the north than in England, while our manufacturers may undersell the British in every market in the world."

It will be seen by the above extract that the opinions of Mr. Roosevelt are original and powerful. He seeks to establish national prosperity on a firm basis; or one which can scarcely be affected by external circumstances—but in which all the sections of our country may have an equal interest and an equal benefit.

He acknowledges that the tariff system will enhance the price of *foreign goods* in our market, and thus far raise the price of *home industry*; but how does the banking system, under the views of our author, interfere with this *seeming* good? Why, the immense amount of our principal circulating medium, *paper*, raises the price of our home produce so high, that the foreign merchant can afford to pay the duty, force his goods into our market, and *undersell* us, with the tariff staring him in the face! Nor is this by any means the *extent* of the evil. We become *impoverished* by our commerce: the exchanges are always against us. The European merchant will not accept of *paper* in return for his merchandise. Many of the goods are sold by auction; the precious metals are demanded in payment; the merchants crowd to the banks to convert their paper, by discount, into *money*; the banks become alarmed—they curtail their accommodations; a panic ensues; and bankruptcy, as a natural consequence, follows. It would, indeed, be well if such bankruptcy were confined to individuals, and did not embrace *States* and *Nations*. But for years past our bankers have been *pledging* our most valuable stocks in the markets of Europe, to obtain *banking capital*. The day of redemption has come, and we have been disgraced at home and abroad. Our state bonds have been repudiated, and our *National Treasury* is—empty.

BANKING SYSTEM AS AT PRESENT ESTABLISHED.—As a preliminary to his forcible attack on the present banking system, with its ruinous results, our author predicates his argument upon the following *assumptions* and *propositions*:

"What are the great advantages of the system we oppose?"

"We are to weigh them against the disadvantages, and the people must decide.

1. "It is said banks make money abundant, and a scarcity of money is a great evil.

2. "It is said they afford a cheap circulating medium.

3. "It is said they afford a light and commodious medium of exchange.

4. "It is said they assist government with loans in time of war.

5. "It is said they build up towns and cities.

"We will examine these assertions, and then state the disadvantages of banking."

Mr. Roosevelt proceeds to show, in answer to the first assumption, "*it is said banks make money abundant, and a scarcity of money is a great evil*," that an abundance of money is one of the greatest evils which can befall a nation; the real value of money consists, says our author, "*in the fitness of a small quantity to represent the fruit of much labour*." Whoever examines the above quotation with candour, must admit the truth of the principle upon which it is based. To render money abundant, therefore, is to lessen its value. Our banks, consequently, depreciate that value in money which arises from "*little things being the representative of great things*." In answer to the second assumption, "that banks afford a cheap circulating medium," we give the author's reply.

"To whom, we would ask, to whom is it cheap? There are about twenty millions of specie in the United States by the latest accounts we have seen, and from eighty to upward of one hundred millions of paper, say one hundred millions.

"That one hundred millions is let out at the rate of from six to ten per cent. from banks in various sections, and, when banks curtail discounts, a part of it at from ten to fifty per cent. by brokers. When let out by banks on "*short paper*,"* the same money is let from four to six times a year, and it amounts to compound interest, for interest is deducted as the money is loaned, and let out before it is due for the use of the money borrowed. This is the practice in all the banks. Moreover, borrowers of money from the banks are generally expected to leave a balance in the banks to secure credit and loans when they require them, and no interest is allowed for this, as in England, but it is let by the bankers, and they keep all the interest for themselves. Thus the usury laws are evaded to an incredible amount. In Holland silver and gold money may be had on good securities at from two to three per cent. per annum, and in England from three to five per cent. Cheapness and dearness being relative terms, the cost of our paper money to borrowers may be compared with the cost of specie to borrowers in Holland and England, and we will abide the comparison.

"In reply to our own question, to whom is it cheap? we answer, it is cheap to those who are allowed to print and receive interest for five paper dollars for every silver one they possess,† but to every one else it is usurious to the last degree. To bankers only is it cheap."

In noticing the 5th assumption, "that banks build up towns and cities," our author thus forcibly and eloquently speaks:

"Go through the western, eastern, or southern country, and see if the far greater proportion of the property which has not been gained entirely by the owners

* Ninety and sixty days' notes.

† This is about the proportion our paper money bears to the specie in our country.

of banks, is not mortgaged to them. Princely mansions have sprung up, as if by magic; but eight years is generally as long as the enterprising builders can hold them. Then they are swept away, with all the fruits of former toil, into the hands of the directors of banking institutions. In this way cities and towns are built. Look at Cincinnati, now just recovering from a dreadful blow. Indeed, look at any town six or eight years after a bank has been established in it, and see if industry has not sown and cunning has not reaped the fruit in the shape of deeds and bonds and mortgages held by bankers, if not by banks, for what they never gave an hour's effective toil, excepting in cunning financiering art."

We pass over Mr. Roosevelt's remarks on the "United States Bank" in support of his general argument; his facts and predictions are true to the letter; they have been *unfortunately* too fully substantiated in the fall of this mammoth plunderer and the ruin which exists as the sad memorial of its once proud and vaunted condition. Mr. Roosevelt shows, in page 31 of his pamphlet, the fallacy of the supposition, that banks increase the wages of the mechanic and labourer. In support of his argument against this unfounded assumption, he quotes from Mr. McCulloch. It appears, from the quotation, that prices in Great Britain were twice as high in 1810 as in 1790; consequently, that the tendency of money to be sent out of England to buy goods, *at a rate cheaper than they could purchase on the island*, was twice as great in the latter as in the former year. What was the consequence in 1810? Why, that millions were thrown out of employment and in a state of actual starvation; *a consequence of the high price of English goods*. Specie was drawn from the country, and between 1790 and 1810 the Bank of England was compelled to suspend her payments in the precious metals, from the fear of total destruction—*a destruction arising from increasing the price of British goods on British soil, by a fictitious paper currency, and the exportation of her real money to make foreign purchases cheaper than they could be obtained on her own shores*.

In support of his seventh proposition, "that banks destroy our power as a nation and render us subject to foreign enemies," we can add nothing to the forcible language of our author.

"Money—specie—being the great instrument of war, by establishing banks like ours, bankers do the very thing against us which our foreign enemies desire to do, viz., drive out good money, and leave to us no funds to support a war.

"What made our government paper sink thirty per cent. below par during our last short war? Our enemies were owners of the foundation on which our worthless currency was based, and they were constantly withdrawing it, if report spoke truly, via Boston, and all knew that no money could be paid if all withdrawn from the country.

"What is our condition now for war? Who are owners of the twenty millions of specie in the United States? The English government, whenever it chooses to be. Englishmen own more stock in the United

States Bank than the specie remaining of all its specie capital can redeem, viz., about eight and a half millions.* The majority of the stock of one of the city banks of New York is said to be held in trust for Englishmen; other banks in other states are, to a greater or less extent, in like condition. Canal stock and real estate and mortgages are also held in trust, to a large amount, for foreigners. The United States Bank is allowed to be in the best condition, and we know in what a miserable plight that is, to withstand a run for specie! Thirty-five millions was its original capital, borrowed at an expense of half a million. It has, with what it has in England, say one-third of the whole amount remaining. It is true the people are bound to it by every obligation that the law can impose, sufficient to make a fair appearance of solvency; but so much the worse for the people, if they are bound to pay what it would be absolutely *impossible* to pay, were the enemies of our country determined to strike a blow at our strength. Were the British government to buy the stock held by its subjects in the United States Bank, and instruct its naturalized agents to sell it for paper notes, and with those notes draw out its specie capital, what then would become of all the property of which such a fair show is made to prove the solvency of the institution? It must be sacrificed for little or nothing. Money cannot be procured where there is none. Suppose a house, said now to be worth fifty thousand dollars, were to be sold at auction to close a concern, and there were thousands of bidders, and not one could command five hundred dollars, what would it sell for? It must be sacrificed for little or nothing. So says every day's experience. Where there is little or no money, goods and property bring little or nothing. To attempt to prove the solvency of the United States Bank, from the nominal price which its paper and the paper of other banks equally unsound affixes to property pledged to it, is to reason absurdly in a circle.

"Would the property pledged to the United States Bank be worth, in money, what it is said to be worth, if the bank paper, which is considered valuable only so long as it may be exchanged for specie, were to have the specie on which it is based withdrawn? Why? It is the bank paper which affixes the nominal value to the property pledged to the bank; and when the specie is gone the nominal value is in a great measure gone. Is it not airy castle building for the banks first to give a nominal money value to property, and then prove from that nominal money value, the money value of the stock, after near two-thirds of its real money capital has been lost? The prices of all the productions of industry and property depends upon the proportion which the circulating capital of a country bears to the productions of industry in the country. It is true foreigners, having perfect confidence in the stability of our institutions, would never suffer our property to be sacrificed for nothing. They would give half price for it, perhaps, and buy us out of house and home if that be good, but probably not so much; for when our currency was reduced from one hundred and ten down to forty-five millions, property fell in nearly the same proportion, although that was after the war, when mistrust cannot be so great as just before a war. An account of that time, by the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of National Industry,

* Since the text was written, it is said there has been an increase of specie by one and a half millions, but how much more stock has been pledged to foreigners we do not know, not having access to the proper documents. But small variations are of no consequence.

says,* 'real estate is everywhere fallen thirty, forty, or fifty per cent. ;' and in the next page, 'the interest of money is extravagantly usurious, and all are doing a most unprofitable business except usurers.' A proof to those who will not examine the *theory* of money prices, that property fell in consequence of the then existing scarcity of money."

From the numerous quotations we have made, the object of the author, we trust, is rendered clear to our readers ; it is to *operate on the Currency, by compelling the banks to curtail their circulation, and to suffer none to exist, save those which are based on a METALLIC capital, and which can redeem every dollar of PAPER, in gold or silver.* Our overgrown landed proprietors, who have been enabled to purchase *real estate for paper*, and who in every case in which a panic arises, founded on a *sudden* curtailment of the currency and a refusal on the part of the banks to extend their accustomed discounts, have doubled their property, by foreclosing mortgages and buying the *hardly earned* dwellings of their less fortunate brethren at half their true value ; the *freeholder* who is enabled to discount *good paper* at from 2 to 4 per cent. per month, and thus ruin those whom he professes to benefit, will ever be found hostile to the declaration of such political opinions as those avowed by Mr. Roosevelt. Their appeal is to common sense and to reason. In relation to the "United States Bank," every prediction of Mr. Roosevelt has been fulfilled *too fatally*. Mechanic and labourer, examine this work for yourselves ; try its principles at the bar of judgment, and let not higher impositions on foreign produce—in other words, a revision and increase in the *tariff*—delude you into the belief that you can receive any substantial benefit while the present banking system exists. The "state of Denmark is rotten at the core." We have been living for years amid pleasures founded on *ideal* wealth. We have recklessly bought and sold for paper—we have mortgaged ourselves to our banks, and our banks have mortgaged us, *as a Nation, to Europe.* Our banking system has at length called into operation a *bankrupt* law, not more necessary to the *individuals* upon whose destinies it is to operate, than to the government from which it emanated.

In closing our remarks on Mr. Roosevelt's pamphlet, we know not whether most to admire the research or the candour which it evinces. His arguments are "pro" and "con"—fairly stated and candidly answered ; and we take leave of his valuable little work with a sincere hope that our friends of the producing and working classes may avail themselves of the valuable information which it contains.

AN ANALYSIS

Of the Political Papers in the numbers of the United States Magazine and Democratic Review: New Series.

In analyzing standing or periodical democratic pub-

lications, we shall be guided by the most strict independence of principle ; while "we render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," we shall not pass one iota beyond that point.

Should our opinions differ from the opinions of those whose works we analyze, we shall not shrink from the expression of that difference ; our motto is, "let justice be done though the Heavens tremble." Wherever views are advanced by authors not in accordance with the great principles of American democracy, it will be our duty to expose them, fearless of any results. We truckle to no men : neither shall we pursue any course that may have the most remote tendency to set aside the long-tried and faithful services of our old democratic friends—those who have passed through the political ordeal unharmed—to conciliate the friendship of the *untried* servants of the republic, or to secure them, *upon promises*, in the high places of trust and power. Nor shall any escape our censure who prostrate themselves at the shrine of interest or of power, regardless of past democratic servants and their claims on our political support and regard.

In our analysis of the various political matter which presents any claims on the serious reflection of the working and producing classes, we shall endeavour to separate the dross from the ore, and give the former to our subscribers in as concise a manner as possible. By thus doing, we are confident that in one year from this time we shall be able to give more useful political information for *one dollar* to our producing and working friends, to whom we look for the future support of the "Democratic Guide," than they could obtain from other publications, the cost of which would be more than twenty times that amount. To ensure the success of such a plan, under the low price at which we publish our journal, an increase of subscribers will be necessary.

With the above observations, we respectfully solicit our friends, and call on the democracy of our country, to support the "People's Democratic Guide" so long as it may be useful to the cause of democracy, founded on *equal laws* and *equal rights*. When it shall cease to fulfill this great object, we ask not for patronage.

"Democratic Review," July, 1841.

The "Penny Postman," or a letter addressed to John Tyler, Vice President of the United States.

In the perusal of this paper we are forcibly struck with the *elaborate* attempt to prove a *constitutional* truth, (which occupies the first five or six pages,) that is, whether Mr. Tyler is president or vice president of the United States. After quoting the clause of the constitution which definitely settles the point, that the title of vice president does not undergo any alteration in the necessary assumption of presidential power, the "Penny Postman" proceeds to prove, by the most logical deductions, a simple truth, which every one not interested in disbelieving it, readily admits. We shall

pass over this field of argument, bestrown as it is with rhetorical flowers, to the latter portion of the letter, in which John Tyler, elected vice president of the United States by the federal party, is recalled to the recollection of his early principles, those of Jefferson, and indirectly—we might almost say directly—promised the support of the whole democracy of the Union, as he adheres (or, in our opinion, changes) to them. To sustain our remarks, we quote from the “Penny Postman” as follows:

“Prove now, sir, when the highest responsibilities of action are imposed upon you, but true in practice to your old principles—you will find abundant compensation in the general support which you will receive from the great party to whom those principles are all that they hold most dear. We want nothing better than a president who will conform his actions to your professions of former days; and, in sustaining your administration, *if you will but allow us to do so, by deserving it and in electing you by a large and enthusiastic majority to the full possession of that office which is now but imperfectly your own, we should rather rejoice in the opportunity thus afforded us* of proving the sincerity of our devotion to our principles, and our comparative indifference to any inferior objects of partisan interest.” We have italicised the portion of the above remarks which we desire more particularly to present to the notice of our democratic friends. The inference to be drawn from it is the following or none: that if John Tyler, elected by the federal whigs and their dependants, should condescend to denounce his present associates, and return to the early principles of his political life—those of democracy—he shall receive the support of the whole democratic party, to the exclusion of any old and faithful servant of the people, however long tested and fairly entitled to their support. Such is the fair inference to be drawn from the above quotation; but the “Penny Postman,” rejecting all ambiguity in expression and disdaining to subject his language to inference, thus proceeds to clear up all doubt as to his meaning:

“We are far, indeed, from indifference to not a few of our distinguished chiefs and champions, who have worthily sustained the cause of those principles, at the head of our party array, in many a hard-fought field of political contest; but our patriotism and our political philosophy rise to a far higher elevation than any consideration of a nature thus purely personal. ‘Amicus Plato,’ ‘amicus Socrates,’ sed magis ‘amica Veritas;’” (for the benefit of our producing and working friends who possibly may have had neither time nor money to spend in studying Latin, we translate the above phrases;) “Friend Socrates—friend Plato—but more friendly truth.”

We know no such thing as a right of any individual on his country or party, however eminent the services he may have rendered, &c. “The man whom cir-

cumstances may chance to have placed in the position in which he becomes the most prominent representative of our principles and the most completely identified with the maintenance of their ascendancy, *he* is the man we raise aloft on our shields, to be our chief and our leader in the struggle through which that ascendancy is to be maintained.” Extend the principles of this writer, and George Washington, the father of American liberty, had no claim, of right, on the country which he had saved by his devotion and valour. Thomas Jefferson may be placed by his side. We had always been led to believe that rotation in office and rewards for past faithful services were among the fundamental principles of a pure democracy, until taught differently by this new political lawgiver.

Why is a tub thus thrown out to the whale—why is John Tyler all but implored to withdraw from his present and late supporters and associates—to throw himself into the opened arms of a great democracy—to carry from the Federal ranks the democratic stragglers who may either have been misled or betrayed into such companionship, and to unite our whole party on a thrice changed political apostasy?

Is Mr. Tyler the only man in our wide republic endowed with sufficient virtue and courage to support democratic principles? are there no old, unwavering servants equally qualified by wisdom, and much more so by consistency, than the vice president elect, to become the future president of these United States? The “Penny Postman” cannot harbour a doubt on this point. He does not. Why then select Mr. Tyler, and offer him, conditionally, our support? The answer is, and must be, from the assumed positions of the “Penny Postman,” that he is in power—has united about him many democrats under whig colours—who would, upon his democratic declaration of principles, renounce their present allegiance, and, like the “Vicar of Bray,” take sides with the strongest party! For a reunion with these political renegadoes—these apostates to their former faith—these men who, in seeking to be everything, deserve to be nothing—the “Penny Postman” pledges the whole democracy of our country, to the utter exclusion of those who have nobly defended our principles and who merit our highest rewards.

Having thus exposed the errors, and what we conceive to be the anti-democratic positions assumed by the “Penny Postman,” we take leave of his letter to “John Tyler,” to analyze one to Martin Van Buren in a succeeding number. Several numbers of the “Review” intervene between the two letters; but we prefer recurring hereafter to the political matter they contain, rather to disjoin the connexion which seems to exist between the letters and the bearing which they have on each other. The letter to Mr. Van Buren is in the November number of 1841.

Democratic Review, Nov., 1841.

"Penny Postman," No. 2.

In the commendation bestowed in the letter of the "Penny Postman" to Mr. Van Buren, upon that gentleman, we most heartily concur. We cannot, however, fail to observe in this document, as in that which preceded it to John Tyler, positions assumed as facts, which we hold to be, politically, false. The reader might be led to imagine, from the tone of confidence assumed by the "Penny Postman," that he had been specially deputed by the whole democratic party as the organ through which their sentiments, opinions, present and future operations were to be made known to the world. He sends forth his political catholicon, which, like the empirical panaceas in physics, is to cure all diseases and heal all wounds. So acute in his political vision, that, at one view, he collects within his sight the past and the future. He stands as the high priest on his altar of political wisdom, bountifully dispensing the benefits of his experience—pronouncing, upon his own authority, the opinions of the democracy in these United States, and giving away their right of suffrage, the most inestimable boon possessed, to whomsoever he may please.

The present object of our analysis commences in a strain of devotedness, not to say flattery, toward Mr. Van Buren. Scarcely, however, have these warm expressions of attachment been chronicled, when the "Penny Postman" assumes a position equally insulting, in our opinion, to Mr. Van Buren, as it is derogatory to the moral and political integrity of the democratic party. The writer says:

"I will take the liberty frankly to confess to you that you were not always, in the days of your power and public station, the object of that warmth of sentiment with which now, in your retirement and your fall, you are regarded by the democratic party of the union. You are a remarkable instance of a president awakening in the popular heart a strong feeling of attachment, and vindicating his title to the office as a great man, after its attainment rather than before. In your first candidature for the presidency you were the object of no enthusiasm beyond the limits, perhaps, of your own state. A circumstance connected only remotely with any personal qualities or claims of your own, made you vice president—your rejection for the English mission by the senate. In all this you were but the pivot of great circumstances and of the movement of a mighty popular force, which, though it centered (in) and revolved upon you, you had neither created nor directed. Nor did the impulse in your favour, thus called into action, exhaust itself in your elevation to the vice presidency. It placed you at the same time in that position of prominence in the ranks of your party which could not fail to indicate you, almost as a matter of course, as its next candidate for the last step that remained in your career of public

honours." And again: "The circumstance that the state of which you were a citizen had never yet given a president to the Union, was purely accidental. The popular feeling which identified itself with your person had grown out of causes of which you were rather the object than the origin. There was approval, but no admiration—respect, but no affection—consent, but no enthusiasm." Fortunately for the democratic party the above assumptions of the "Penny Postman" cannot be taken in exchange for truths. Were the reverse the fact, we should consider it to be no honour, as we now do, to hold any connexion with a party whose only motives for promoting our citizens to offices of the highest trust and responsibility were the blindness of passion and the thirst for revenge. Among all General Jackson's admirers we yield to none. Yet the mere rejection, by the senate, of any appointment made by him constituted in itself no cause why the whole democratic party should elevate the citizen thus rejected. If the interests of this great union, with its multifarious objects, are to be based upon the rejection of appointments made by an individual, however elevated his character; if the right of suffrage among millions of freemen is to be made dependant on such rejection as its avowed and only foundation, the republic and its liberties are no more. We are become a blind faction rather than a free and reflective people; we have lost the noblest incentive to political action—that of our country's good.

But the elevation of Martin Van Buren to the vice presidency, and ultimately to the presidency, was based on far higher and nobler motives than those attributed by the "Penny Postman" to the whole democratic party. Mr. Van Buren had been the secretary of state under General Jackson's administration; his unwavering integrity and inflexible firmness had accomplished the most important objects; he had succeeded with the British government in renewing our West India trade, which had been wholly lost under the Adam's administration: by his advice and powerful aid our claims on France, which had lain dormant from the period of the revolution, were established, and that government was compelled to do tardy justice to our mercantile interests. The Neapolitan claims were likewise carried to a successful termination through his agency; and the people had every reason to believe that the intimation given by General Jackson after his veto on the "United States Bank Bill," that he would furnish them with the outline for the foundation of a bank on a more sure and solid basis, had its origin in Mr. Van Buren's sub-treasury; that it was the sub-treasury bill in its embryo state. Does the "Penny Postman" see no claim of gratitude, on his country, toward Martin Van Buren, in return for such national benefits as those above-named? Does he imagine the whole democratic party were unconscious of them; or that, being fully aware of their existence, no popular feeling had

been excited in favour of their possessor? In the one case the utmost extent of political ignorance is imputed to the democracy; in the other, the most perfect obtuseness of moral or political gratitude. It is a merciful axiom in our criminal jurisprudence, that, were two motives to action are presented, it is our duty to select the least—it is a just one in our political code. That the claims of Mr. Van Buren may have been strengthened by the rejection of the senate we are ready to admit; that they formed the basis of them we utterly deny. The democratic party, in electing Mr. Van Buren, acted on the true principle of democracy—that of rewarding tried and proved political services. This was the nucleus around which were gathered the voices of tens of thousands of freemen in support of his elevation to the vice presidency of these United States. “You had done no great deeds,” says the Penny Postman, “in relation to the presidency, to entitle you to the most splendid of political honours by any right of your own.”

The above quotation, like the ambiguous sayings of the ancient Romans, admits of more than one interpretation, and has the appearance of a loop-hole for escape, if necessary. “By any right of your own,” says this sagacious writer. By whose right then, we would ask? By the right of General Jackson, is the implied answer. We have already said, that our estimation of General Jackson yields not to that entertained by his most ardent admirers. We know he would reject, with deserved contempt, the praise belonging to his friends and coadjutors. His laurels are sufficiently abundant without borrowing from others; they are perennial in life, and will be so above the tomb which shall cover his remains. We admit that General Jackson stood at the head of the government under which the benefits were derived to our country of which we have spoken; but we also know, and so does the “Penny Postman,” that the negotiations necessary to their accomplishment belonged to the department of the Secretary of State—over which department Martin Van Buren presided—and that the merit of their successful termination belongs to HIM.

In taking our leave of Mr. Tyler, Mr. Van Buren, and the “Penny Postman,” we desire to remind our friends that in the first number of the “Democratic Guide” we expressed our regret at the several nominations that had been made of democratic candidates for the presidency, and said we would support the democratic candidate regularly nominated by the whole democratic party. We trust no circumstances will compel us to qualify those expressions of assent. We must, however, say that we cannot support “John Tyler,” even should he be named agreeable to the notions and declared wishes of the “Penny Postman.” Had we no other objection, the fact that there are many tried, old, and faithful servants in the democratic ranks, eminently qualified to fill the station of President of

the United States, would preclude our supporting John Tyler under any circumstances—even though the “Penny Postman,” supported by the “Democratic Review” and the mass of the Democracy, should be arrayed against us. But we know the Democracy is with us on this subject, and have no fears on the occasion.

When, on the appearance of the papers of the “Penny Postman,” we observed the high encomiums passed upon them by a large portion of the Editorial corps, we, like others, were stimulated thereby to give them more than a passing perusal. In so doing, we observed a drift and apparent intention in them, at variance with that which had been their supposed intent. We should then have stated our views; but, unwilling to do any act which might bear the construction of an attempt to force an unnecessary controversy in our political ranks, we refrained. Time has not, however, as we anticipated, destroyed the effect of these productions: on the contrary, the “Democratic Review,” in reference to these papers, is quoted as conveying the sentiments of the Democratic party—even at this day. As we consider the sentiments of the “Penny Postman” disparaging to “New York’s favourite Son,” as a stumbling-block thrown in his future path, and as having a tendency to deprive him (in the proportion in which they are adopted) of prospective honours, it has become a duty to controvert the doctrines and views of the writer in question. “Fiat justitia ruat Cælum,” is our motto. We have dealt justly with the Penny Postman, and hesitate not to express our belief that, in the expression of our sentiments, we shall be supported by the whole Democratic party.

We take this occasion to remark that, when Mr. Tyler’s present term expires, our wish is, that a President may be elected to fill his station in all respects like Mr. Van Buren. If he be not the individual selected, we trust such a one will be called to the high office as will carry out all the measures of General Jackson and “New York’s favourite Son.”

We cannot close our remarks without an expression of regret that we have had occasion, in our path of political duty, to animadvert on any political articles in in the “Democratic Review,”—a work which we hold highly in our esteem; but in the arduous duty imposed on us as faithful journalists, we are, as in the present instance, compelled to be true on all occasions to the interests even of the most humble member of the Democratic party, whose interests we are pledged to advocate. In our May Number the analysis will be continued.

AN ADDRESS TO THE WORKING MEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

(Continued from page 114.)

Least of all on men who attempt to treat elections as if they had never been held, and tell you that if they

cannot govern the country through the ballot-box, they will do it by force of arms.

Be well assured that, when men resort to such means, they are actuated by the same motive as the gambler who contrives to divert the attention of his adversary while he cheats him in the game, or the highwayman who presents his pistol and bids the terrified traveller to "stand and deliver."

Give heed to these gentlemen in log cabins, and you will soon have nothing but log cabins to live in! Give your votes in exchange for their hard cider and gingerbread, and your children may cry for bread to eat! Follow them in their processions and vote at their bidding, and your sons may follow their carriages as footmen, surround their tables as waiters, and stand as porters at their doors! In short, give up your reason, permit yourselves to be seduced or terrified out of the independent exercise of your rights, submit to a national debt, a national bank, or an indefinite increase of state debts and state banks, and your children, and your children's children, in reality, if not in name, are slaves for ever.

Rely first on yourselves. Put more men of your own class into the state legislatures and into congress. Look at the British government. Perhaps there is not a man in its executive or legislative department who gets his living in any degree by the labour of his own hands; not one who does not, in salaries, sinecures, pensions, contracts, public employments, or direct corruption, get back the taxes he may pay ten or hundred fold. And what has the working man to hope when all his rulers live and are enriched, make themselves distinguished and great, learned and luxurious, by the very abuses and oppressions under which he groans? Look at congress. There is but a small proportion of that body who get their living by their own labour, or by the labour of others upon their lands. A large portion of them, without productive employment at home, live upon their pay, and go into congress for the purpose of speculating upon politics. Lawyers of distinction, who generally are the political leaders in that body, find in the banks and public creditors the most valuable of their clients, and the sources of their income. Is a member of congress very likely to oppose the abuses of a bank which gives him a thousand dollars for an opinion one line in length, or the increase of the public debt, when he gets five thousand for a short letter in relation to the validity of the obligations it created? Is a man likely to be very ardent in putting down or repressing a system which gives him an annual income of thousands, and puts tens of thousands at his disposal whenever it is his pleasure to ask for them? In those who pay the taxes and suffer by abuses, the working men may find the safest reliance for guarding their interests and saving them from oppression. If they would but think so, they have many men among themselves who would make just as able and much more safe legislators than the men of other classes to whom they so generally and so indiscreetly give up the management of their government, as well in their several states as in the Union at large.

In selecting men of other classes, test them rather by their actions than their words.

Why is it that our general government is now free from the entanglements, corruptions, and oppressions of the British credit system? To whose principles and firmness is the gratifying spectacle to be attributed, that this government, after an existence of fifty years, stands before the world as simple, as exempt from extraneous influences, as republican, as much a government of the people, as it was when it came from the hands of its

makers? You know by whose vetoes your public money was saved from waste upon roads and canals, your public debt paid off, and millions of taxation removed from the articles you purchase and consume. You know by whose veto the Bank of the United States failed in its design to fix itself on the country for another term, and by whose decision the connexion was severed between that institution and the government. And you know by whose firmness and perseverance the connexion has been cut between the government and the bastard British system of state banks, completing the emancipation which his predecessor began. You know who, through good report and through evil report, in the cabinet, in congress, and in the country, have counselled, sustained, and carried out these great measures of deliverance for the working men and their government—measures which, if now sustained, will date a new era in the history of free institutions, and inspire with fresh hopes the friends of man throughout the world. On these men you may safely rely to prevent a national debt, to prevent a national bank, to prevent, as far as they lawfully can, the increase of state debts and state banks, and to leave the working men in the full enjoyment of the proceeds of their labour, content amid happy families, masters of the government and masters of themselves.

If these overwhelming facts are not sufficient to convince the working men on which side of the present controversy their true interest lies, let them look at measures more directly affecting their standing in society. What they want is good wages, with time to read. With all those in its employment, the government has reduced the hours of labour to ten daily, without reducing their wages. Should this system become general, the time thus gained, if devoted to reading and reflection, will elevate the working man above most of those who now claim to be his superiors, and fit him for any station in the government. Under the same general policy, the seamen of our navy have been exempted from stripes, in the behalf that personal degradation is not necessary to secure due obedience, and that he will be more devoted to a country which treats him as a man, while it exacts from him the service he is bound by contract to render.

In the pre-emption laws recommended and sustained by the present administration, the working men may find a course of policy highly conducive to their interests and independence. These laws give to the settler on public lands the exclusive privilege of buying the quarter section of 160 acres on which he has settled, at \$200, the minimum government price. Thousands of settlers make the money to pay for lands out of the lands themselves. The labourer or mechanic, suffering from low wages or a want of employment, or finding himself degraded by a state of dependance, may, under the policy of these laws, not only emancipate himself at once, but secure independence and comfort to his children. And the greater the number thus withdrawn from labour in the old states, the higher will be the wages and the less the dependance of those who remain, so that these laws are calculated in a high degree to elevate the working classes, not only in the new states, but in the old.

For these reasons, it seems to us that the working man, whether a farmer owning the land he tills, a tenant, a mechanic, or a labourer, can have no difficulty in deciding which of the great parties of the country it is his interest and duty to support. The farmer who does not want his land and labour virtually mortgaged to pay the interest on increasing public and bank debts, the mechanic who looks to steady employ-

ment, good wages and light taxes, the labourer who does not wish to see himself and family doomed to grinding poverty and perpetual servitude, ought to have no hesitation in rallying around an administration which treats the working man as the equal of his neighbours, which repudiates all attempts to introduce new banks and create new debts, all attempts to saddle upon the country new systems of speculation or improvement, calculated in their results to degrade those who labour, and offers them, in case of need, a home and an independence upon the public domain.

Our condition in the District of Columbia.—Fellow-working men, perhaps you are not aware that in this district most men of our class are as completely denied all voice in our own government as the poorest operative in a British factory. Of that position in the constitution which deprives us of the right of suffrage in the election of the legislative and executive authorities by which we are governed, however little it meets our sense of right, we do not complain. But we do complain that no voice is allowed us in choosing those local magistrates, possessing in a great degree legislative and executive powers, affecting our liberty as well as our property and labour. While we, deprived of the political rights of freemen, have procured by honest toil the means of comfort for ourselves and families, we have seen men notoriously destitute of property contrive to keep property in possession by the aid of the British credit system, and, living on the labour of others, not only enjoy the rights which are denied to us, but, elevated to places of power and trust, from which we are excluded, plunge our corporations into debt, and tax our little property directly, and our labour indirectly, to pay the salaries which have enabled them thus to load us, and the interest which is the fruit of their recklessness. If it could be supposed possible, in the nature of things, that managing insolvents and grasping speculators are safer depositories of suffrage or power than honest working men, we would point to the example of Washington city as a triumphant refutation of the mischievous error. Plunged into debt beyond hope, and labouring under the burden almost in despair, a beneficent congress and indulgent president came to the city's relief, and threw a large portion of her load upon the shoulders of the nation. In the same beneficent and even lavish spirit, congress has appropriated almost money enough, to be expended on buildings, avenues, roads, bridges, and canals within the district, to pave our streets with silver. Yet here, by men for whose subsistence and aggrandisement a nation has been taxed, the cry of oppression is raised! It is said that the district is deprived of privileges which its neighbours enjoy, and the people of the union are called upon to come to our rescue!

Well, what is the "oppression" which is to call down upon the heads of the president and of congress the indignation of the country? Has any class here been deprived by act of congress of their inborn rights, and subjected, without consent, to the government of others? That is a wrong of which WE complain, and our effort to obtain relief is one of the alleged wrongs which our privileged fellow-citizens make the basis of their appeals. Has the legislation of congress struck down the wages of labour, so that want and misery brood over our dwellings? Good mechanics obtain in our cities from \$1.50 to \$2.25 per day, and the wages of the common labourer are from \$1 to \$1.25. Has congress compelled us to receive the price of labour in a depreciated and fraudulent currency, which robs us of half the amount after it is earned? The govern-

ment pays us altogether in gold and silver, and for small sums we have no other currency; while neighbouring cities, governed under other auspices, present, in that respect, an unenviable contrast with our condition.

Are our lots becoming waste, and our houses tumbling into ruins, in consequence of the oppressions of a government worse than Turkish? On the contrary, every tenement is occupied, and no less than ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY *new dwellings* are in a course of erection in Washington alone. Never, for more than twenty years, has the city been improving so rapidly, and never has labour received a more abundant reward. And it is as gratifying as it is remarkable, that most of the present improvements of the city *are the property of the mechanics and working men*, built up on *solid wealth*, and not structures raised upon the sandy foundations of *bank loans* and *paper credits*.

It is not from the working men that the complaint of oppression springs, though some of them may have been seduced to join in the cry: it is from those who envy their prosperity, but are *too proud to emulate their industry*; it is from those who want to *build houses upon credit, to furnish them upon credit, to live upon credit, to ride in carriages, drink wine, give dinners and parties upon credit*, and, in the end, unless sustained by some successful speculation in property or politics, become bankrupts, and leave those who served them to enjoy the *ultimate blessings of the great "credit system!"*

We have in the district a few little banks, established on the principles of the British credit system. These banks, in 1837, and again in 1838, with thousands of dollars in their vaults, refused to pay any portion of their debts, except in the promises of each other, and remained in that condition at the late session of congress. Standing out thus in open opposition to law, and inflicting upon us a depreciated currency, they dared to go to congress and ask a prolongation of those special privileges which they were in the very act of abusing! Congress had firmness enough to resist the influences they were able to array, and justice enough to the *real* people of the district to reject their presumptuous demand. And no sooner was this done than a portion of them conclusively proved that their disregard of law was wilful, by forthwith resuming payment!

This is the *oppression!* A few men are no longer permitted to substitute their false promises for money, and impose them upon us in exchange for our labour and property, paying when they will and refusing when they please. A few men are not permitted to make paper dollars and live in idleness, by buying our labour and property with them, throwing the losses of their unsuccessful speculations and the expenses of their high living upon us!

This is the oppression! It is the oppression which the people of Great Britain endured when they were refused the privilege of imposing a tax upon America; the oppression a debtor feels when he cannot make others pay his debts; the oppression a proud bankrupt endures when he cannot make his neighbours support him; the oppression felt by a prince in indulgence, and a tyrant in principle, when he cannot make thousands of his fellow-men work without compensation, to minister to his appetites and enlarge his estates!

We ask of you no such special privileges or immunities. We ask only for *equal rights and equal laws*. We do not ask you by law to sink these men below us, and we protest against your thus raising them above us. Place us on an equality with them in political rights, and leave them to their pursuits, and us to ours, without the interposition of law to change our relations

to each other; and we shall jointly and in harmony work out a glorious prosperity for this district.

Momentous character of the present contest.—We look upon the political contest of the present year as the most momentous in its principles and consequences which has ever agitated the country. It may be denominated a *warfare between CREDIT and LABOUR*. Credit is attempting to subject *labour* to its dominion—to take out of its hands the political power of the country. The credit army in this warfare is formidable, but not invincible. It is composed of those connected with about nine hundred banks:

Say 900 bank presidents.
 900 cashiers.
 3,600 clerks, porters, &c.
 235,600 stock-holders.
 350,000 debtors.

About 590,400 in all.

The power of this army was illustrated in 1837, where the bankers threw off the dominion of the law, and stopped payment on the ground that “the public good” demanded it. They afterward held conventions to consider and decide when “the public good would admit of their submitting to the laws and government of the people, and allow them a currency equivalent to specie, to which they were entitled, not only by their laws, but by the constitution of the United States. Here was a power independent of the people, which, in one essential particular, usurped the government.

To this usurpation the legislatures of the states, and the people themselves, *quietly submitted!* That we have anywhere now a currency equivalent to specie is to be attributed, not to the firmness of our state governments, but to the resolution of a portion of the bankers, actuated by sound views as to their own interests, and their duties to their country. But, influenced by other motives and encouraged by the success of the first experiment, the bankers of more than half the Union, in 1838, again stopped payment, took the power to regulate the currency into their own hands, purchased or procured the acquiescence of the state legislatures, and in that respect are the masters of the people to this day! Such hitherto has been the success of this *credit army!* Backed now by the holders of two hundred millions of state stocks at home and abroad, furnishing in conjunction with those interested in, or dependant upon, banks, the sinews of political warfare in profuse contributions of money, and allied with a formidable array of aspiring politicians, hungry office-seekers, and gamblers upon politics, this army constitutes a force before which any but the working men of the country would have cause to tremble. With this grand array the election of their candidate is a stockjobbing operation. If they can but create a belief that the working men of the country will be made to take upon their broad shoulders the debt of the states, twenty millions of dollars will at once be added to the present value of the two hundred millions of state stocks, and twenty millions more to the present value of bank stocks, realizing by the operation no less than FORTY MILLIONS OF DOLLARS. With such inducements, it is no wonder if millions of dollars are contributed at home and abroad to put in motion every man who will sell himself, and every means which can be devised to carry this election.

These are times to try the *intelligence, virtue, and firmness of the working man*. Every falsehood will be put in requisition to deceive him; every selfish motive will be appealed to; he will be threatened with loss of employment, and even the *base bribe* will be

offered! But will not all this be spurned? Have we a single working man who will suffer himself to be influenced by such means—who will sell himself to be, like the paid soldier of a monarch, the instrument of his own subjugation? If there be one, let him be hunted up, marked, and disfranchised. He is not worthy of liberty; he is a *traitor to his children and to his country*.

No; there are none such among the working men of our country, as they will show in this day of trial. Intelligent, incorruptible, firm, and resolved to maintain the rank and power which they have acquired, they will so exercise the right of suffrage this year, as to satisfy the world that there is one country at least where man is not to be the dupe and slave of his fellow-man, the conqueror of himself and the enemy of his race.

JAMES A. PAYNE, } of Alexandria
WILLIAM MORGAN, }
WILLIAM KING, } of Georgetown.
R. JONES, }
AMOS KENDALL, } of Washington.
EDMUND HANLY, }
C. P. SENGSTACK, }

Committee.

A Direct Tax to pay the interest on the enormous debt contracted by the Federal Whigs during their short control of the State of New York.—We presume it is more than probable, ere the present number of the “Democratic Guide” reaches our democratic friends, that our state legislature, as the only means by which the credit and honour of the “Empire State” can be preserved from the pressure arising from the misrule of the Federal whigs, will have passed a bill laying a direct tax to pay the interest for state debts contracted through the policy of “Governor Seward” and the “State improvement” vassals, who so recently basked in the sunshine of his gubernatorial favours. Would, indeed, that the effects of their measures had caused as little regret as the setting sun of their political glory!

They have left us with an accumulation of corporation and railroad debt—the interest of which cannot be paid without a still farther drain on the pockets of those whom Federal misrule has left scarcely able to meet the pressing demand. The necessary means to enable the state government to meet its immediate calls must, at all hazards, be raised; our credit must be sustained in all our relations, commercial and political; and we can only say to those who suffer, bear patiently, for the day of your rejoicing will come. We despair not of the firmness of the democratic party, and have full confidence that the great sacrifice called for to satiate the comorants of whig cupidity will be freely and generously made: the triumph of our principles is worth a much greater offering on the altar of political and moral right. It is to arm our friends against Federal whig artifice, upon the adoption of the measure to which we have alluded, that we call upon them to turn a deaf ear to the voice of calumny that will be sent forth. Such a measure, at all times painful and galling in its operation, will be attributed by the Federal whigs to the democratic members at Albany. We

shall be told that our friends are the imposers of taxation; that our burdens are increased rather than diminished by the present possessors of power; that democracy and taxation go hand in hand; that we have cause to mourn over the successes of the democratic party. We shall be told that such a tax is not required; that the Federal whigs left a full treasury, &c. For the truth of such positions we refer our readers to the speech of Mr. Hoffman, of Herkimer, a political production which ought to be in the hands of every democrat who desires to see the flimsy veil which chicanery draws before truth withdrawn, and the craftiness of art prostrated in the light of common sense. It is shortly our intention to present to the readers of the Democratic Guide an expose of our state finances, debt, &c., together with the mode in which such debts have been contracted by the Federal whig speculators. In the interim, we call on our friends to rally round the state administration; to support and strengthen their measures; to lend a powerful hand in the great work of political state redemption; to sustain our credit and character unsullied.

Let no such words as repudiation sully the pages of our state records; but let the "Empire State," as she has long been the emporium of wealth and commerce, be the centre of justice. Of two evils we must choose the least; and when direct taxation presents the only means of preserving state faith, however wantonly the necessity for its adoption may have been created, as in the present instance, we are fully assured that the great democratic party of New York will cheerfully yield it their sanction and support.

Speech of Hon. Fernando Wood, of New York, on the operation of the Tariff Laws. Delivered in the House of Representatives, Feb. 8th and 9th, 1842.

The following speech of Mr. Wood will be read with deep interest by all who desire the greatest good to the greatest number of the people of the United States.

Mr. Saltonstall, from the committee on Manufactures, reported the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Committee on Manufactures be authorized to send for witnesses and take testimony on the subject of the present tariff laws, their operation upon the interests of the country, and the alteration which those interests require.

Which being under consideration,

Mr. Wood rose and addressed the house, in a substance, as follows:

Mr. Speaker: I am in favour of all information which it is possible to gather upon this important question, and desire, as earnestly as any gentleman, that every legal and just means be taken to procure it. I am willing to go far, very far, to obtain light, for none more than myself believe it is required. Of all questions affecting individual and government interests, directly or indirectly, this is paramount; therefore light should be had, that we may legislate knowingly and understandingly. This house, of all the world, requires it. The discussion of the revenue bill of last

session, and motion of reference of the tariff portion of the president's message this session, have convinced me we have too little of the requisite knowledge. We are lamentably ignorant of the practical operation of our import system, or in what respect it requires modification or alteration. The country is in want of light. The manufacturing districts should have the light of reason and experience, to show them the fallacy of submitting their interests to the control and jurisdiction of demagogues. And whence must it come? From practical men; of all classes, professions, and occupations. The dreamy theorists of the old world, or one-sided, interested advocates of this, cannot, if they would, impart it to us. It must be drawn from a philosophic study and comparison of facts, and not from inventive political economists. We must go into an investigation as expansive and deep as will be the bearing of our decision upon the interests of the people and prosperity of the government. All men must give us the result of their experience. In disposing of a question which involves every interest—the ramifications of which extend to every man, woman, and child in the nation—which is inseparably connected with and controls the public treasury, a precise and positive knowledge is unquestionably indispensable. There must be no surmises, no guessing, no speculation. Facts, indisputable and beyond impeachment, must be the basis of our action. I would examine the merchant. I would ask him how and in what manner a high tariff affects commerce; whether a tariff sufficiently high for protection is not inconsistent with a tariff for revenue; whether tariffs should be discriminating or an unvarying ad valorem; how the English warehousing system and the proposed home valuation would be adapted to this country, and what rate of duties would best prevent smuggling and other invasions of the revenue laws, and the other numerous inquiries of detail. I would ask the agriculturist under which system, high or low duties, the native products of the soil would find the most advantageous market; whether he is willing to pay an additional tax upon implements of husbandry, not to raise revenue by which to meet necessary national disbursements, but to add to the already large profits of manufacturers. And whether a restrictive duty on foreign importations would not in time cut off much of the foreign demand for his own productions? The manufacturer should be consulted. I would ask him whether, without protection, under low duties, with a business ensuring a fair remuneration, his interests would be subserved by encouraging the competition and rivalry of speculating adventurers; if in those countries of Europe where the restrictive policy had been thrown off, the manufacturers had not surely flourished in proportion to advantages of material and labour; and if American manufactures cannot subsist and flourish without the aid of government, by what right does it demand a tax upon the whole industrial as well as non-producing population for its particular benefit. I would ask whether he was ready to admit that, with our free institution, superior industry, ingenuity, and advantages of home raised raw material, we could not compete with European monarchies. And I would appeal to the consumer of all classes and occupations—to the backwoodsman of the far West, and the sturdy operative of the Atlantic cities.

Of the hardy pioneer, whose capital is as much in the axe as the sinews which deal the blows, I would learn how he is affected! Whether he is willing the instruments with which he levels the mighty oak of the forest, and the weapons with which he drives its

original owners from their coverts, may be taxed to build up and cherish eastern monopolizing; manufacturing incorporations. Sir, in part, I have the honour to represent a large manufacturing district; for I contend that he who planes a board, or makes a shoe, or constructs any work of art or mechanism from prepared or raw material, is as much a manufacturer as the denizens of New England associations, and should be as much consulted. To the manufacturers, or, in another word, the mechanics of the city of New York, I would apply—I would ask them whether they desire that the doctrine of protection be put into practical operation, and that the fostering care of government be exerted for their particular benefit, to the detriment of every other class, and destruction of our present means of raising revenue? Whether they are willing to carry out the principles of the Home League, by paying thirty dollars for a coat which previously had cost but twenty-five? I know them too well to do them the injustice not to anticipate their answer. They require no protection but the reward of honest industry. They come not to your halls for fostering care. If there is a favour they would ask or accept at your hands, it is non-interference—to let them alone—to cease your officious intermeddling, and, least of all, keep away the protection of a high tariff, which they look upon as

“Such protection as vultures give to lambs—
Covering and devouring them.”

They will turn to you and say, “Gentlemen, last session you squandered the public treasure upon bankrupt, profligate states, giving away, in a corrupt bargain, that which cost our fathers blood and treasure; and now come to us with the conciliatory notes of kindness, with a base bribe to buy our favour. We will none of it. We question that the policy of high duties is beneficial to us; but we know of it were so, that it is iniquitous, anti-democratic, and unequal. We have principles dearer to us than pecuniary advantage. We would not have you disturb the harmony of the glorious and beautiful Union, or do ought to impair the fabric of our political existence, to put in our pockets the wealth of the Indies. We are no dollar and cent patriots; they may be found in your marble palaces, but not in our obscure workshops. It is true we produce everything and get nothing, and you produce nothing and get everything; yet your injustice to us shall not compel us to be unjust to others.” This would be their answer, as it would, if I mistake not, be the answer of the same class throughout the Union.

Sir, I am in favour of getting in this manner the facts upon which to base our action, but object to the medium through which it is proposed by this resolution to procure them. I am not willing to trust the committee on manufactures, as now organized, with the power of making those inquiries; better have no investigation, and depend upon the lights of our own experience, than be fatally misled. In searching for facts, let us beware of false facts. If we desire to enter the haven safely, let us take pilots whose interest or enmity will not drive us upon the beach. I cannot give my vote to intrust this responsible and important duty to the committee on manufactures.

It is no small part of our legislative rights that this resolution asks shall be given them. Under an ingenious construction, power can be found in it to do almost anything, in the name of the house of representatives of the United States; it can demand the attendance of witnesses, whether for real or pretended examination, and institute an inquisitorial scrutiny into

accounts and papers. In many ways it can, if it will, encroach upon the rights and property of citizens. Nor is this all. Admitting no individual rights were violated; I ask if it is, as now composed, two-thirds of its members having prejudged, representing constituents loudly clamorous for protection; I ask, is it the proper committee to undertake this inquiry? It is truly and emphatically a committee for protection. Let us look into the districts of a majority of the members. The honourable chairman (Mr. Saltonstall) has, in the two counties which he is set down in the Congressional Directory as representing, 19,567 persons engaged in manufactures and trades.

[Here Mr. Saltonstall inquired of Mr. Wood what portion of them were engaged in mechanics, and what portion in trading. He said his district was commercial, agricultural, and navigating, and that he premised the gentleman from New York (Mr. W.) was mistaken in his district.]

Mr. Speaker, for the counties composing the gentleman's district, I quote from the Congressional Directory, furnished to this house by its officers, and for the statistics from the sixth census, recently taken. I presume the authority is good—it has never before been questioned. The next member is the gentleman from Rhode Island, (Mr. Tillinghast.) In the county of his residence (Providence) I find there are 14,302 persons engaged in manufactures and trades, although its whole industrial population, including all employments and professions, is but 24,645. The gentleman and one colleague represent the whole state, in which there are but five counties. So in truth he is the representative of, it is safe to estimate, in all, at least double the number. The next on the committee is the gentleman from New Jersey, (Mr. Randolph.) Himself and five colleagues are elected by general ticket. He has no district. The whole state had 27,004 engaged in manufactures and trades, which, giving him one-sixth, makes him the representative of over 4,500.

We come now, sir, to the distinguished advocate of high protection and abolition, the gentleman from Vermont, (Mr. Slade.) He is set down as representing Rutland and Addison counties, which have, together, 2,232 of the same class. The fifth is my colleague from Rensselaer county, (Mr. Hunt,) who has 4,787 in his district. The sixth is the gentleman from Pennsylvania, (Mr. Henry,) who represents 2,612. There are but nine members on the committee. The branches of industry and principal business of the constituency of six of them are here shown. They are gentlemen elected to this house by manufacturing districts, for the avowed purpose of procuring from congress a high tariff for protection. They are fully committed to the advocacy of such a law. Had they not been, their seats would now have other occupants. They could not have been elected holding opinions adverse to the opinions of their people. Those opinions have been repeatedly expressed, accompanied by uncompromising demands for protection. I repeat, therefore, this is a committee for protection—for an ultra high tariff.

Now, sir, is this the proper medium through which to collect the necessary information to guide us to a fair, equal, and wise disposition of the tariff question? It is not! A large majority of its members would go into the investigation, with interests and prejudices misleading their judgments and controlling their decisions. Local preferences would be consulted. The political power which created and can destroy, would have the preponderance. That comprehensive view of this wide spread country, with its diversified and delicate interests, could not be taken. All classes and

occupations would not alike be called upon for evidence; nor would the evidence collected receive dispassionate consideration. A report would be made to us and go forth to the country, with all the authority of a congressional document, with false inductions from doubtful facts. Is the house prepared to give this power to the men who ask it? To place in the custody of the representatives of one class the vital interests of all other classes. Will the people support us in it if we do? I think not. The gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. Tillinghast) tells us the power is safely intrusted, for we give it to honourable men. It may be so. I question no man's honour; but has the honourable gentleman forgotten that the most beautiful object in nature will appear hideous if seen through a jaundiced vision? How often have men's passions made the brightest truth seem to them the foulest falsehood? Who does not remember the error, misery, and blood-shed which have been perpetrated in the world by counsels that had prejudged? Or is the judicature of the holy inquisition forgotten, whose victims passed through the form and ceremonies of trial, before judges, who, out of their own evidence, adjudged the innocent to torture? But, that the application be more direct, who would willingly submit a cause at common law to the decision of a jury of opponents; or what member of this house would like his general veracity tested by the testimony of personal enemies?

The case is plain. The committee on manufactures are one-sided and partial. We must have an unbiassed investigation or none. We want light, not darkness. And, sir, it is not the evil which may be inflicted now, the erroneous opinions that may spring up in an honest community at this time, or the improper turn to be given to present legislation, that excites all my fears. I look to posterity. It is our duty to the "generations which come after us," not to hang out false lights. Legislators are wedded to precedents and the quotations of authorities. Hand not down to our children the record of their fathers prostituting everything to mammon. This report would become a portion of our parliamentary history, and go to the world and after ages as a statement of facts with warranted inferences. It will gain force by time. Hereafter, when years may have obliterated the data by which to expose its fallacies, it will become, if not absolute law, certainly a powerful weapon with which to perpetuate the evil now effected. These are important considerations.

But, Mr. Speaker, suppose the objections here urged against the present character of the committee ceased to operate by changing its members. Let us imagine it freed from the charges I bring—in all things irreproachable and unimpeachable, without prejudice, interest, or passion. Is there time at this session to perform the work? There is not. Witnesses are to be summoned from beyond the White mountains in the East—from the Texian border in the South—the frozen regions of the North, and the forests and prairies of the West; American citizens alike interested in our impost system of taxation, are to be drawn from their homes, separated by more than a thousand leagues. Innumerable questions of detail, as well as general principles, are to be asked practical merchants from different seaports. An almost incredible amount of commercial intelligence is necessary to commence the basis of the proposed structure, and it can only come from the enlightened of those who have learned by experience. This is a wide field of investigation, demanding careful and exact inquiry. The manufacturers have much to impart; they have honest differences upon cardinal points, which should be entertained

and reconciled; their several classes are to be consulted. The agriculturists would have mighty claims upon our attention: this noble art is cultivated in our country by near four million inhabitants, whose rapidly increasing prosperity begins to look for outlets in foreign markets. Of all the avocations of man, tilling the soil is most legitimate, and in accordance with his nature. It should be guaranteed the full earnings of its labour, and the imposition of indirect taxes be freed from unequal exactions.

Is it possible to thoroughly perform this duty in the most extended time allowable at this session? How long do the majority intend to keep us at the Capitol? Reference was made yesterday to the report of Mr. Hume to the British house of commons. It was argued that that report had been the work of far less time than was necessary in our instance. I am glad the advocates of this resolution have alluded to that precedent. If they are so chained to the examples of British legislation, I wish them more judgment in their selections. For myself, I repudiate the policy of drawing upon English habits and English customs, whether social or political. I desire that some of these days we may become less dependant and menial. I know it is said by the friends of Britain upon this side the Atlantic—and she has many—that our interests are inseparable. I deny it. The true interest of America is to sever all connexion with the worn out and rotten monarchies of Europe—to be as independent in her pecuniary relations as she is gloriously independent in her political relations. As she rests upon no nation on earth to assist her in maintaining and carrying out the undying truths of Democracy, so should she rest on no nation on earth in assisting her in the simple walks of republican legislation. We have the examples set us by the able and patriotic sires of their country. Our own few congressional archives will furnish guides enough for the full deliberation of laws adapted to freemen. When we go back again to bondage, I will not complain of gentlemen who seek to adopt the rules of bondsmen to the obedience of freed men. But Mr. Hume's report has been referred to. I accept the issue. What are the particulars of its history? On the 6th of May, 1840, by a resolution of the house of commons, a select committee was appointed on motion of Mr. Hume, "to inquire into the several duties levied on imports into the United Kingdom, and how far those duties are for protection to similar articles, the produce of manufacture of this (Great Britain) country, or of the British possessions abroad, or whether the duties are for the purposes of revenue alone; and to report the minutes of evidence taken, to the house." Upon this committee were nine of the most prominent and able members of the commons, at the head of which was Mr. Hume, the author of the proposition.

I have no data of the day upon which it entered upon its duties, but suppose, as the session had far advanced, it commenced immediately. Twenty-nine witnesses were examined, each of whom was a resident of London; not a man was summoned from beyond the precincts of the capital. Those who gave testimony were at the door; but few practical men underwent examination, and in no instance was the investigation lengthy or full. Notwithstanding these favourable circumstances to a short and speedy termination, the sittings were continued until the 6th of August, precisely three months from the day of commencement. Nor were the committee satisfied they had accomplished the objects of their creation. We have the recorded minutes to show they were not. At the last meeting, when the report was formally decided upon, Sir C. Douglass, a member, offered the following amendment: "To

strike out all after first word of the report, and insert: "the evidence, although partial and limited, is of so various and valuable a character, that your committee do not feel they should be justified in expressing any opinion founded on the impressions it is calculated to create. Your committee consider that farther information ought to be afforded, before they can make any recommendation as the result of their labours, and consequently they do not hesitate to suggest the reappointment of a committee, early in the next session, to continue the investigation of this important subject." And in the report, as finally adopted and presented to the house, I find an admission that, "owing to the period of the session at which the inquiry was begun, the committee have not been able to embrace all the several branches which come within the scope of their instructions." If gentlemen can find encouragement here to vote a similar proposition under auspices as far adverse to the procuration of reliable results as can well be, then their confidence in miracles is much greater than my own. Mr. Hume's committee sat three months, in which it examined twenty-nine witnesses, every man of whom was within an hour's call, and finally made an admitted *ex parte* report, without having touched "several branches which came within the scope of their instructions." Now, sir, how long would it take our committee on manufactures, whose witnesses must be called from far distant sections of our empire, and whose inquiries must embrace the feelings, views, and predilections of people as opposite in sentiment as they are distant in geographical position? If the London investigation took three months, how long ought ours, *pro rata*? Farther argument upon this point would be an insult to your understandings. It is obvious there is not time to carry out this scheme properly, were it possible to do so with such a committee, and make a report for action at this session of congress. Dog days would be upon us before these gentlemen's gathered light would throw its rays upon this benighted body, and it would be really August when their *august* dignities were prepared to render an account of their stewardship.

Mr. Speaker, my friend from Tennessee, (Mr. Brown,) who addressed us yesterday, informed the house that the committee (of which he is a worthy member, and to his credit, let me add, is opposed to this imprudent request) have been already receiving volunteer information. They have been anticipating our action by opening the doors of their committee-room to the swarms of hungry applicants for favour who infest this city. I know not by what authority this is done. But whether with authority or not, it cannot influence my opinions. If it is volunteer testimony they require, I doubt not it will be supplied. Every mail from the East is loaded with circulars and letters from parties having dollars and cents at stake. Where direct advantage follows the enactment of laws, there is no lack of *disinterested patriotism* to volunteer assistance. The doctrine of free trade is called an abstraction; if so, it gives no prospects of practical personal gain, and, therefore, has few energetic, spirited advocates, who will travel hundreds of miles to the capitol, to enforce upon law-makers its truths. The volunteer assistance procured by the committee, will come from the *disinterested patriotism* of those who desire the prohibition, by high duties, of the commodity which they themselves manufacture.

One other objection. This investigation, if instituted, should be by a joint commission of both houses. We are joint in action! Dependant upon each other in the final passage of laws. The information is as neces-

sary for the senate as ourselves. It is not my purpose to detain the house longer with arguments against this resolution. I have already said more than was my intention at rising, but less than I believe the subject demands. I have attempted to show (with what success the house will decide) that an impartial and instructive report, really useful as a guide to our legislation, cannot follow the deliberations and searchings of this committee. That it is one-sided, and has prejudged the case upon which it desires to act the umpire. That there is not time, were it without these objections.

Mr. Speaker, if I was to follow the example of some learned gentlemen, members of this house, I would now proceed and discuss the merits of the tariff question. But believing such deviation from "order" is "better in the breach than the observance," I shall withhold. At the proper time, when that great question is legitimately before us, I hope to be allowed to give my views. Then I shall attempt its discussion in every of its multiplicity of phases. In advance, I beg leave to give notice that, when a bill is reported, I shall, to the extent of my ability, impress upon the house the following points:

1st. Special laws, granting exclusive privileges or encouragement to particular classes or professions, are unequal, and consequently unjust, and in violation of the genius of our institutions, and of the constitution. A protective tariff is of this class.

2d. Protective duties are high duties laid upon foreign products, whether manufactured or raw, to prevent their importation at prices less than the same products of our own country, and must, to be effectual, be mostly prohibitory. Now, as the impost system of taxation was originally adopted to raise revenue to defray national expenditures, and as a high tariff is an abolition of revenue, some other mode of taxation must be devised. What shall that mode be?

3d. But if a tariff for protection was consistent with a tariff for revenue, and both would follow the same regulation of imposts, yet would it be suicidal to commerce. For if it is true that decreased importations, by the operation of an increased duty, will pay the same revenue, yet commerce suffers; additionally from the fact, that the excluded nations would seek other buyers, and of course other markets for purchases.

4th. A high duty is a tax upon the consumer to the amount of duty paid upon the foreign article, and while it increases the price of the home made article to that of the foreign, yet in the former instance (the home made) the increased price goes into the pockets of manufacturers, and not into the treasury; therefore, if the object of protection was fully attained, of excluding the competition of foreign commodity, and supplying its place solely with home made, the seventeen millions of consumers would be extra taxed, over and above the necessary expenses of government, for the benefit of the less than eight hundred thousand engaged in manufactures and trades.

5th. Protection is injurious to manufactures. It restricts its market to home consumption, for other nations will retaliate the policy of exclusion, and if they do not, the enhanced price of our manufactures would prevent their competing with other countries; and would raise a vigorous, speculating competition at home, which would destroy the present progressive prosperity by inducing to enter the business, men without principle or fortune.

6th. Commerce is the greatest protection to manufactures, and high duties are destructive of commerce. For high duties discourage importations, induce other

nations to turn manufacturing, which before were content to purchase by exchange of raw material: encourage smuggling and other evasions of the revenue laws; cause similar restrictions upon our productions of the soil, and onerous port charges and vexatious maritime regulations.

7th. The productive policy is hostile to the prosperity and good condition of the labouring manufacturer. It is in an extended commerce, which coequally extends the field of labour, a free, untrammelled interchange of commodity with the whole universe, and the entire absence of all legislative interference or bounties, that labour will find its best reward and industry its best protection.

8th. The spirit of the age is tending toward free trade. The nations of Europe have recently become anxious inquirers into its political and social advantages. The general assimilation of custom's regulation, the mutual dependence of an unfettered intercourse, the beautiful and harmonious working of a system beyond the control of ambition or avarice, would in time bind mankind in bonds of "amity, good will, and peace," driving war and famine for ever from the world.

NOTE.—After Mr. Wood had concluded, Mr. Williams, of North Carolina, (Whig,) moved the resolution do lie upon the table; which motion, on the next morning, was put and carried, by 108 to 79.

James Pickering's Letter to the Chairman of the Senatorial Convention, District No. 1, Maine; also the several Resolutions adopted at said Convention.—

Mr. Pickering's letter and resolutions adopted as above stated, breathes the true Democratic principles, and is honourable to the granite state. We would respectfully call the particular attention of our readers to the second, eighth, and ninth resolutions; they will be found to coincide with the views expressed in the speech of the Hon. Mr. Wood, in the article preceding this.

DEAR SIR—Permit me to express my obligations to you, and through you, to the citizens of the district, for the confidence they have placed in me, by electing me their Senator to represent them in the senate of New Hampshire for two successive years. You might have called many from the district who could have served more ably, but I have endeavoured to serve you faithfully. As rotation in office is one of the principles of Democracy, the lot now falls upon another; and in the district you have many good and true men, who will have an eye to the best interests of the state, and likewise to the ruinous extra session of congress, which has left us an empty treasury, and given us in return the "Distribution Bill," alias, second edition of the "Deposit Bill," which has been a bone of contention in almost every town in this state. I had the pleasure, if not the honour, of being one of the seven who voted against the reception of the surplus revenue by this state, in the house of representatives, in 1836; and on the passage of the title of the bill moved an amendment, which would read—instead of "An act to provide for the reception of the public money of the United States which may be deposited with the state—an act to provide for the reception of the 'root of all evil'" of the United States which may be deposited with this state. I thought then it would be, and am now more fully convinced that it would have been, a more appropriate title. I would beg leave to ask the convention a few questions. Where is the eastern

speculation, which was to make every man rich by shaving his neighbour? Where are the Roban potatoes, that from one you might raise a thousand bushels in one short season? Where is the tree corn, the branches of which would extend almost to the skies and give bread to all mankind? And, fourthly, where is the modern *whig party*, with their promises and performances, which was the greatest humbug that was ever palmed upon the people, and defies all improvement in the science of humbuggery. You perhaps will all answer, were they *should be*! I never took a tour in any of those balloons excepting, to my sorrow, the eastern speculation. Many Democrats were unwillingly, and to their sorrow, drawn from the fold of Democracy; but experience has taught them a lesson which will not soon be forgotten, and they will most willingly return. Honest industry takes the palm when you estimate the wealth of a nation; and banks of the earth, instead of banks of paper, are the proper places of deposit for those who wish to receive the blessings of Providence; in them "seed-time and harvest" are promised from the hand of Him who can bountifully bestow, and whose promises are always performed. I believe that ploughshares are the best shares for the country, and they never ask for any special or partial acts of incorporation. The foundation of Democracy is as sound and as strong as ever; we had some old timber in the building, some sticks perhaps had got to be a little rotten, others worm-eaten, some probably looked to be sound, but were hollow-hearted; the modern whigs have helped us to remove these, but that was not their design; their intentions were evil, but were overruled for good; their object was to destroy the foundation, but it was laid too deep and cemented together too strong for them: all the Daniel Websters and Henry Clays this side of purgatory cannot move one block of it. The intention of the Whigs was to destroy our foundation and erect a United States Bank. I think they had better purchase a large and costly building in the city of Philadelphia, which has been recently vacated.

I fear these lines have been tedious to you, but pardon what I have said amiss, and I will trouble you no more.

So go ahead, gentlemen, and give us a stick of good sound timber, and we will erect a building on the old foundation, and rotation in office will keep it in repair a great many years.

Yours respectfully,

JAMES PICKERING.

Newington, Jan. 7, 1842.

Resolutions adopted at Senatorial Convention No. 1.

Resolved, That the Bankrupt Act passed at the late extraordinary session of congress, was a measure uncalled for by the people—retrospective, and, therefore, unconstitutional in its character—immoral in its tendencies, and will be unjust in its operation; destroying as it does the obligation of contracts, and enabling the fraudulent and dishonest debtor to evade the payment of his just debts.

Resolved, That the Land Distribution Bill of the extra session was a measure "*conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity*," designed to rob the treasury of the United States, and thus render it necessary to impose additional burdens upon the people.

Resolved, That the congress of the United States have not, constitutionally, the power to impose a tariff for the protection and benefit of manufacturers—that all attempts to tax the many for the benefit of the few

are not only unconstitutional, but highly unjust and injurious to the great mass of the community.

Resolved, That the national exchequer recommended to congress by President Tyler, is, in fact, a great government Bank, and is, therefore, obnoxious to the same objection as the establishment of a United States Bank. That its power of dealing in domestic bills and drafts would enable its agents to engage in discounts of the most objectionable character; and that its establishment, instead of benefiting the people, would exhibit the government as employed in a great national brokerage, controlling the monetary affairs, not of government merely, but of the whole country, and effectually uniting in the hands of the president, the purse and the sword!

Resolved, That the recent state elections, which have invariably resulted in the triumph of democratic principles, are fresh evidences that "sober second thought of the people is seldom wrong" and always efficient, and that it will ultimately consign federalism to the oblivion which it justly merits!

Resolved, That the numerous infamous robberies, by banking officers, fraudulent failures of banking institutions, and the severe losses sustained by the people, are sufficient evidence that the present banking system is radically defective and corrupt, and that a thorough reform of the system is absolutely necessary, and loudly and indignantly demanded by the people.

Resolved, That we approve of the nomination of the Hon. Henry Hubbard for the office of Governor, and that his manly and open avowal of sentiments upon the great question of corporate rights, immunities, and privileges, entitles him to the confidence and support of the entire Democracy of the state.

Resolved, That a protective tariff, like a National Bank, is fast running down, and the free trade advocates appear to be fast increasing. And that protection which makes every poor man give two dollars more for his coat merely for the benefit of a rich manufacturer, is not countenanced by this convention.

Resolved, That if protection has produced such mischiefs in Britain (as we see in the papers,) such as 16000 persons in the small parish of Leeds alone living upon the small pittance of 3 cents per day, who are not the wretched victims of intemperance or idleness, but mostly persons in the vigour of life; that it is time for every American statesman to pause before he gives his vote for a protective tariff, lest he should plunge New England into the same situation which we now find Old England; viz., a nation of paupers.

Resolved, That we highly approve of the letter sent to this convention by the Hon. James Pickering, Senator from this district, and we present to him our most cordial thanks for the same.

Resolved, That our delegation in congress deserve, and unanimously receive, the thanks of this convention for the dignified and able standard they have taken in congress against the odious and oppressive laws passed by the whigs. They have proved themselves worthy to represent the Granite State, which is always in the front ranks of Democracy. They are alike powerful to overthrow the sophistry of a venal secretary of the treasury, who undertakes to prove there is a national debt when there is no national debt; the whining cant that no removals from office will be made for opinion's sake and without cause, when, in fact, more removals have been made during the short term of John Tyler than in any previous term; or the virulent attack upon our state by that man who represents a constituency, whose business is a trade in "Dogs and Hoop-poles."

—*New Hampshire Gazette.*

Importance of the Mental Industry of the People in maintaining their rights, &c.

"Our only enemies are the common enemies of the people: men who, for self, would not only sacrifice their fellows, but forsake their country and forswear their God."

In our search for information calculated to elevate the producing and working classes, to maintain their equal privileges among mankind in conformity to the constitution of our country, which is, and will continue to be, the leading object of this journal, we have become possessed of several valuable publications; among them are addresses, &c., by our late (mechanic) member of congress, Ely Moore. We commence publishing selections from two addresses delivered by him to the "Trades Union" in 1833-4. Some of our hypocritical opponents may sneer at our selecting from past events; but we prefer what is valuable, even if remote, to that too often presented to the public as new, worthless as it frequently is. But we have a more powerfully directing motive than the above—that of using our best endeavours to bring forward mechanics, producers, &c.; to keep constantly before the public such of them as have contributed to elevate the labouring portion of the community, both in the national and state legislative halls, and in the private walks of life. Among them ranks Ely Moore; indeed, we may say of him, he is the working man's defender and friend.

Intellect, after all, is the lever by which the world is moved. I shall embrace this opportunity, therefore, of dwelling at some length upon the importance of cultivating it. I regard this subject of much more importance to your interests and welfare than any other which could be introduced to your consideration at this time. Were I to discourse for a month, or a year, concerning your rights and grievances—the utility and importance of your vocations—and the necessity of union—I doubt whether you would be either much wiser or better for it. You have complained long enough, in all conscience, to have discovered by this time the reason of your complaints. You feel the disadvantages under which you labour, but seem to be at a loss how to correct the evil. The true cause of your grievances appear to have escaped your notice. All the means necessary to elevate your standing, and establish your welfare upon a more secure and stable basis, are a greater confidence in, and a more liberal feeling toward, each other; and above all, a greater exercise of MENTAL INDUSTRY. I am aware that many ingenuous individuals contend, that the great body of the producing classes understand their interests perfectly, and that to assert the contrary is to slander them. If this be true, why have they complained and suffered, and suffered and complained for centuries? Or why do they suffer and complain now? They have ever possessed the numerical strength, the physical force; and had they not wanted intelligence to direct their power, is it reasonable to suppose that they would have endured all the evils that have been heaped upon them by the managing and intriguing few? It would be just as reasonable to affirm, that a man understood his wants and consulted his interests, who, with a loaf of bread and a bottle of water in his

possession, was perishing with hunger and thirst! The reason why the great majority of mankind have been held in servitude by the few, and the main cause of the disparity in the condition and circumstances of the same people, is a want of intellectual exertion—of mental industry on the part of the many. Men, in general, are habitually indolent in mind, and, sooner than exert their own understandings, would prefer to be guided by the understandings of others. Rather than task their own intellectual faculties in analyzing and investigating the laws, whether physical, moral, or political, by which they are governed, would trust to chance, and abide the consequences. So long as the great body of the people choose to be mental idlers, so long they will remain mental and bodily bondsmen—mere slaves to the more thinking and intellectual few. And unless they cultivate their understandings, and establish a system of severe mental discipline, they may complain in vain—in vain organize—in vain form unions and associations.

For proof, that a great majority of mankind are, and ever have been, mentally indolent, I would not only refer you to the follies and prevailing abuses of the day, but to the past history of the human family. Look, for a moment, at the false doctrines, the puerile theories, and monstrous absurdities that have prevailed for ages and ages, for centuries and centuries. The doctrines of Aristotle, for example, the founder of the Peripatetic school, held the world in absolute mental vassalage for more than two thousand years. And those who pretended to think at all during that period, were busied in speculations concerning occult qualities and imaginary essences; and an acquaintance with certain terms, such as formality, individuality, quiddity, infinity, intention and remission, proportion and degree, with other equally unmeaning and abstract notions, constituted the philosophy of former ages. The potency of Aristotle's opinions were not only felt and acknowledged by the heathen world, but even by Christians, Jews, and Mahometans. Not only Europe, but Africa and Asia bowed to his notions and acknowledged his sway. Indeed, such was the influence—I had almost said, such was the omnipotency of the Aristotelian subtleties over the minds of men—that even the thunders of the Vatican, awful as they were at that period, failed to impede their dissemination; and the dialectics, physics, and metaphysics of the Stagyrte were introduced into the university of Paris, by statute, the decree of Pope Innocent to the contrary notwithstanding. During the reign of Francis the First it was made a punishable offence to question the infallibility of the Aristotelian doctrines. And, in fact, in many of the universities of Europe it was made obligatory by law to follow Aristotle as the only guide! What a comment upon the wisdom and sagacity of man! What a melancholy evidence of the credulity, apathy, and indolency of the human mind! The ingenious nonsense of one individual befooled the world for generations and generations; and had not Bacon lived, the wand of the enchanter, perchance, had still retained its magic. But the philosophy of reason and common sense, as laid down by Lord Bacon in his *Novum Organum*, overthrew, at once and for ever, the fanciful theories, the chimerical systems, and sublimated follies of the Scholastics. Yet such is the mental indolency of man, that I question whether there be one out of fifty, even among those who make pretensions to literature and science, that are thoroughly and practically acquainted with the inductive or experimental system of philosophy—or with any other system, for that matter.

The Ptolemaic system of astronomy, which mistook

the apparent motions of the heavenly bodies for the real ones, and supposed the whole universe to be carried round the earth once in every twenty-four hours, was recognised and acknowledged, by even the learned, for ages. During the period which this system obtained, the most visionary notions were regarded by mankind as astronomical and philosophical truths; and those who could discourse of centrics and excentrics—of cycles, epicycles, and chrysaline orbs, were supposed to be acquainted with the theory of the solar system, and, accordingly, dubbed astronomers. But at length a thinker, a reasoner, the immortal Copernicus, came upon the stage, and the ancient hypothesis was exploded, and the sublime science of astronomy established upon the only true and infallible basis—demonstration. But, alas! for the indolency of the human mind, not one in ten, even among those who are considered well informed, are conversant with either the Ptolemaean or Copernican system of astronomy. Not only in philosophy and the sciences, but also in the policy of nations, and in the laws and institutions of state, have the great mass of mankind exhibited a fatal lethargy—a culpable supineness of mind; and most grievously have they suffered for their folly. While one set of politicians were amusing the people, by attempting to prove that the only true foundation of government was an original contract, incapable of revision or amendment, and in which it was stipulated to surrender to a certain line or family of princes the rule of the state, and that this covenant was necessarily and perpetually binding, always subjecting the majority to the will and control of the minority; another class, but whose principles were equally inimical to the interests of the people, were contending that “divine right,” or “legitimacy,” was the only true foundation. This doctrine of the divine right held that the warrant by which the king and his hereditary counsellors rule the state, was no less than the will of God, and, consequently, that resistance to the sovereign on the part of the people was not only unlawful, but sacrilegious: and such was the blind infatuation of the people, that in the strife of the contending parties they lost sight of the fact, that, let which would triumph, their situation would remain the same—that coercion was the real foundation of either system—and that both recognised them as mere subjects and vassals. Mankind, almost universally, have lived and died ignorant of the fact, that the only righteous system of government was that which was founded upon the will of the majority, and administered by persons freely chosen by the people. And when the immortal Jefferson declared that “all men were born free and equal,” man began to sigh over his long lost rights; was astonished that he had never discovered the important truth before; marvelled that the world had slumbered so long and so profoundly over its privileges, its interests, and its immunities—and was surprised that the discovery had never been made before, that the majority should govern, and that the people were the only rightful sovereigns!

What a humiliating picture of man's stupidity and mental degradation does this one circumstance present! What a comment on the pride and wisdom of this God-like being—“this destined heir of immortality!” And where lies the fault? with man's creator? Not so—no, not so; but with the creature. Man alone is culpable. A neglect to exercise the faculties which God has given him is the cause of all his wrongs—of all his misfortunes—of all the difficulties and disasters that beset him through life.

What can be more humiliating to the philosopher,

or discouraging to the philanthropist, than the reflection that a majority of mankind rather seek to kill time than improve it! It is generally those who need instruction most that strive least to obtain it; and hence the more ignorant a man is, the less does he appreciate the value and importance of the winged hours. Who, that is acquainted with the delights of knowledge, with the value of reflection, and the charms of contemplation, but must hear with deep regret those who have never endeavoured to profit by the past, complaining of the tardiness of time and sighing for the future? And why should man seek to pass his time in idleness, or in vain and unprofitable pursuits? Why neglect to cultivate the mental faculties which God has given him? He can plead no excuse in extenuation. Neither nature nor circumstances can furnish him with a sufficient apology for such delinquency. If deprived of the advantages of an early education, the more anxious and industrious should he be to obtain one. And if so fortunate as to have acquired more information than his neighbours, the more liberal he should be in the dispensation of his knowledge. Placed in a world rife with interest, replete with curious varieties, and pregnant with unexplored phenomena, man is urged by every motive, by every inducement, to acquaint himself, as far as possible, with the nature and designs of that creation of which he forms so interesting and important a feature. He is called upon by every consideration to devote his time and his energies to the ascertainment and development of those truths, whether physical, political or moral, which concern the welfare of man: and he who neglects to perform those duties, contravenes, as far as in him lies, the purposes of his creation.

A blind veneration for antiquity, originating in the credulity and indolence of the human mind, is one great source of error and ignorance. Men find less trouble and labour in adopting the opinions of others, than in investigating and forming opinions of their own; and hence their willingness to follow in the footsteps of their ancestors. So long as men act upon the principle, that the antiquity of an opinion, or the universality with which it has been received, is an indubitable evidence of its truth, so long will they maintain and propagate error and falsehood. Would men but reflect, that the indolent and ignorant have ever outnumbered the reasoning and intellectual; and that the more ancient an opinion, the nearer it approaches to the legendary and fabulous times, they would not so readily estimate its worth by the number of votaries or the antiquity of its existence. Shall I be told, that but comparatively few are capable of becoming habitual thinkers and correct reasoners—that nature has withheld her intellectual gifts from the great majority of her children, and decided that they should be governed and controlled by a chosen and favoured few? Let no man so far presume to question the justice and goodness of the Universal Parent. I am aware, however, that there exists a disparity in the minds and capacities of men; and I am also aware that that disparity arises in a great degree from the volition of the creature. Such is the habitual negligence of men, and so prone are they to trifles, that a majority of them feel a deeper interest in the displays of necromancy, than in the *demonstrations of philosophy*; and would listen with greater attention to the ravings of a fanatic or the pratings of a parrot, than to the thunders of Simia or a voice from heaven. And why this abuse of reason, the poverty of mind and dereliction of thought? Does the cause necessarily exist in man's nature and constitution? By no means—but in his habits and his will. The major-

ity of distinguished individuals owe their elevation to the moral qualities, rather than to native superiority of intellect. The truth of this position is strikingly exemplified in the life and achievements of Carsten Niebuhr. Born a peasant in a remote corner of an obscure province, far removed from all the facilities of acquiring information—poor and an orphan—gifted but moderately by nature—with a memory not remarkably retentive, and his ability of acquiring knowledge the most common—yet, notwithstanding all these unpropitious circumstances, he became, by dint of perseverance and indefatigable industry, one of the most distinguished men of his age. His memory will survive and flourish—be honoured and revered while science has a friend or virtue an admirer.

Of what benefit would the native genius of a Newton or a Leibnitz have been to themselves, or to the world, without the aid of method and mental industry? Not by intuition, but by the deductions of reason, was the latter enabled to discover the order of fluxions, or the differential calculus—and the former, the laws of universal gravitation. It was industry and mental discipline that enabled the immortal Tully to sustain for a season the fortunes of degenerate and sinking Rome—that enabled Napoleon to control the destinies of Europe—and Franklin to follow nature to her hiding place, and pluck the master-secret from her bosom.

All men, when their jealousies and prejudices are quiescent, admire genius, and willingly do homage to intellectual greatness—nay, regard the master spirits of intelligence as being almost superhuman; and hence the ancients deified their sages and benefactors—and hence the moderns speak of Plato as the divine; of Gallileo and Kepler—of La Grange and La Place—of Milton and Shakspeare—of Jefferson and Franklin, as “the immortal.” And is it not extraordinary that men should idolize qualities in others, which they neglect to cultivate in themselves? Is it not strange that the love of mental ease should so often, nay, so generally, triumph over all the aspirations of a generous ambition—over every impulse, every desire for intellectual eminence?

Most men are willing to admit (and feel a secret pride in the admission) that, when God said “let us make man in our own image,” he meant that the resemblance should consist in the intellectual character and qualifications of man. Admitting the correctness of this interpretation, it follows that, in proportion as we advance in knowledge, in that ratio do we approximate to the character and likeness of our Creator. And of consequence, as we remain stationary or retrograde, do we assimilate to the brutes that perish. There are none but would startle with horror at the reflection, that they resembled in form and face the ape or the elephant; and yet, strange and paradoxical as it may appear, the majority of mankind, rather than task their mental powers, would prefer to live and die resembling in mind and habits the ox and the ass. Be stimulated, then, my friends, by the reflection, that every acquisition of knowledge, if properly applied, elevates your character, augments your happiness, and increases and strengthens your resemblance to your Creator. I would not have you understand, however, that the mere acquisition of knowledge, or what is generally called an education, is sufficient to render you either wise or virtuous. Man is too apt to learn mechanically; and his knowledge, when mechanical, is of but little more service or utility to him than is the faculty of articulating certain words to the parrot or the jackdaw. Without severe mental training, and an assiduous cultivation of the just powers of thought, and the gene-

ral but strict regulation of the faculties of the mind, the great purposes of education are seldom, if ever, accomplished. He who has treasured up much information, regardless of system or method, is admirably described in the following couplet, by England's greatest didactic poet :

"A bookful blockhead—ignorantly read,
With loads of learned lumber in his head.

The value of our acquirements depends not so much upon their extent or variety, as upon the manner and capacity with which they are applied. When men learn how to think, they soon begin to think correctly. No precocity of genius—no expansion of native intellect—no acquisitions of knowledge, can render men wise and useful, without they know how to direct their powers and use their wisdom. How strong the propriety, then—nay, how imperative the duty, especially in a government like ours, where the public voice is omnipotent; where the destinies of the republic are committed to the hands of its citizens; where government is a deposit intrusted alike to all, and where all are accountable for the administration of its affairs—that all should be acquainted with its character and genius, and capable of investigating the causes that may secure its stability or accelerate its destruction. Our freedom, be it remembered, is not the prize of our winning—not the fruit of our own procuring. No; we stand in the attitude of passive recipients—mere inheritors of the boon: and, without eternal vigilance on our parts, that which was achieved for us by heroic sires will be wrested from us by usurpers and political marauders. Our only security consists in the general dissemination of intelligence, and especially of political intelligence. Political knowledge and political servitude are utterly incompatible. The existence of the one pre-supposes the destruction of the other. Where the one begins the other ends.

The importance of the useful Arts to Society and Republican Governments not unfavourable to the cultivation of the Fine Arts.—The following selections are from an address delivered by Ely Moore before the Trades' Union, at the Chatham-street Chapel, December, 1833.

The importance of the useful arts to society.—"You will not regard it as ill-timed, nor irrelevant to the present occasion, my friends, should I invite your attention for a moment to the important bearing which the useful arts have upon the welfare of society. In order to estimate their importance correctly, it is necessary to contemplate the condition of man as we find him in a state of nature, where the arts are unknown, and where the lights of civilization have never dawned upon his path. Wherever man is thus situated, we find him a creature of blind impulse, of passion, and of instinct—of grovelling hopes and low desires; and his wants, like those of the brute, supplied only by the spontaneous productions of nature—his only covering a scanty supply of hair—his food the acorn and the loathsome insect—the cavern his dwelling, the earth his couch, and the rock his pillow! The superiority of man's condition, therefore, over that of other animals is attributable solely to the influence of the mechanic arts. Without their aid, the native powers of his mind, however great, could never have been developed; and the physical sciences, which he has been enabled to master, in a state of civilization, would have still been numbered among the secrets of nature. What progress, for example, could he have made in the science of astron-

omy, without the aid of the telescope? In chemistry, without the retort and receiver? In anatomy and surgery, without the knife and the tourniquet? In agriculture, without the hoe and the mattock, the spade and the plough, the scythe and the pruning hook?

"Contrast *civilized* with *savage* man. Compare, for example, the Boschmen of Southern Africa, whose chief supply of food consists of the locust and the ant; or the Esquimaux, who feast and fatten upon train oil and seals' blubber, with the inhabitants of those countries where the useful arts are known and cultivated, and you will be enabled to estimate more correctly their influence upon the welfare of man. The condition of the Esquimaux, although wretched and degraded, is far preferable to that of the Boschman. Physiologists tell us that their physical structures and capacities are about the same. The comparative elevation, therefore, of the one is ascribable directly to the fact of the arts having been partially introduced among them. The Esquimaux has been taught to construct the boat, to stoke the bow, and to fashion the spear. But the Boschmen are utterly ignorant of the arts, and, consequently, strangers to civilization and improvement; their moral and intellectual features, therefore, have been the same through the succession of ages and the lapse of centuries! No improvement—no melioration in their condition has taken place; but, through the transition of generations, sires and sons have lived and died alike degraded!

"Various philosophers have attributed the difference which exists between nations to various causes. Hippocrates, for example, with regard to the Scythians; and Strabo, as respecting the Medes and Armenians, took it for granted, that *climate* alone causes the *distinctions* or *similitudes*, whether *physical* or *moral*, which characterize various people. This ancient hypothesis has been adopted, to the full extent, by thousands, notwithstanding its manifest absurdity. La Mothe adopted the puerile and chimerical theory of natural *sympathies* and *antipathies*, and contended that to their influence was ascribable the difference which distinguishes one nation from another. While Bayle, with much more propriety and truth, attributed those differences to political interests and institutions of state. That climate and government exert great influence over the character and conduct of man, and create striking national distinctions, is admitted. It is a combination of those two causes which makes the Frenchman loquacious, gay, volatile; the Spaniard, taciturn, staid, and solemn; the Ottoman, dull, languid, and listless; the German, hardy, diligent, and contemplative. But, however opposite and distinctive the habits and principles which the influence of climate and government may generate, and however those causes operate upon the character and condition of man, yet they affect his happiness and welfare but remotely and partially indeed, when compared with the influence exercised by the mechanic arts. For, although men of different nations may be opposed in fundamental opinions, and the elements of their thoughts and actions be at variance, yet, where the arts are practised, man is *civilized*, and, therefore, comparatively blessed; but where the arts are unknown—no matter what be the climate, the form of government, or the circumstances that surround him—man is a *savage*, and degraded to the level of the brute that resembles him in form and in habits. Civilized man, therefore, is *what he is*, by means of the mechanic arts.

"Who were the pioneers of the West? What class of society prepared the way for the agriculturist, the merchant, and the professional man? Were they not artificers? Was not the forest made to bow beneath the stroke of the *axe*? the stubborn glebe to yield to the

hoe and the *ploughshare*? Was not the harvest gathered with the *rake* and the *reaping hook*? the grain converted into flour by the *mill* or the *mortar*? and the raw material into fabrics by the *wheel* and the *loom*, and fashioned into garments with the *shears* and the *needle*? The game of the forest and of the prairie secured with the *trap* and the *rifle*? The habitation erected by means of the *trowel*, the *hammer*, and the *saw*? Unquestionably, without the agency of the arts, the adventurer must have returned disappointed, or perished in the enterprise. Place man, without a knowledge of the arts and their uses, in a country with a rigid climate, a stubborn and ungrateful soil, and want, starvation, and death must be his destiny. No country can be cleared or settled, nor colony founded, without the aid of the mechanic arts. First settlers, therefore, are as much dependant upon the useful arts for their subsistence, comfort, and welfare, as are the plants of the field, for their life and growth, upon the light of the sun and the dews of heaven!"

"In order to be convinced of the blessings conferred upon society by means of the useful arts, we have only to look around us for a moment. But, like all blessings familiar to us, they are not properly appreciated; and the services of those who practice them, like the services of all common benefactors, are vastly underrated. It is not my intention, as I have already intimated, to go into detail, or to attempt a comparison between the relative merits, or rather utility, of the various arts practised among us. Such a course would be neither gratifying, instructive, nor ingenuous. I will briefly allude, however, to some of those modern inventions and discoveries in mechanical philosophy, which I conceive to be of the greatest importance to the world.

"The *art of printing* has, perhaps, contributed more essentially to the welfare of mankind, to the advancement of society, and to the promotion and diffusion of political, physical, and ethical truths, than all the arts besides. It is, in fact, an art that is '*preservative of all arts*.' Wherever it is known and encouraged, the progressive improvement of society is certain, and the march of mind secure and unembarrassed. But where the press has never shed its light nor dispensed its intellectual treasures, the night of ignorance and the gloom of superstition rest upon the soul, and obscure the intellect of man; and should it be struck from existence, with its rich treasures of instruction, the world, ere long, would be merged in night and barbarism."

"The *steam engine* next takes rank in point of importance. Its effects on the condition of society are of incalculable importance. In almost every branch of the arts it is hailed as an auxiliary. Its application to nautical purposes is of greater utility, and of deeper concernment to the world than the world at present imagines. It is an agent, whose power and influence will be most beneficially felt in contributing toward the preservation of the American Union, by overcoming those physical barriers that have isolated one section of our country from the other. By means of its power space is annihilated, and the inhabitants from the extremes of the Union are now brought into frequent and friendly intercourse. Let it be borne in mind, however, that neither the printing press, nor the mariner's compass, nor the steam engine could have been produced without the aid of the common mechanic. The toil and skill of the artificers in wood, and iron, and steel were requisite to their completion. The square and the compass, the axe and the plane, the hammer and the anvil, were all indispensable to their production."

Republican Governments not unfavourable to the cultivation of the Fine Arts.—"I am aware we shall

be told that republican governments are unpropitious to cultivation and encouragement of the arts—especially the fine arts. This has long been a fashionable doctrine; but it is as false as fashionable. It is a libel on popular governments. When we demand the evidence, we are confidently pointed to the page of history, and referred to the patronage and facilities afforded to artists by arbitrary governments—to the munificent pensions and donations granted by the Ptolemies of Egypt—the Augustuses of Rome, and the Louises of France. Well, I am quite willing that history should decide the question—that it should be the sole arbiter in the case. In what part of the world, then, at what period, and under what form of government did the elegant and useful arts first spring up and *flourish most*? Was it on the borders of the Nile, or the banks of the Euphrates—or under the Memphian or Babylonian despots? Not so—no, not so. But on the barren soil of Attica, the land of Codrus and of Miltiades—within the stormy republics of Greece!

"When we inquire what discoveries and progress were made in the arts by the millions and millions of thinking beings that lived and died anterior to the era of Grecian liberty, we are referred to the pyramids of Memphis, to the 'Tower on Shinar's Plain,' and to the temples of Thebes—*Monuments of folly all!*

"We date the decline of the arts in Greece from the decline of her liberty. For the proof, we invite you to compare the state of the arts of the Alexandrian with that of the Periclean age. When we come down to the Augustan age—the proud era of Mæcenas—'tis *imitation all*. Not an artist stands forth in the conscious pride of originality. All—all are content to *copy the Grecian masters*. It is true the fine arts experienced a partial resuscitation under the princes of the Flavian house, but with *them* expired the arts of Rome; and when Constantine the Great wished to adorn an arch at Byzantium, he was obliged to tear down one of Trajan's, at Rome, for sculptures. But we are not confined to ancient history alone for proofs and illustrations. The history of our own country, and within the last half century, has furnished ample testimony, that not only mechanical genius, but the intellectual powers generally, are more universally developed in *free* than in despotic governments. Where is the nation that can point to such illustrious names in war—in eloquence—in philosophy—in astronomy—in mechanics, and in painting, as those of Washington, and Henry, and Franklin, and Rittenhouse, and Fulton, and West?

"The greatest efforts of the human mind have ever been made under the auspices of free governments. The patronage of the Macedonian, Alexandrian, and Pergamean princes was unable to arouse in their subjects the intellectual energies that characterized the citizens of Athens in the days of her '*fiere democracy*.' The fact is, a nation's freedom and its genius *rise and fall together*. And so with regard to the arts. They are fostered and cultivated in proportion as the government is free, and the people enlightened and happy. But when liberty declines, the arts decline with her, and they inevitably sink into one common grave!

"So far from the government under which we live being unfavourable to our interests as artists and mechanics, it is in every respect *most propitious*! There never was a land under heaven where the intellectual powers of man had so fine a field and such fair play as they have in our own country and in our own times. If our march, therefore, is not *onward* to honour, competency, and *fame*, the fault is all our own."

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC GUIDE.

 EQUAL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES ARE ALL THE PEOPLE ASK FOR.

The blessings of Government, like the dews of Heaven, should be dispensed alike on high and low, the rich and the poor. JACKSON.

The privilege of self-government is one which the people will never be permitted to enjoy unmolested. Power and wealth are continually stealing from the many to the few. WILLIAM LEGGETT.

Vol. I.

APRIL, 1842.

No. VI.

The Annual Message of President Tyler to both Houses of Congress, December, 1840, accompanied with a few observations by the Editors.

—In our December number, 1841, we gave the leading national topics in Ex-President Van Buren's Annual Message to the two Houses of Congress, December, 1840. The selections which we published from said Message, embrace a brief sketch of the national state of our country, both foreign and domestic, with a view that the readers of this journal may form an idea of the *changes* in our National affairs since Mr. Van Buren retired to his farm at Kinderhook. We republish President Tyler's Message entire.

It is our intention to give a copious analysis of the proceedings of the present session of Congress with as little delay as possible after that distinguished body shall have retired to their homes. In doing this, we will endeavor to give a faithful picture of the Federal Whig administration under the command of "Captain Tyler," and compare it with the administration of New York's Favorite Son.

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To the Senate and House of Representatives
of the United States:

In coming together, fellow citizens, to enter again upon the discharge of the duties with which the People have charged us, severally, we find great occasion to rejoice in the general prosperity of the country. We are in the enjoyment of all the blessings of civil and religious liberty, with unexampled means of education, knowledge and improvement. Through the year which is now drawing to a close, peace has been in our borders, and plenty in our habitations; and although disease has visited some few portions of our land with distress and mortality, yet in general the health of the people has been preserved, and we are called upon, by the highest obligations of duty, to renew our thanks and our devotion to our Heavenly Parent, who has continued to vouchsafe to us the eminent blessings which surround us, who has so signally crowned the year with his goodness. If we find ourselves increasing, beyond example, in numbers, in strength, in wealth, in knowledge, in every thing which promotes human and social happiness, let us ever remember our

dependence, for all these, on the protection and merciful dispensations of Divine Providence.

Since your last adjournment, Alexander McLeod, a British subject, who was indicted for the murder of an American citizen, and whose case has been the subject of a correspondence heretofore communicated to you, has been acquitted by the verdict of an impartial and intelligent jury, and has, under the judgment of the Court, been regularly discharged.

Great Britain having made known to this Government that the expedition which was fitted out from Canada for the destruction of the steamboat *Caroline*, in the winter of 1837, and which resulted in the destruction of said boat, and in the death of an American citizen, was undertaken by orders emanating from the authorities of the British Government, in Canada, and demanding the discharge of McLeod, upon the ground that, if engaged in that expedition, he did but fulfil the orders of his Government, has thus been answered in the only way in which she could be answered by a Government, the powers of which are distributed among its several departments by the fundamental law. Happily for the people of Great Britain, as well as those of the United States, the only mode by which an individual, arraigned for a criminal offence before the courts of either, can obtain his discharge, is by the independent action of the judiciary, and by proceedings equally familiar to the courts of both countries.

If in Great Britain a power exists in the Crown to cause to be entered a *nolle prosequi*, which is not the case with the executive power of the United States upon a prosecution pending in a state court; yet there, no more than here, can the chief executive power rescue a prisoner from custody without an order of the proper tribunal directing his discharge. The precise stage of the proceedings at which such order may be made, is a matter of municipal regulation exclusively, and not to be complained of by any other government. In cases of this kind, a government becomes politically responsible only when its tribunals of last resort are shown to have rendered unjust and injurious judgments in matters not doubtful. To the establishment and elucidation of this principle, no nation has lent its authority more efficiently than Great Britain. Alexander McLeod having his option either to prosecute a writ of error from the decision of the Supreme Court of New York, which had been rendered upon an application for his discharge, to the Supreme Court of the United States, or to submit his case to the decision of a

jury, preferred the latter, deeming it the readiest mode of obtaining his liberation, and the result has fully sustained the wisdom of his choice.

The manner in which the issue submitted was tried, will satisfy the English Government that the principles of justice will never fail to govern the enlightened decision of an American tribunal. I cannot fail, however, to suggest to the Congress the propriety, and, in some degree, the necessity of making such provisions by law, so far as they may do so, for the removal at their commencement, and at the option of the party, of all such cases as may hereafter arise, and which may involve the faithful observance and execution of our international obligations, from the State to the Federal Judiciary. This Government, by our institutions, is charged with the maintenance of peace and the preservation of amicable relations with the nations of the earth, and ought to possess, without question, all the reasonable and proper means of maintaining the one and preserving the other. Whilst just confidence is felt in the Judiciary of the States, yet this Government ought to be competent in itself for the fulfilment of the high duties which have been devolved upon it under the organic law, by the States themselves.

In the month of September, a party of armed men from Upper Canada invaded the territory of the United States, and forcibly seized upon the person of one Grogan, and, under circumstances of great harshness, hurriedly carried him beyond the limits of the United States, and delivered him up to the authorities of Upper Canada. His immediate discharge was ordered by those authorities, upon the facts of the case being brought to their knowledge—a course of procedure which was to have been expected from a nation with whom we are at peace, and which was not more due to the rights of these United States, than to its own regard for justice. The correspondence which has passed between the department of State and the British Envoy, Mr. Fox, and with the Governor of Vermont, as soon as the facts had been made known to this Department, are herewith communicated.

I regret that it is not in my power to make known to you an equally satisfactory conclusion in the case of the *Caroline* steamer, with the circumstances connected with the destruction of which, in December, 1837, by an armed force fitted out in the Province of Upper Canada, you are already made acquainted. No such atonement as was due from the public wrong done to the United States by this invasion of her territory, so wholly irreconcilable with her rights as an independent power, has yet been made. In the view taken by this Government, the inquiry whether the vessel was in the employment of those who were prosecuting an unauthorized war against that Province, or was engaged by the owner in the business of transporting passengers to and from Navy Island, in hopes of private gain, which was most probably the case, in no degree alters the real question at issue between the two Governments.

This Government can never concede to any foreign Government the power, except in a case of the most urgent and extreme necessity, of invading its territory, either to arrest the persons or destroy the property of those who may have violated the municipal laws of such foreign Government, or have disregarded their obligations arising

under the law of nations. The territory of the United States must be regarded as sacredly secure against all such invasions, until they shall voluntarily acknowledge their inability to acquit themselves of their duties to others. And in announcing this sentiment, I do but affirm a principle which no nation on earth would be more ready to vindicate, at all hazards, than the people and Government of Great Britain.

If, upon a full investigation of the facts, it shall appear that the owner of the *Caroline* was governed by a hostile intent, or had made common cause with those who were in the occupancy of Navy Island, then, so far as he is concerned, there can be no claim to indemnity for the destruction of his boat, which this Government would feel itself bound to prosecute—since he would have acted not only in derogation of the rights of Great Britain, but in clear violation of the laws of the United States; but that is a question which, however settled, in no manner involves the higher consideration of the violation of territorial sovereignty and jurisdiction. To recognise it as an admissible practice that each government, in its turn, upon any sudden and unauthorized outbreak, which, on a frontier, the extent of which renders it impossible for either to have an efficient force on every mile of it, and which outbreak, therefore, neither may be able to suppress in a day, may take vengeance into its own hands, and without even a remonstrance, and in the absence of any pressing or overruling necessity, may invade the territory of the other, would inevitably lead to results equally to be deplored to both.

When border collisions come to receive the sanction, or to be made on the authority of either Government, general war must be the inevitable result. While it is the ardent desire of the United States to cultivate the relations of peace with all nations, and to fulfil all the duties of good neighborhood towards those who possess territories adjoining their own, that very desire would lead them to deny the right of any foreign power to invade their boundary with an armed force. The correspondence between the two Governments on this subject will, at a future day of your session, be submitted to your consideration; and, in the mean time, I cannot but indulge the hope that the British Government will see the propriety of renouncing, as a rule of future action, the precedent which has been set in the affair at Schlosser.

I herewith submit the correspondence which has recently taken place between the American Minister at the Court of St. James, Mr. Stevenson, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of that Government, on the right claimed by that Government to visit and detain vessels sailing under the American flag, and engaged in prosecuting lawful commerce in the African seas. Our commercial interests in that region have experienced considerable increase, and become an object of much importance, and it is the duty of this Government to protect them against all improper and vexatious interruption. However desirous the United States may be for the suppression of the slave trade, they cannot consent to interpolations into the maritime code, at the mere will and pleasure of other Governments. We deny the right of any such interpolation to any one, or all the nations of the Earth, without our consent.

We claim to have a voice in all amendments or alterations of that code—and when we are given to understand, as in this instance, by a foreign Government, that its treaties with other nations cannot be executed without the establishment and enforcement of new principles of maritime police, to be applied without our consent, we must employ a language neither of equivocal import, nor susceptible of misconstruction. American citizens prosecuting a lawful commerce in the African seas, under the flag of their country, are not responsible for the abuse or unlawful use of that flag by others; nor can they, on account of any such alleged abuses, be interrupted, molested or detained while on the ocean; and if thus molested and detained, while pursuing honest voyages, in the usual way, and violating no law themselves, they are unquestionably entitled to indemnity. This Government has manifested its repugnance to the slave trade, in a manner which cannot be misunderstood.

By its fundamental law, it prescribed limits in point of time to its continuance; and against its own citizens who might so far forget the rights of humanity as to engage in that inhuman traffic, it has long since, by its municipal laws, denounced the most condign punishment. Many of the States composing this Union, had made appeals to the civilized world for its suppression, long before the moral sense of other nations had become shocked by the iniquities of the traffic. Whether this Government should now enter into treaties containing mutual stipulations upon this subject, is a question for its mature deliberation. Certain it is, that if the right to detain American ships on the high seas can be justified on the plea of a necessity for such detention arising out of the existence of treaties between other nations, the same plea may be extended and enlarged by the new stipulations of new treaties, to which the United States may not be a party. This Government will not cease to urge upon that of Great Britain, full and ample remuneration for all losses, whether arising from detention or otherwise, to which American citizens have heretofore been, or may hereafter be subjected, by the exercise of rights which this Government cannot recognize as legitimate and proper.

Nor will I indulge a doubt but that the sense of justice of Great Britain will constrain her to make retribution for any wrong, or loss, which any American citizen, engaged in the prosecution of lawful commerce, may have experienced at the hand of her cruisers or other public authorities. This Government, at the same time, will relax no effort to prevent its citizens, if there be any so disposed, from prosecuting a traffic so revolting to the feelings of humanity. It seeks to do no more than protect the fair and honest trader from molestation and injury; but while the enterprising mariner, engaged in the pursuit of an honorable trade, is entitled to its protection, it will visit with condign punishment others of an opposite character.

I invite your attention to existing laws for the suppression of the African slave trade, and recommend all such alterations as may give to them greater power and efficacy. That the American flag is greatly abused by the abandoned and profligate of other nations, is but too probable. Congress has, not long since, had this subject under

its consideration—and its importance well justifies renewed and anxious attention.

I also communicate herewith the copy of a correspondence between Mr. Stevenson and Lord Palmerston, upon the subject so interesting to several of the Southern States—of the rice duties—which resulted so honorably to the justice of Great Britain, and advantageously to the United States.

At the opening of the last annual session, the President informed Congress of the progress which had then been made in negotiating a convention between this Government and that of England, with a view to the final settlement of the question of the boundary between the territorial limits of the two countries. I regret to say that little further advancement of the object has been accomplished since last year; but this is owing to circumstances no way indicative of any abatement of both parties to hasten the negotiation to its conclusion, and to settle the question in dispute as early as possible. In the course of the session, it is my hope to be able to announce some further degree of progress towards the accomplishment of this highly desirable end.

The commission appointed by this Government for the exploration and survey of the line of boundary separating the States of Maine and New Hampshire from the conterminous British Provinces is, it is believed, about to close its field of labors, and expected soon to report the results of its examinations at the Department of State. The report, when received, will be laid before Congress.

The failure on the part of Spain, to pay, with punctuality, the interest due under the Convention of 1834, for the settlement of claims between the two countries, has made it the duty of the Executive to call the especial attention of that Government to the subject. A disposition has been manifested by it, which is believed to be entirely sincere, to fulfil its obligations, in this respect, so soon as its internal condition and the state of its finances will permit. An arrangement is in progress, from the result of which, it is trusted that those of our citizens who have claims under the Convention, will, at no distant day, receive the stipulated payments.

A Treaty of Commerce and Navigation with Belgium was concluded and signed at Washington on the 29th March, 1840, and was duly sanctioned by the Senate of the United States. The Treaty was ratified by his Belgian Majesty, but did not receive the approbation of the Belgian Chambers within the time limited by its terms, and has, therefore, become void.

This occurrence assumes the graver aspect, from the consideration that, in 1833, a Treaty negotiated between the two Governments, and ratified on the part of the United States, failed to be ratified on the part of Belgium. The Representative of that Government, at Washington, informs the Department of State that he has been instructed to give explanations of the causes which occasioned delay in the approval of the late Treaty by the Legislature, and to express the regret of the King at the occurrence.

The joint commission under the convention with Texas, to ascertain the true boundary between the two countries, has concluded its labors; but the final report of the commissioner of the

United States has not been received. It is understood that the meridian line, as traced by the commission, lies somewhat farther East than the position hitherto assigned to it, and, consequently, includes in Texas some part of the territory which had been considered as belonging to the States of Louisiana and Arkansas.

The United States cannot but take a deep interest in whatever relates to this young but growing Republic. Settled principally by emigrants from the United States, we have the happiness to know, that the principles of civil liberty are there destined to flourish, under wise institutions and wholesome laws; and that, through its example, another evidence is to be afforded of the capacity of popular institutions to advance the prosperity, happiness, and permanent glory of the human race.

The great truth, that government was made for the people, and not the people for government, has already been established in the practice and by the example of these United States; and we can do no other than contemplate its further exemplification by a sister Republic, with the deepest interest.

Our relations with the independent States of this hemisphere, formerly under the dominion of Spain, have not undergone any material change within the past year. The incessant sanguinary conflicts in or between those countries, are to be greatly deplored, as necessarily tending to disable them from performing their duties as members of the community of nations, and rising to the destiny which the position and natural resources of many of them might lead them justly to anticipate, as constantly giving occasion also, directly or indirectly, for complaints on the part of our citizens, who resort thither for purposes of commercial intercourse, and as retarding reparation for wrongs already committed, some of which are by no means of recent date.

The failure of the Congress of Ecuador to hold a session at the time appointed for that purpose, in January last, will probably render abortive a treaty of commerce with that Republic, which was signed at Quito on the 13th of June, 1839, and had been duly ratified on our part, prior to its ratification by the Ecuadorian Executive.

A Convention which has been concluded with the Republic of Peru, providing for the settlement of certain claims of citizens of the United States upon the Government of that Republic, will be duly submitted to the Senate.

The claims of our citizens against the Brazilian Government, originating from captures and other causes, are still unsatisfied. The United States have, however, so uniformly shown a disposition to cultivate relations of amity with that Empire, that it is hoped, the unequivocal tokens of the same spirit towards us, which an adjustment of the affairs referred to would afford, will be given without further avoidable delay.

The war with the Indian tribes on the peninsula of Florida, has, during the last summer and fall, been prosecuted with untiring activity and zeal. A summer campaign was resolved upon as the best means of bringing it to a close. Our brave officers and men who have been engaged in that service, have suffered toils and privations, and exhibited an energy which, in any other war, would have won for them unfading laurels. In despite of the sickness incident to the climate,

they have penetrated the fastnesses of the Indians, broken up their encampments, and harassed them unceasingly.

Numbers have been captured, and still greater numbers have surrendered, and have been transported to join their brethren on the lands elsewhere allotted to them by the Government—and a strong hope is entertained that, under the conduct of the gallant officer at the head of the troops in Florida, that expensive and troublesome war is destined to a speedy termination. With all the other Indian tribes we are enjoying the blessings of peace. Our duty, as well as our best interests, prompt us to observe, in all our intercourse with them, fidelity in fulfilling our engagements, the practice of strict justice, as well as the constant exercise of acts of benevolence and kindness. These are the great instruments of civilization, and through the use of them alone, can the untutored child of the forest be induced to listen to its teachings.

The Secretary of State, on whom the acts of Congress have devolved the duty of directing the proceedings for the taking of the Sixth Census, or enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States, will report to the two Houses the progress of that work.

The enumeration of persons has been completed, and exhibits a grand total of 17,069,453—making an increase over the Census of 1830 of 4,202,646 inhabitants, and showing a gain in a ratio exceeding 32½ per cent. for the last ten years.

From the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, you will be informed of the condition of the finances. The balance in the Treasury on the first of January last, as stated in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, submitted to Congress at the Extra Session, was \$997,345 03. The receipts into the Treasury during the first three quarters of this year, from all sources, amount to \$23,467,052 52. The estimated receipts for the fourth quarter amount to \$6,943,095 25, amounting to \$30,410,167 77; and making, with the balance in the Treasury, on the first of January last, \$31,297,513 80. The expenditures for the first three quarters of this year amount to \$24,734,346 97. The expenditures for the fourth quarter, as estimated, will amount to \$7,290,723 73—thus making a total of \$32,025,070; and leaving a deficit to be provided for, on the first of January next, of about \$627,557 90.

On the loan of \$12,000,000, which was authorized by Congress at its late session, only \$5,432,726 88 have been negotiated. The shortness of time which it had to run, has presented no inconsiderable impediment in the way of its being taken by capitalists at home, while the same cause would have operated with much greater force in the foreign market. For that reason the foreign market has not been resorted to; and it is now submitted whether it would not be advisable to amend the law by making what remains undisposed of, payable at a more distant day.

Should it be necessary, in any view that Congress may take of the subject, to revise the existing tariff of duties, I beg leave to say, that, in the performance of that most delicate operation, moderate counsels would seem to be the wisest. The Government, under which it is our happiness to live, owes its existence to the spirit of compromise which prevailed among its framers—jarring and

discordant opinions could only have been reconciled by that noble spirit of patriotism which prompted conciliation and resulted in harmony. In the same spirit the compromise bill, as it is commonly called, was adopted at the session of 1833.

While the people of no portion of the Union will ever hesitate to pay all necessary taxes for the support of Government, yet an innate repugnance exists to the imposition of burthens not really necessary for that object. In imposing duties, however, for the purposes of revenue, a right to discriminate as to the articles on which the duty shall be paid, as well as the amount, necessarily and most properly exists. Otherwise the Government would be placed in the condition of having to levy the same duties upon all articles, the productive as well as the unproductive. The slightest duty upon some might have the effect of causing their importation to cease, whereas, others entering extensively in the consumption of the country, might bear the heaviest, without any sensible diminution in the amount imported. So also the Government may be justified in so discriminating, by reference to other considerations of domestic policy connected with our manufactures. So long as the duties shall be laid with distinct reference to the wants of the Treasury, no well-founded objection can exist against them.

It might be deemed desirable that no such augmentation of the taxes should take place as would have the effect of annulling the land proceeds distribution act, of the last session, which act is declared to be inoperative the moment the duties are increased beyond 20 per cent., the maximum rate established by the Compromise Act. Some of the provisions of the Compromise Act, which will go into effect on the 30th day of June next, may, however, be found exceedingly inconvenient in practice, under any regulations that Congress may adopt. I refer more particularly to that relating to the home in valuation. A difference in value of the same articles to some extent, will, necessarily, exist at different ports—but that is altogether insignificant, when compared with the conflicts in valuation, which are likely to arise, from the differences of opinions among the numerous appraisers of merchandize. In many instances, the estimates of value must be conjectural, and thus as many different rates of value must be established as there are appraisers. These differences in valuation may also be increased by the inclination, which, without the slightest imputation on their honesty, may arise on the part of the appraisers in favor of their respective ports of entry. I recommend this whole subject to the consideration of Congress, with a single additional remark.

Certainty and permanency in any system of governmental policy, are, in all respects, eminently desirable; but more particularly is this true in all that affects trade and commerce, the operations of which depend much more on the certainty of their returns and calculations which embrace distant periods of time, than on high bounties, or duties, which are liable to constant fluctuations.

At your late session, I invited your attention to the condition of the currency and exchanges, and urged the necessity of adopting such measures as were consistent with the constitutional competency of the Government, in order to correct the unsoundness of the one, and as far as practicable

the inequalities of the other. No country can be in the enjoyment of its full measure of prosperity, without the presence of a medium of exchange, approximating to uniformity of value. What is necessary as between different nations of the earth, is also important as between the inhabitants of different parts of the same country; with the first the precious metals constitute the chief medium of circulation, and such also would be the case as to the last, but for inventions comparatively modern, which have furnished, in place of gold and silver, a paper circulation. I do not propose to enter into a comparative analysis of the merits of the two systems. Such belonged more properly to the period of the introduction of the paper system.

The speculative philosopher might find inducements to prosecute the inquiry, but his researches could only lead him to conclude, that the paper system had probably better never been introduced, and that society might have been much happier without it. The practical statesman has a very different task to perform. He has to look at things as they are—to take them as he finds them—to supply deficiencies and to prune excesses as far as in him lies. The task of furnishing a corrective for derangements of the paper medium with us is inexpressibly great. The power exerted by the States to charter banking corporations, and which, having been carried to a great excess, has filled the country with, in most of the States, an irredeemable paper medium, is an evil which, in some way or other, requires a corrective. The rates at which bills of exchange are negotiated between different parts of the country, furnish an index of the value of the local substitute for gold and silver, which is, in many parts, so far depreciated, as not to be received, except at a large discount, in payment of debts, or in the purchase of produce.

It could earnestly be desired that every bank, not possessing the means of resumption, should follow the example of the late United States Bank of Pennsylvania, and go into liquidation, rather than by refusing to do so to continue embarrassments in the way of solvent institutions, thereby augmenting the difficulties incident to the present condition of things. Whether this Government, with due regard to the rights of the States, has any power to constrain the banks either to resume specie payments, or to force them into liquidation, is an inquiry which will not fail to claim your consideration.

In view of the great advantages which are allowed the corporators, not among the least of which is the authority contained in most of their charters to make loans to three times the amount of their capital, thereby often deriving three times as much interest on the same amount of money as any individual is permitted by law to receive, no sufficient apology can be urged for a long continued suspension of specie payments. Such suspension is productive of the greatest detriment to the public, by expelling from circulation the precious metals, and seriously hazarding the success of any effort that this Government can make, to increase commercial facilities, and to advance the public interests.

This is the more to be regretted, and the indispensable necessity for a sound currency becomes the more manifest, when we reflect on the vast

amount of the internal commerce of the country. Of this we have no statistics, nor just data for forming adequate opinions. But there can be no doubt that the amount of transportation coastwise, by sea, and the transportation inland, by railroads and canals, and by steamboats and other modes of conveyance, over the surface of our vast rivers and immense lakes, and the value of property carried and interchanged by these means, form a general aggregate, to which the foreign commerce of the country, large as it is, make but a distant approach.

In the absence of any controlling power over this subject, which, by forcing a general resumption of specie payments, would at once have the effects of restoring a sound medium of exchange, and would leave to the country but little to desire, what measure of relief, falling within the limits of our constitutional competency, does it become this Government to adopt? It was my painful duty at your last session, under the weight of most solemn obligations, to differ with Congress on the measures which it proposed for my approval, and which it doubtless regarded as corrective of existing evils. Subsequent reflection, and events since occurring, have only served to confirm me in the opinions then entertained and frankly expressed.

I must be permitted to add, that no scheme of governmental policy, unaided by individual exertions, can be available for ameliorating the present condition of things. Commercial modes of exchange, and a good currency, are but the necessary means of commerce and intercourse, not the direct productive sources of wealth. Wealth can only be accumulated by the earnings of industry and the savings of frugality; and nothing can be more ill-judged than to look to facilities in borrowing, or to a redundant circulation, for the power of discharging pecuniary obligations. The country is full of resources and the people full of energy, and the great and permanent remedy for present embarrassments must be sought in industry, economy, the observance of good faith, and the favorable influence of time.

In pursuance of a pledge given to you in my last message to Congress, which pledge I urge as an apology for adventuring to present you the details of any plan, the Secretary of the Treasury will be ready to submit to you, should you require it, a plan of finance which, while it throws around the public treasure reasonable guards for its protection and rests on powers acknowledged in practice to exist from the origin of the Government, will, at the same time, furnish to the country a sound paper medium, and afford all reasonable facilities for regulating the Exchanges. When submitted, you will perceive in it a plan amendatory of the existing laws in relation to the Treasury Department—subordinate in all respects to the will of Congress directly, and the will of the people indirectly—self-sustaining, should it be found in practice to realize its promises in theory, and repealable at the will of Congress.

It proposes, by effectual restraints, and by invoking the true spirit of our institutions, to separate the purse from the sword; or more properly to speak, denies any other control to the President over the agents who may be selected to carry it into execution, but what may be indispensably necessary to secure the fidelity of such agents; and by wise regulations, keep plainly apart from

each other, private and public funds. It contemplates the establishment of a Board of Control, at the seat of Government, with agencies at prominent commercial points, or wherever else Congress shall direct, for the safe-keeping and disbursement of the public moneys, and a substitution, at the option of the public creditor, of Treasury notes, in lieu of gold and silver. It proposes to limit the issues to an amount not to exceed \$15,000,000—without the express sanction of the Legislative power.

It also authorizes the receipt of individual deposits of gold and silver to a limited amount, and the granting certificates of deposit, divided into such sums as may be called for by the depositors. It proceeds a step further, and authorizes the purchase and sale of Domestic Bills and drafts, resting on a real and substantial basis, payable at sight, or having but a short time to run, and drawn on places not less than one hundred miles apart—which authority, except so far as may be necessary for government purposes, exclusively, is only to be exerted upon the express condition, that its exercise shall not be prohibited by the State in which the agency is situated.

In order to cover the expenses incident to the plan, it will be authorized to receive moderate premiums for certificates issued on deposits, and on bills bought and sold, and thus, as far as its dealings extend, to furnish facilities to commercial intercourse at the lowest possible rates, and to subduct from the earnings of industry the least possible sum. It uses the State banks at a distance as auxiliaries, without imparting any power to trade in its name. It is subjected to such guards and restraints as have appeared to be necessary. It is the creature of law, and exists only at the pleasure of the Legislature.

It is made to rest on an actual specie basis, in order to redeem the notes at the places of issue—produces no dangerous redundancy of circulation—affords no temptation to speculation—is attended by no inflation of prices—is equitable in its operation—makes the Treasury notes, which it may use along with the certificates of deposit, and the notes of specie-paying banks convertible at the place where collected, receivable in payment of Government dues—and, without violating any principle of the Constitution, affords the Government and the people such facilities as are called for by the wants of both. Such, it has appeared to me, are its recommendations, and in view of them it will be submitted, whenever you may require it, to your consideration.

I am not able to perceive that any fair and candid objection can be urged against the plan, the principal outlines of which I have thus presented. I cannot doubt but that the notes which it proposes to furnish, at the voluntary option of the public creditor, issued in lieu of the revenue and its certificates of deposit, and will be maintained at an equality with gold and silver, every where. They are redeemable in gold and silver on demand, at the places of issue. They are receivable every where in payment of Government dues. The Treasury notes are limited to an amount of one-fourth less than the estimated annual receipts of the Treasury; and, in addition, they rest upon the faith of the Government for their redemption. If all these assurances are not sufficient to make them available, then the idea, as it seems to me,

of furnishing a sound paper medium of exchanges, may be entirely abandoned.

If a fear be indulged that the Government may be tempted to run into excess in its issues, at any future day, it seems to me that no such apprehension can reasonably be entertained, until all confidence in the representatives of the States and of the people, as well as of the people themselves, should be lost. The weightiest considerations of policy require that the restraints now proposed to be thrown around the measure, should not, for light causes, be removed. To argue against any proposed plan its liability to possible abuse, is to reject every expedient, since every thing dependent on human action is liable to abuse. Fifteen millions of Treasury notes may be issued as the maximum, but a discretionary power is to be given to the Board of Control, under that sum, and every consideration will unite in leading them to feel their way with caution.

For the first eight years of the existence of the late Bank of the United States, its circulation barely exceeded \$1,000,000; and for five of its most prosperous years, it was about equal to \$16,000,000: furthermore, the authority given to receive private deposits to a limited amount, and to issue certificates in such sums as may be called for by the depositors, may so far fill up the channels of circulation as greatly to diminish the necessity of any considerable issue of Treasury notes. A restraint upon the amount of private deposits has seemed to be indispensably necessary, and from an apprehension thought to be well founded, that in any emergency in trade, confidence might be so far shaken in the banks, as to induce a withdrawal from them of private deposits, with a view to ensure their unquestionable safety when deposited with the Government, which might prove eminently disastrous to the State banks.

Is it objected that it is proposed to authorize the agencies to deal in Bills of Exchange? It is answered, that such dealings are to be carried on at the lowest possible premium—are made to rest on an unquestionably sound basis—are designed to re-imburse merely the expenses which would otherwise devolve upon the Treasury, and are in strict subordination to the decision of the Supreme Court, in the case of the Bank of Augusta against Earle, and other reported cases; and thereby avoids all conflict with State jurisdiction, which I hold to be indispensably requisite. It leaves the banking privileges of the States without interference—looks to the Treasury and the Union—and, while furnishing every facility to the first, is careful of the interests of the last. But, above all, it is created by law, is amenable by law, and is repealable by law; and wedded as I am to no theory, but looking solely to the advancement of the public good, I shall be among the very first to urge its repeal, if it be found not to subserve the purposes and objects for which it may be created.

Nor will the plan be submitted in any overweening confidence in the sufficiency of my own judgment, but with much greater reliance on the wisdom and patriotism of Congress. I cannot abandon this subject without urging upon you, in the most emphatic manner, whatever may be your action on the suggestions which I have felt it to be my duty to submit, to relieve the Chief Executive Magistrate, by any and all constitutional

means, from a controlling power over the Public Treasury. If, in the plan proposed, should you deem it worthy of your consideration, that separation is not as complete as you may desire, you will, doubtless, amend it in that particular. For myself, I disclaim all desire to have any control over the public moneys, other than what is indispensably necessary, to execute the laws which you may pass.

Nor can I fail to advert, in this connection, to the debts which many of the States of the Union have contracted abroad, and under which they continue to labor. That indebtedness amounts to a sum not less than \$200,000,000, and which has been retributed to them, for the most part, in works of internal improvement, which are destined to prove of vast importance in ultimately advancing their prosperity and wealth. For the debts thus contracted, the States are alone responsible. I can do no more than express the belief that each State will feel itself bound by every consideration of honor, as well as of interest, to meet its engagements with punctuality. The failure, however, of any one State to do so, should in no degree affect the credit of the rest; and the foreign capitalist will have no just cause to experience alarm as to all other State stocks, because any one or more of the States may neglect to provide with punctuality the means of redeeming their engagements.

Even such States, should there be any, considering the great rapidity with which their resources are developing themselves, will not fail to have the means, at no very distant day, to redeem their obligations to the uttermost farthing; nor will I doubt but that in view of that honorable conduct which has evermore governed the States and the people of the Union, they will each and all resort to every legitimate expedient, before they will forego a faithful compliance with their obligations.

From the report of the Secretary of War, and other reports accompanying it, you will be informed of the progress which has been made in the fortifications designed for the protection of our principal cities, roadsteads, and inland frontier, during the present year; together with their true state and condition. They will be prosecuted to completion with all the expedition which the means placed by Congress at the disposal of the Executive will allow.

I recommend particularly to your consideration that portion of the Secretary's report which proposes the establishment of a chain of military posts, from Council bluffs to some point on the Pacific Ocean, within our limits. The benefit thereby destined to accrue to our citizens engaged in the fur trade, over that wilderness region, added to the importance of cultivating friendly relations with savage tribes inhabiting it, and at the same time of giving protection to our frontier settlements, and of establishing the means of safe intercourse between the American settlements at the mouth of the Columbia river, and those on this side of the Rocky Mountains, would seem to suggest the importance of carrying into effect the recommendation upon this head with as little delay as may be practicable.

The report of the Secretary of the Navy will place you in possession of the present condition of that important arm of the national defence.

Every effort will be made to add to its efficiency, and I cannot too strongly urge upon you liberal appropriations to that branch of the public service. Inducements of the weightiest character exist for the adoption of this course of policy. Our extended and otherwise exposed maritime frontier calls for protection, to the furnishing of which an efficient naval force is indispensable. We look to no foreign conquests, nor do we propose to enter into competition with any other nation for supremacy on the Ocean—but it is due not only to the honor but to the security of the People of the United States, that no nation should be permitted to invade our waters at pleasure, and subject our towns and villages to conflagration or pillage.

Economy in all branches of the public service, is due from all the public agents to the people—but parsimony alone would suggest the withholding of the necessary means for the protection of our domestic firesides from invasion, and our national honor from disgrace. I would most earnestly recommend to Congress, to abstain from all appropriations for objects not absolutely necessary; but I take upon myself, without a moment of hesitancy, all the responsibility of recommending the increase and prompt equipment of that gallant Navy, which has lighted every sea with its victories, and spread an unperishable glory over the Country.

The report of the Postmaster General will claim your particular attention, not only because of the valuable suggestions which it contains, but because of the great importance which, at all times, attaches to that interesting branch of the public service. The increased expense of transporting the mail along the principal routes, necessarily claims the public attention, and has awakened a corresponding solicitude on the part of the Government. The transmission of the mail must keep pace with those facilities of intercommunication which are every day becoming greater through the building of railroads and the application of steam power—but it cannot be disguised, that, in order to do so, the Post Office Department is subjected to heavy exactions.

The lines of communication between distant parts of the Union, are, to a great extent, occupied by railroads, which, in the nature of things, possess a complete monopoly, and the Department is therefore liable to heavy and unreasonable charges. This evil is destined to great increase in future, and some timely measure may become necessary to guard against it.

I feel it my duty to bring under your consideration a practice which has grown up in the administration of the Government, and which, I am deeply convinced, ought to be corrected. I allude to the exercise of the power, which usage, rather than reason, has vested in the Presidents, of removing incumbents from office, in order to substitute others more in favor with the dominant party.

My own conduct, in this respect, has been governed by a conscientious purpose to exercise the removing power only in case of unfaithfulness or inability, or in those which its exercise appeared necessary, in order to discountenance and suppress that spirit of active partisanship on the part of holders of office, which not only withdraws them from the steady and impartial discharge of their official duties, but exerts an undue and inju-

rious influence over elections, and degrades the character of the Government itself, inasmuch as it exhibits the Chief Magistrate, as being a party, through his agents, in the secret plots or open workings of political parties.

In respect to the exercise of this power, nothing should be left to discretion, which may safely be regulated by law; and it is of high importance to restrain, as far as possible, the stimulus of personal interests in public elections. Considering the great increase which has been made in public offices, in the last quarter of a century, and the probability of further increase, we incur the hazard of witnessing violent political contests, directed too often to the single object of retaining office, by those who are in, or obtaining it, by those who are out.

Under the influence of these convictions, I shall cordially concur in any constitutional measures for regulating, and by regulating, restraining the power of removal.

I suggest for your consideration, the propriety of making, without further delay, some specific application of the funds derived under the will of Mr. Smithson, of England, for the diffusion of knowledge; and which have heretofore been vested in public stocks, until such time as Congress should think proper to give them a specific direction. Nor will you, I feel confident, permit any abatement of the principal of the legacy to be made, should it turn out that the stocks, in which the investments have been made, have undergone a depreciation.

In conclusion, I commend to your care the interests of this District, for which you are the exclusive legislators. Considering that this city is the residence of the Government, and, for a large part of the year, of Congress, and considering also the great cost of the Public Buildings, and the propriety of affording them at all times careful protection, it seems not unreasonable that Congress should contribute towards the expense of an efficient police.

JOHN TYLER.

Washington, Dec. 7, 1841.

The Service of Plate—Those directors of the Bank of the United States who gave Mr. Biddle a service of plate, made from a ton of silver belonging to the stockholders, and afterwards refused to perform the promise of the bank to pay coin to its note-holders, must feel especially flattered by the criminal prosecution now pending against him. The very transactions upon which he is now accused before a criminal court, occurred during their administration of the bank, and were part of the very services for which this magnificent donation was made. When they wanted a charter from the Legislature of this State, they gave him plenary power; and for the exercise of these powers in obtaining a charter, as well as for other acts of his administrations, did they compliment him with a ton of tureens, dishes and ladles, made from the silver of the stockholders, which they ought to have kept for paying the notes of the bank. Did they know, while the applications for a charter was before the Legislature, how these powers were exercised? If not, they were grossly and criminally negligent of their duties to their employers, the stockholders. If they did not know what Mr. Biddle was doing while the application

of the charter was pending, did they know, after it was obtained, what he had done? If not, how could they offer him a vote of thanks and a service of plate, as testimonials of their approbation? We can hardly suppose that they would so far stultify themselves, as to make these acknowledgments for acts of which they were ignorant; or that they would be quite stupid enough to refrain from all inquiries of Mr. Biddle about his stewardship. Supposing, then, that they knew what had been done to obtain a charter, when they thus rewarded Mr. Biddle for it, we repeat that they must feel very much flattered in beholding him at the bar of a criminal court, to answer for these very acts. And yet among those who now most loudly invoke upon his head the retributive blow of the law, are some of these very directors. We could name men among them who praised him without limit in public bodies, and afterwards, without any additional knowledge of his movements, declared that he ought to be delivered to the hangman. We mention not these facts in vindication of Mr. Biddle, for we are the apologists of no man at the expense of justice, and we cannot know what is justice to him till the secrets of that prison be revealed. But, contending for justice alone, we call, in the name of a much-injured community and a body of robbed and plundered stockholders, for an investigation of the conduct of those directors who gave to Mr. Biddle a ton of silver from the money of the stockholders, as a reward for the very acts for which he is now bound over to the Grand Jury. If he is guilty for what they thus rewarded, they must be guilty too.

We call to this subject the particular attention of the citizens of this State. Their representatives gave a charter of a bank with an alleged capital of thirty-five millions of dollars. Men who had spent long years in the toils and anxieties of business, placed their means in its stock as a safe investment. Dying husbands and fathers sought in it security for the future comfort of their wives and children. Trustees of charitable institutions placed their funds in its stock as the safest provision for orphans. And its directors rewarded Mr. Biddle with a ton of its silver, for his exertions in obtaining a charter. It deluged the market with its loans and its issues, thus encouraging the most reckless, immoral and demoralizing speculations; and within less than two years after the date of its charter, it refused to pay its notes according to its promises, and by their depreciation swindled the holders out of ten per cent. of their property. Within two years after this act of bankruptcy, it committed another of the same kind; and after violating its promises for two years more, behold it utterly insolvent, and its stockholders ascertained that by the indiscretion or misconduct, the follies or the crimes of their agents, they had lost the whole of their property, and some of them learned that they had been precipitated from affluence to absolute want. And this institution was called a *regulator of the currency*! And in reviewing its history, the citizens of Pennsylvania will find that through its influence over the money market, it drove all the other banks of the State three times into *suspension*, another term for bankruptcy, filled the State with a worthless *currency* of rags, by which the poor were swindled of their bread, gave innumerable facilities to forgeries and frauds of every description, thoroughly corrupted

public sentiment, tainted the pure stream of justice with shameless partiality; and introduced codes of morals only worthy of highwaymen.

With these facts before them, are the people of our State still obstinate in their preference of the credit system? Do they still cling to paper currency, banking, chartered monopolies, exclusive privileges, legal swindling, cheating by authority of law? With a legion of banks, every one of which insolently refuses to meet its engagements, because payment is inconvenient, and not because it is impossible, will the people of Pennsylvania permit their Legislature to grant new charters? Whenever a petition for a new bank is presented, let the people remember that the directors of the greatest bank which they ever had, gave its officers a ton of silver, belonging to its stockholders, for certain acts of their administration, and that for these very acts those officers were afterwards arraigned before a criminal court! Here is the banking system. We speak thus of the system, because we doubt not that if the searching operation now instituted against this mammoth bank were carried into every bank in this city, discoveries would be made in the majority of them, of acts quite as criminal as any imputed to Nicholas Biddle and his associates in the criminal process now pending. Have the people tried the system sufficiently? And have they found it conducive to public morals and prosperity, or destructive to both? When the next petition for a bank is presented, let the citizens of Philadelphia remember the ton of silver and the criminal prosecution. In this connection, old-fashioned thinkers will say that the banking system has been thoroughly *dished*.—*Public Ledger*.

"*Last Legs*."—If among their other wild enormities, the Whigs of the Extra Session had incorporated the subscribers to the Whig party, (and escaped a Veto,) they would now be for including corporations in the Bankrupt Bill, and against repealing it, because having opened "the new set of books" which Webster boasted they would open, and having already utterly failed and bankrupted themselves and the government, they could take the benefit of the law, and make a just start with another "new set of books." What capital they would have for such a second start it is to be sure hard to conjecture; for the impudence and false promises on which they did business in 1840, will no longer pass with the people; an "*old-fashioned United States Bank*," on reviving which to sustain them they laid chief stress, is a subject too rotten now to bear galvanizing; the money of which they defrauded the people by the distribution bill, would have to go back to its legitimate owners, the people, under the assignments of the bankrupts; and as to *borrowing* money to begin with, the people have refused them their endorsement, and if they had it, the foolish fellows have gambled and squandered themselves into such condign discredit, that nobody will ever trust them again. Under the constitution, then, they had perhaps best give up business, or else turn in with Clay and overturn the constitution, in the hap-hazard hope that something substantially whiggish may turn up in the place of it. No wonder Mr. Clay has grown gray!—*Charleston Mercury*.

CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES, FOR THE YEAR 1840.
WHITE PERSONS.
MALES.

NAME OF STATE, &C.	Under 5	5 & under 10 . .	10 & under 15 . .	15 & under 20 . .	20 & under 30 . .	30 & under 40 . .	40 & under 50 . .	50 & under 60 . .	60 & under 70 . .	70 & under 80 . .	80 & under 90 . .	90 & under 100 . .	100 & upwards . .	Total
Maine	40,532	35,671	31,691	27,740	42,266	29,864	19,948	12,551	7,408	4,152	1,041	120	5	252,989
New Hampshire . .	18,435	17,300	16,929	15,663	22,170	16,781	12,915	8,690	5,485	3,447	1,084	103	2	139,004
Massachusetts . . .	47,313	40,296	37,971	37,069	76,285	52,283	30,161	19,270	11,432	6,473	1,911	195	17	360,679
Rhode Island	7,121	5,947	5,969	5,659	9,878	6,798	4,462	2,799	1,570	862	287	20	. . .	51,362
Connecticut	19,021	17,420	17,270	16,718	26,097	19,056	13,355	9,121	5,727	3,381	1,034	92	8	148,300
Vermont	21,786	19,069	17,551	16,999	23,006	17,596	12,817	7,952	5,454	3,137	884	84	13	146,378
New York	187,730	158,107	139,752	130,094	230,981	158,194	97,542	54,975	30,869	14,694	3,984	379	56	1,207,357
New Jersey	28,827	23,809	21,951	19,308	31,052	21,558	13,949	8,526	4,887	2,459	660	67	7	177,055
Pennsylvania	149,480	117,351	101,322	89,825	152,624	99,421	64,366	37,933	20,268	9,224	2,453	240	63	844,770
Delaware	4,939	3,957	3,581	3,104	5,722	3,549	2,117	1,270	682	268	61	5	4	29,259
Maryland	26,921	20,573	18,351	16,218	30,028	20,732	12,626	7,258	3,899	1,533	417	64	16	158,636
Virginia	69,308	53,485	45,822	38,263	63,465	41,141	27,465	16,670	9,673	4,458	1,241	196	26	371,222
North Carolina . . .	46,413	37,011	31,473	24,819	38,756	24,254	16,799	10,432	6,365	2,830	741	125	29	240,047
South Carolina . . .	24,828	19,360	16,621	13,719	22,489	13,774	9,132	5,615	3,059	1,418	409	50	22	130,496
Georgia	43,759	33,899	27,136	20,897	34,696	22,196	13,886	7,623	4,240	1,641	455	87	19	210,534
Alabama	36,611	28,215	22,819	16,222	31,455	19,340	11,783	6,024	2,886	997	273	47	20	176,692
Mississippi	19,542	14,164	11,475	8,662	20,084	11,995	6,001	3,289	1,430	466	130	14	4	97,256
Louisiana	13,835	10,736	7,848	7,218	20,795	16,304	7,940	3,309	1,206	410	102	26	18	89,747
Tennessee	67,182	53,821	44,489	34,218	51,112	31,323	19,369	12,755	7,140	3,039	855	109	22	325,434
Kentucky	59,290	46,242	39,190	32,611	53,265	32,206	19,958	11,809	6,639	3,092	860	130	31	305,323
Ohio	144,582	115,832	96,697	81,431	138,755	85,944	54,992	30,298	18,182	6,778	1,617	200	52	775,360
Indiana	70,468	57,457	46,129	36,599	60,002	37,565	21,678	13,789	6,195	2,258	551	68	14	352,773
Illinois	48,363	37,278	31,062	24,876	52,580	31,428	15,809	8,755	3,660	1,119	257	35	13	255,235
Missouri	34,597	26,054	21,222	16,784	33,772	20,568	11,384	5,620	2,439	814	183	28	5	173,470
Arkansas	8,607	6,331	5,077	3,863	8,532	5,129	2,751	1,194	523	162	85	4	3	42,211
Michigan	19,484	16,054	12,839	10,887	22,759	16,025	8,276	4,442	1,903	623	88	12	3	113,395
Florida territory . . .	2,455	1,947	1,520	1,305	4,388	2,801	1,193	530	220	73	20	3	1	16,456
Wisconsin territory . .	2,627	1,793	1,344	1,034	6,328	3,348	1,191	554	201	55	10	2	1	18,757
Iowa territory	4,380	3,138	2,475	2,179	6,207	3,310	1,512	698	272	73	12	24,256
District of Columbia .	2,354	1,755	1,764	1,728	2,891	1,953	1,201	724	312	115	21	2	2	14,822
Total	1,270,790	1,024,072	879,499	756,022	1,322,440	886,431	536,568	314,505	174,226	80,051	21,679	2,507	476	7,249,266

CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES, FOR THE YEAR 1840.

WHITE PERSONS.

FEMALES.

NAME OF STATE, &c.	Under 5	5 & under 10 . .	10 & under 15 . .	15 & under 20 . .	20 & under 30 . .	30 & under 40 . .	40 & under 50 . .	50 & under 60 . .	60 & under 70 . .	70 & under 80 . .	80 & under 90 . .	90 & under 100 . .	100 & upwards . .	Total
Maine	38,185	34,458	30,044	27,940	42,165	29,046	20,024	12,304	7,703	4,122	1,274	174	10	247,449
New Hampshire . . .	17,959	16,693	15,659	15,457	24,679	18,269	14,183	9,824	6,702	4,000	1,388	181	8	145,032
Massachusetts	45,313	40,115	36,832	40,360	74,250	49,324	33,109	22,684	14,645	8,387	2,955	375	2	368,551
Rhode Island	6,504	5,812	5,710	6,030	10,833	7,138	4,891	3,430	2,176	1,196	444	59	2	54,225
Connecticut	18,253	16,889	15,964	16,478	27,120	20,110	14,863	10,792	7,220	4,274	1,436	153	4	153,556
Vermont	20,379	18,877	16,677	15,744	24,225	18,163	12,807	8,612	5,423	2,875	951	100	7	144,840
New York	180,769	134,525	134,977	137,414	227,137	143,882	90,163	53,496	30,190	14,281	4,152	522	25	1,171,533
New Jersey	27,505	23,161	20,362	19,701	31,514	20,530	14,009	8,841	5,253	2,769	803	82	3	174,533
Pennsylvania	141,786	115,570	97,972	96,692	153,803	92,864	60,838	37,965	21,007	9,783	2,725	316	24	831,345
Delaware	4,751	3,859	3,404	3,337	5,707	3,469	2,173	1,341	837	320	92	9	3	29,302
Maryland	25,680	19,978	17,560	18,349	31,021	19,343	12,477	7,559	4,376	1,801	534	95	8	159,081
Virginia	65,286	52,264	43,996	42,475	65,797	40,082	26,928	16,865	9,986	4,468	1,256	202	40	369,745
North Carolina	43,637	35,221	29,646	26,965	43,132	25,906	18,114	11,374	6,754	2,943	962	150	19	244,823
South Carolina	23,639	18,741	15,822	14,691	22,392	13,471	9,145	5,551	3,168	1,443	430	74	21	128,588
Georgia	40,579	32,080	25,993	22,395	31,705	19,603	12,300	6,795	3,679	1,485	443	79	25	197,161
Alabama	33,917	26,804	21,786	17,911	25,574	15,152	9,184	4,647	2,407	847	205	45	14	158,493
Mississippi	18,235	13,328	10,919	8,911	14,464	7,847	4,284	2,250	1,075	381	96	22	6	81,818
Louisiana	13,718	10,395	7,760	7,947	13,602	7,907	4,099	1,967	891	323	81	19	1	68,710
Tennessee	62,684	51,013	42,327	35,965	51,907	30,597	19,198	11,535	6,465	2,617	732	126	27	315,193
Kentucky	55,419	44,022	37,298	33,207	47,970	28,608	18,050	10,907	6,029	2,525	735	137	23	284,930
Ohio	137,725	110,949	91,294	84,872	127,730	75,799	48,588	28,037	14,636	5,592	1,345	173	22	726,762
Indiana	66,397	53,805	42,890	36,904	55,176	32,708	19,967	10,759	5,035	1,780	436	59	9	325,925
Illinois	44,775	34,913	28,496	24,078	38,823	22,676	12,712	6,514	2,941	866	184	39	2	217,019
Missouri	32,600	24,321	19,679	16,952	26,330	14,889	8,580	4,259	2,019	634	131	21	3	150,418
Arkansas	8,108	5,853	4,869	3,911	5,881	3,317	1,715	805	357	113	30	3	1	34,963
Michigan	18,401	15,089	11,798	10,819	18,706	11,864	6,109	3,394	1,441	451	80	11	2	98,165
Florida territory . . .	2,241	1,761	1,448	1,322	2,220	1,219	704	354	156	49	10	2	1	11,497
Wisconsin territory . .	2,528	1,692	1,289	1,200	2,713	1,423	612	360	128	37	7	2	1	11,992
Iowa territory	4,082	2,962	2,188	2,064	3,789	1,865	979	494	187	51	6	1	18,668
District of Columbia .	2,294	1,771	1,899	2,077	3,030	2,026	1,338	795	413	149	41	1	1	15,835
Total	1,203,349	986,921	836,588	792,168	1,253,395	779,097	502,143	304,810	173,299	80,562	23,964	3,231	315	6,939,842

CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES, FOR THE YEAR 1840.

FREE COLORED PERSONS.

NAME OF STATE, &c.	MALES.					FEMALES.				
	Under 10. . . .	10 & under 24.	24 & under 36.	36 & under 55.	Total.	Under 10. . . .	10 & under 24.	24 & under 36.	36 & under 55.	Total.
Maine	149	231	135	137	720	147	195	128	109	635
New Hampshire . . .	57	68	42	48	248	50	66	54	61	289
Massachusetts	908	1,119	1,444	871	4,654	899	1,058	868	771	4,014
Rhode Island.	355	388	319	242	1,413	318	489	425	360	1,825
Connecticut.	935	1,165	710	746	3,891	967	1,238	860	715	4,214
Vermont.	91	99	74	60	364	76	106	65	76	366
New York	6,008	6,370	5,711	4,221	23,809	6,032	6,951	6,809	4,454	26,218
New Jersey.	3,019	3,429	1,978	1,639	10,780	2,834	3,106	2,079	1,485	10,204
Pennsylvania.	6,245	6,192	5,182	3,697	22,752	6,264	7,426	6,071	3,806	25,102
Delaware.	2,740	2,679	1,392	1,163	8,626	2,618	2,457	1,415	1,127	8,293
Maryland.	9,460	7,727	4,772	4,670	29,173	9,134	8,626	6,086	5,423	32,847
Virginia.	7,958	7,165	3,898	3,135	20,094	7,899	7,616	4,571	3,556	26,024
North Carolina. . . .	3,962	3,593	1,665	1,255	11,227	3,704	3,475	2,043	1,454	11,505
South Carolina. . . .	1,403	1,105	677	405	3,864	1,392	1,272	858	545	4,412
Georgia.	427	375	232	195	1,374	375	381	229	192	1,379
Alabama.	301	296	170	152	1,030	271	313	188	124	1,009
Mississippi.	228	168	125	114	718	181	151	133	122	651
Louisiana.	4,015	3,207	2,014	1,581	11,526	4,163	3,679	2,971	2,164	13,976
Tennessee.	973	772	372	379	2,796	881	742	445	367	2,728
Kentucky.	1,048	786	534	754	3,761	936	800	536	680	3,556
Ohio.	2,560	2,688	1,719	1,175	8,740	2,630	2,784	1,640	1,033	8,602
Indiana.	1,258	1,119	620	497	3,731	1,112	1,100	592	413	3,434
Illinois.	548	568	377	265	1,876	536	570	311	201	1,722
Missouri.	193	195	266	154	883	152	159	152	133	691
Arkansas.	77	56	62	84	248	67	60	35	32	217
Michigan.	93	103	119	62	393	80	98	76	46	314
Florida territory . . .	108	125	87	49	398	108	123	78	75	419
Wisconsin territory . .	16	32	28	19	101	21	27	20	12	84
Iowa territory.	20	31	22	14	93	14	39	8	16	79
District of Columbia.	1,168	948	562	525	3,453	1,208	1,455	1,027	813	4,908
Total.	56,323	52,799	35,308	28,258	186,467	55,069	56,562	41,673	30,385	199,778

Total.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT.

PREAMBLE.

THE people of Connecticut, acknowledging, with gratitude, the good providence of God, in having permitted them to enjoy a free government, do, in order more effectually to define, secure, and perpetuate the liberties, rights, and privileges which they have derived from their ancestors, hereby, after a careful consideration and revision, ordain and establish the following constitution and form of civil government.

ARTICLE 1.

Declaration of Rights.

That the great and essential principles of liberty and free government may be recognised and established, we declare:

§ 1. That all men, when they form a social compact, are equal in rights; and that no man, or set of men, are entitled to exclusive public emoluments or privileges from the community.

§ 2. That all political power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their benefit; and that they have at all times an undeniable and indefeasible right to alter their form of government in such manner as they may think expedient.

§ 3. The exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination, shall for ever be free to all persons in this state, provided that the right hereby declared and established shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or to justify practices inconsistent with the peace and safety of the state.

§ 4. No preference shall be given by law to any Christian sect or mode of worship.

§ 5. Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

§ 6. No law shall ever be passed to curtail or restrain the liberty of speech or of the press.

§ 7. In all prosecutions or indictments for libels, the truth may be given in evidence, and the jury shall have a right to determine the law and the facts, under the direction of the court.

§ 8. The people shall be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and possessions, from unreasonable searches, or seizures; and no warrant to search any place, or to seize any person or things, shall issue, without describing them as nearly as may be, nor without probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation.

§ 9. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall have a right to be heard, by himself and by counsel; to demand the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted by the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process to obtain witnesses in his favor; and in all prosecutions by indictment or information, a speedy public trial by an impartial jury. He shall not be compelled to give evidence against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, but by due course of law. And no person shall be held to answer for any crime, the punishment of which may be death or imprisonment for life, unless on a presentment or an indictment of a grand jury; except in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger.

§ 10. No person shall be arrested, detained, or punished, except in cases clearly warranted by law.

§ 11. The property of no person shall be taken for public use, without just compensation therefor.

§ 12. All courts shall be open, and every person, for an injury done him, in his person, property, or reputation, shall have remedy by due course of law, and right and justice administered without sale, denial, or delay.

§ 13. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed.

§ 14. All prisoners shall, before conviction, be bailable by sufficient sureties, except for capital offences, where the proof is evident, or the presumption great; and the privileges of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in case of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it; nor in any case, but by the legislature.

§ 15. No person shall be attainted of treason or felony by the legislature.

§ 16. The citizens have a right, in a peaceable manner, to assemble for their common good, and to apply to those invested with the powers of government for redress of grievances, or other proper purposes, by petition, address, or remonstrance.

§ 17. Every citizen has a right to bear arms in defence of himself and the state.

§ 18. The military shall, in all cases, and at all times, be in strict subordination to the civil power.

§ 19. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

§ 20. No hereditary emoluments, privileges, or honors, shall ever be granted or conferred in this state.

§ 21. The right of trial by jury shall remain inviolate.

ARTICLE 2.

Of the Distribution of Powers.

The powers of government shall be divided into three distinct departments, and each of them confided to a separate magistracy, to wit: those which are legislative, to one; those which are executive, to another; and those which are judicial, to another.

ARTICLE 3.

Of the Legislative Department.

§ 1. The legislative power of this state shall be vested in two distinct houses or branches; the one to be styled the senate, the other the house of representatives, and both together the general assembly. The style of the laws shall be: *Be it enacted by the senate and house of representatives in general assembly convened.*

§ 2. There shall be one stated session of the general assembly, to be helden each year, alternately at Hartford and New Haven, on the first Wednesday of May, and at such other times as the general assembly shall judge necessary; the first session to be helden at Hartford; but the person administering the office of governor, may, on special emergencies, convene the general assembly at either of said places, at any other time. And in case of danger from the prevalence of contagious diseases in either of said places, or other circumstances, the person administering the office

of governor, may, by proclamation, convene said assembly at any other place in this state.

§ 3. The house of representatives shall consist of electors residing in towns from which they are elected. The number of representatives from each town shall be the same as at present practised and allowed. In case a new town shall hereafter be incorporated, such new town shall be entitled to one representative only: and if such new town shall be made from one or more towns, the town or towns from which the same shall be made, shall be entitled to the same number of representatives as at present allowed, unless the number shall be reduced by the consent of such town or towns.

§ 4. The senate shall consist of twelve members, to be chosen annually by the electors.

§ 5. At the meetings of the electors, held in the several towns in this state, in April annually, after the election of representatives, the electors present shall be called upon to bring in their written ballots for senators. The presiding officer shall receive the votes of the electors, and count and declare them in open meeting. The presiding officer shall also make duplicate lists of the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each, which shall be certified by the presiding officer; one of which lists shall be delivered to the town clerk, and the other, within three days after said meeting, shall be delivered, under seal, either to the secretary or to the sheriff of the county in which said town is situated; which list shall be directed to the secretary, with a superscription expressing the purport of the contents thereof. And each sheriff who shall receive such votes, shall, within fifteen days after said meeting, deliver, or cause them to be delivered, to the secretary.

§ 6. The treasurer, secretary, and comptroller, for the time being, shall canvass the votes publicly. The twelve persons having the greatest number of votes for senators shall be declared to be elected. But, in cases where no choice is made by the electors, in consequence of an equality of votes, the house of representatives shall designate, by ballot, which of the candidates having such equal number of votes shall be declared to be elected. The return of votes, and the result of the canvass, shall be submitted to the house of representatives, and also to the senate, on the first day of the session of the general assembly, and each house shall be the final judge of the election returns and qualifications of its own members.

§ 7. The house of representatives, when assembled, shall choose a speaker, clerk, and other officers. The senate shall choose its clerk and other officers, except the president. A majority of each house shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and compel the attendance of absent members in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may prescribe.

§ 8. Each house shall determine the rules of its own proceedings, punish members for disorderly conduct, and, with the consent of two-thirds, expel a member, but not a second time for the same cause; and shall have all other powers necessary for a branch of the legislature of a free and independent state.

§ 9. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and publish the same when required by one-fifth of its members, except such part as, in the judgment of a majority, require secrecy. The

yeas and nays of the members of either house shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journals.

§ 10. The senators and representatives shall, in all cases of civil process, be privileged from arrest during the session of the general assembly, and for four days before the commencement and after the termination of any session thereof. And for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

§ 11. The debates of each house shall be public, except on such occasions as in the opinion of the house may require secrecy.

ARTICLE 4.

Of the Executive Department.

§ 1. The supreme executive power of the state shall be vested in a governor, who shall be chosen by the electors of the state, and shall hold his office for one year from the first Wednesday of May next succeeding his election, and until his successor be duly qualified. No person who is not an elector of this state, and who has not arrived at the age of thirty, shall be eligible.

§ 2. At the meetings of the electors, in the respective towns, in the month of April in each year, immediately after the election of senators, the presiding officers shall call upon the electors to bring in their ballots for him whom they would elect to be governor, with his name fairly written. When such ballots shall have been received and counted, in the presence of the electors, duplicate lists of the persons voted for, and of the number of votes given for each, shall be made and certified by the presiding officer, one of which lists shall be deposited in the office of the town clerk, within three days, and the other within ten days after the said election, shall be transmitted to the secretary, or to the sheriff of the county in which such election shall have been held. The sheriff receiving said votes shall deliver, or cause them to be delivered, to the secretary, within fifteen days next after said election. The votes so returned shall be counted by the treasurer, secretary, and comptroller, within the month of April: A fair list of the persons and number of votes given for each, together with the returns of the presiding officers, shall be, by the treasurer, secretary, and comptroller, made and laid before the general assembly then next to be holden, on the first day of the session thereof; and said assembly shall, after examination of the same, declare the person whom they shall find to be legally chosen, and give him notice accordingly. If no person shall have a majority of the whole number of said votes, or if two or more shall have an equal and the greatest number of said votes, then said assembly, on the second day of their session, by joint ballot of both houses, shall proceed, without debate, to choose a governor from a list of the names of the two persons having the greatest number of votes, or of the names of the persons having an equal and highest number of votes so returned as aforesaid. The general assembly shall by law prescribe the manner in which all questions concerning the election of a governor or lieutenant-governor shall be determined.

§ 3. At the annual meetings of the electors, immediately after the election of governor, there also shall be chosen, in the same manner as is herein before provided for the election of governor, a lieutenant-governor, who shall continue in office

for the same time, and possess the same qualifications.

§ 4. The compensations of the governor, lieutenant-governor, senators, and representatives, shall be established by law, and shall not be varied so as to take effect until after an election which shall next succeed the passage of the law establishing said compensation.

§ 5. The governor shall be captain-general of the militia of the state, except when called into the service of the United States.

§ 6. He may require information, in writing, from the officers in the executive department, on any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices.

§ 7. The governor, in case of a disagreement between the two houses of the general assembly respecting the time of adjournment, may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper, not beyond the day of the next stated session.

§ 8. He shall, from time to time, give to the general assembly information of the state of the government, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall deem expedient.

§ 9. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

§ 10. The governor shall have power to grant reprieves, after conviction, in all cases except those of impeachment, until the end of the next session of the general assembly, and no longer.

§ 11. All commissions shall be in the name and by authority of the state of Connecticut; shall be sealed with the state seal, signed by the governor, and attested by the secretary.

§ 12. Every bill which shall have passed both houses of the general assembly, shall be presented to the governor. If he approve, he shall sign and transmit it to the secretary; but if not, he shall return it to the house in which it originated, with his objections, which shall be entered on the journals of the house; who shall proceed to reconsider the bill. If, after such reconsideration, that house shall again pass it, it shall be sent, with the objections, to the other house, which shall also reconsider it. If approved, it shall become a law. But, in such cases, the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays; and the names of the members voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journals of each house respectively. If the bill shall not be returned by the governor within three days (Sunday excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it; unless the general assembly, by their adjournment, prevents its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

§ 13. The lieutenant-governor shall, by virtue of his office, be president of the senate, and have, when in committee of the whole, a right to debate, and, when the senate is equally divided, to give the casting vote.

§ 14. In case of the death, resignation, refusal to serve, or removal from office of the governor, or of his impeachment, or absence from the state, the lieutenant-governor shall exercise the powers and authority appertaining to the office of governor, until another be chosen at the next periodical election for governor, and be duly qualified; or until the governor impeached or absent shall be acquitted or return.

§ 15. When the government shall be adminis-

tered by the lieutenant-governor, or he shall be unable to attend as president of the senate, the senate shall elect one of their members as president pro tempore. And if, during the vacancy of the office of governor, the lieutenant-governor shall die, resign, refuse to serve, or be removed from office, or if he shall be impeached, or absent from the state, the president of the senate pro tempore shall, in like manner, administer the government until he be superseded by a governor or lieutenant-governor.

§ 16. If the lieutenant-governor shall be required to administer the government, and shall, while in such administration, die or resign during the recess of the general assembly, it shall be the duty of the secretary, for the time being, to convene the senate for the purpose of choosing a president pro tempore.

§ 17. A treasurer shall annually be chosen by the electors at their meeting in April; and the votes shall be returned, counted, canvassed, and declared, in the same manner as is provided for the election of governor and lieutenant-governor; but the votes for the treasurer shall be canvassed by the secretary and comptroller only. He shall receive all moneys belonging to the state, and disburse the same only as he may be directed by law. He shall pay no warrant or order for the disbursement of public money, until the same has been registered in the office of the comptroller.

§ 18. A secretary shall be chosen next after the treasurer, and in the same manner; and the votes for secretary shall be returned to, and counted, canvassed, and declared by the treasurer and comptroller. He shall have the safe keeping and custody of the public records and documents, and particularly of the acts, resolutions, and orders of the general assembly, and record the same; and perform all such duties as shall be prescribed by law. He shall be the keeper of the seal of the state, which shall not be altered.

§ 19. A comptroller of the public accounts shall be annually appointed by the general assembly. He shall adjust and settle all public accounts and demands, except grants and orders of the general assembly. He shall prescribe the mode of keeping and rendering all public accounts. He shall, *ex-officio*, be one of the auditors of the accounts of the treasurer. The general assembly may assign to him other duties in relation to his office, and to that of the treasurer, and shall prescribe the manner in which his duties shall be performed.

§ 20. A sheriff shall be appointed in each county, by the general assembly, who shall hold his office for three years, removable by said assembly, and shall become bound, with sufficient sureties, to the treasurer of the state for the faithful discharge of the duties of his office, in such manner as shall be prescribed by law: in case the sheriff of any county shall die or resign, the governor may fill the vacancy occasioned thereby, until the same shall be filled by the general assembly.

§ 21. A statement of all receipts, payments, funds, and debts of the state, shall be published, from time to time, in such manner, and at such periods, as shall be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE 5.

Of the Judicial Department.

§ 1. The judicial power of the state shall be vested in a supreme court of errors, a superior

court, and such inferior courts as the general assembly shall, from time to time, ordain and establish; the powers and jurisdiction of which courts shall be defined by law.

§ 2. There shall be appointed in each county a sufficient number of justices of the peace, with such jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases as the general assembly may prescribe.

§ 3. The judges of the supreme court of errors, of the superior and inferior courts, and all justices of the peace, shall be appointed by the general assembly, in such manner as shall by law be prescribed. The judges of the supreme court, and of the superior court, shall hold their offices during good behavior; but may be removed by impeachment; and the governor shall also remove them on the address of two-thirds of the members of each house of the general assembly; all other judges and justices of the peace shall be appointed annually. No judge or justice of the peace shall be capable of holding his office after he shall arrive at the age of seventy years.

ARTICLE 6.

Of the Qualifications of Electors.

§ 1. All persons who have been, or shall hereafter, previous to the ratification of this constitution, be admitted freemen, according to the existing laws of this state, shall be electors.

§ 2. Every white male citizen of the United States, who shall have gained a settlement in this state, attained the age of twenty-one years, and resided in the town in which he may offer himself to be admitted to the privilege of an elector, at least six months preceding, and have a freehold estate of the yearly value of seven dollars, in this state; or having been enrolled in the militia, shall have performed military duty therein, for the term of one year next preceding the time he shall offer himself for admission, or being liable thereto, shall have been, by authority of law, excused therefrom; or shall have paid a state tax within the year next preceding the time he shall present himself for such admission, and shall sustain a good moral character, shall, on his taking such oath as may be prescribed by law, be an elector.

§ 3. The privileges of an elector shall be forfeited, by a conviction of bribery, forgery, perjury, duelling, fraudulent bankruptcy, theft, or other offence, for which an infamous punishment is inflicted.

§ 4. Every elector shall be eligible to any office in this state, except in cases provided for in this constitution.

§ 5. The selectmen and town clerk of the several towns shall decide on the qualifications of electors, at such times, and in such manner, as may be prescribed by law.

§ 6. Laws shall be made to support the privilege of free suffrage, prescribing the manner of regulating and conducting meetings of the electors, and prohibiting, under adequate penalties, all undue influence therein, from power, bribery, tumult, and other improper conduct.

§ 7. In all elections of officers of the state, or members of the general assembly, the votes of the electors shall be by ballot.

§ 8. At all elections of officers of the state, or members of the general assembly, the electors shall be privileged from arrest during their attend-

ance upon, and going to and returning from, the same, on any civil process.

§ 9. The meetings of the electors for the election of the several state officers, by law annually to be elected, and members of the general assembly of this state, shall be holden on the first Monday of April in each year.

ARTICLE 7.

Of Religion.

§ 1. It being the duty of all men to worship the Supreme Being, the great Creator and Preserver of the Universe, and their right to render that worship in the mode most consistent with the dictates of their consciences: no person shall, by law, be compelled to join or support, nor be classed with, or associated to, any congregation, church, or religious association. But every person now belonging to such congregation, church, or religious association, shall remain a member thereof, until he shall have separated himself therefrom, in the manner hereinafter provided. And each and every society or denomination of Christians in this state, shall have and enjoy the same and equal powers, rights, and privileges; and shall have power and authority to support and maintain the ministers or teachers of their respective denominations, and to build and repair houses for public worship, by a tax on the members of any such society only, to be laid by a major vote of the legal voters assembled at any society meeting, warned and held according to law, or in any other manner.

§ 2. If any person shall choose to separate himself from the society or denomination of Christians to which he may belong, and shall leave a written notice thereof with the clerk of such society, he shall thereupon be no longer liable for any future expenses which may be incurred by said society.

ARTICLE 8.

Of Education.

§ 1. The charter of Yale college, as modified by agreement with the corporation thereof, in pursuance of an act of the general assembly, passed in May, 1792, is hereby confirmed.

§ 2. The fund, called the *School Fund*, shall remain a perpetual fund, the interest of which shall be inviolably appropriated to the support and encouragement of the public or common schools throughout the state, and for the equal benefit of all the people thereof. The value and amount of said fund shall, as soon as practicable, be ascertained in such manner as the general assembly may prescribe, published, and recorded in the comptroller's office; and no law shall ever be made authorizing said fund to be diverted to any other use than the encouragement and support of public or common schools, among the several school societies, as justice and equity shall require.

ARTICLE 9.

Of Impeachments.

§ 1. The house of representatives shall have the sole power of impeaching.

§ 2. All impeachments shall be tried by the senate. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. No person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present. When the governor is impeached, the chief justice shall preside.

§ 3. The governor, and all other executive and judicial officers, shall be liable to impeachment; but judgment in such cases shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualifications to hold any office of honor, trust, or profit, under this state. The party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, and punishment, according to law.

§ 4. Treason against the state shall consist only in levying war against it, or adhering to its enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court. No conviction of treason or attainder shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture.

ARTICLE 10.

General Provisions.

§ 1. Members of the general assembly, and all officers, executive, and judicial, shall, before they enter on the duties of their respective offices, take the following oath or affirmation, to wit:

You do solemnly swear, (or affirm, as the case may be,) that you will support the constitution of the United States, and the constitution of the state of Connecticut, so long as you continue a citizen thereof; and that you will faithfully discharge, according to law, the duties of the office of _____ to the best of your abilities. *So help you God.*

§ 2. Each town shall annually elect selectmen, and such officers of local police, as the laws may prescribe.

§ 3. The rights and duties of all corporations shall remain as if this constitution had not been adopted; with the exception of such regulations and restrictions as are contained in this constitution. All judicial and civil officers now in office, who have been appointed by the general assembly, and commissioned according to law, and all such officers as shall be appointed by the said assembly, and commissioned as aforesaid, before the first Wednesday of May next, shall continue to hold their offices until the first day of June next, unless they shall, before that time, resign or be removed from office according to law. The treasurer and secretary shall continue in office until a treasurer and secretary shall be appointed under this constitution. All military officers shall continue to hold and exercise their respective offices, until they shall resign, or be removed according to law. All laws not contrary to, or inconsistent with, the provisions of this constitution, shall remain in force until they shall expire by their own limitation, or shall be altered or repealed by the general assembly, in pursuance of this constitution. The validity of all bonds, debts, contracts, as well of individuals as of bodies corporate, or the state, of all suits, actions, or rights of action, both in law and equity, shall continue as if no change had taken place. The governor, lieutenant-governor, and general assembly, which is to be formed in October next, shall have, and possess, all the powers and authorities not repugnant to, or inconsistent with, this constitution, which they now have and possess, until the first Wednesday of May next.

§ 4. No judge of the superior court, or of the supreme court of errors; no member of congress; no person holding any office under the authority of the United States; no person holding the office

of treasurer, secretary, or comptroller; no sheriff, or sheriff's deputy; shall be a member of the general assembly.

ARTICLE 11.

Of Amendments of the Constitution.

Whenever a majority of the house of representatives shall deem it necessary to alter or amend this constitution, they may propose such alterations and amendments; which proposed amendments shall be continued to the next general assembly, and be published with the laws which may have been passed at the same session; and if two-thirds of each house, at the next session of said assembly, shall approve the amendments proposed, by yeas and nays, said amendments shall, by the secretary, be transmitted to the town clerk in each town in this state; whose duty it shall be to present the same to the inhabitants thereof, for their consideration, at a town meeting, legally warned and held for that purpose; and if it shall appear, in a manner to be provided by law, that a majority of the electors present at such meetings shall have approved such amendments, the same shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of this constitution.

Done in convention, on the fifteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighteen, and of the Independence of the United States the forty-third.

By order of the convention.

OLIVER WOLCOTT, *President.*

JAMES LANMAN, }
ROBERT FAIRCHILD, } *Clerks.*

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA,

AS AMENDED IN CONVENTION THE SECOND TUESDAY OF OCTOBER, 1838.

WE, the people of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, ordain and establish this constitution for its government.

ARTICLE 1. § 1. The legislative power of this commonwealth shall be vested in a general assembly, which shall consist of a senate and house of representatives.

2. The representatives shall be chosen annually, by the citizens of the city of Philadelphia, and of each county respectively, on the second Tuesday of October.

3. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-one years, and have been a citizen and inhabitant of the state three years next preceding his election, and the last year thereof an inhabitant of the district in and for which he shall be chosen a representative, unless he shall have been absent on the public business of the United States or of this state.

4. Within three years after the first meeting of the general assembly, and within every subsequent term of seven years, an enumeration of the taxable inhabitants shall be made in such manner as shall be directed by law. The number of representatives shall, at the several periods of making such enumeration, be fixed by the legislature, and apportioned among the city of Philadelphia, and the several counties, according to the number of taxable inhabitants in each: and shall never be less than sixty nor greater than one hundred. Each county shall have at least one representa-

tive, but no county hereafter erected shall be entitled to a separate representation until a sufficient number of taxable inhabitants shall be contained within it, to entitle them to one representative, agreeably to the ratio which shall then be established.

5. The senators shall be chosen for three years by the citizens of Philadelphia and of the several counties, at the same time, in the same manner, and at the same places where they shall vote for representatives.

6. The number of senators shall, at the several periods of making the enumeration before mentioned, be fixed by the legislature, and apportioned among the districts formed as hereinafter directed, according to the number of taxable inhabitants in each; and shall never be less than one-fourth, nor greater than one-third, of the number of representatives.

7. The senators shall be chosen in districts, to be formed by the legislature; but no district shall be so formed as to entitle it to elect more than two senators, unless the number of taxable inhabitants in any city or county shall, at any time, be such as to entitle it to elect more than two, but no city or county shall be entitled to elect more than four senators; when a district shall be composed of two or more counties, they shall be adjoining; neither the city of Philadelphia nor any county shall be divided in forming a district.

8. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and have been a citizen and inhabitant of the state four years next before his election, and the last year thereof an inhabitant of the district for which he shall be chosen, unless he shall have been absent on the public business of the United States or of this state; and no person elected as aforesaid shall hold said office after he shall have removed from such district.

9. The senators who may be elected at the first general election after the adoption of the amendments to the constitution, shall be divided by lot into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the first year; of the second class at the expiration of the second year; and of the third class at the expiration of the third year; so that thereafter one-third of the whole number of senators may be chosen every year. The senators elected before the amendments to the constitution shall be adopted, shall hold their offices during the terms for which they shall respectively have been elected.

10. The general assembly shall meet on the first Tuesday of January, in every year, unless sooner convened by the governor.

11. Each house shall choose its speaker and other officers; and the senate shall also choose a speaker pro tempore, when the speaker shall exercise the office of governor.

12. Each house shall judge of the qualifications of its members. Contested elections shall be determined by a committee to be selected, formed and regulated in such manner as shall be directed by law. A majority of each house shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized by law to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as may be provided.

13. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member, but not a second time for the same cause; and shall have all other powers necessary for a branch of the legislature of a free state.

14. The legislature shall not have power to enact laws annulling the contract of marriage in any case where, by law, the courts of this commonwealth are, or hereafter may be, empowered to decree a divorce.

15. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and publish them weekly, except such parts as may require secrecy: and the yeas and nays of the members on any question shall, at the desire of any two of them, be entered on the journals.

16. The doors of each house, and of committees of the whole, shall be open, unless when the business shall be such as ought to be kept secret.

17. Neither house shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

18. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the commonwealth. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach or surety of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same. And for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

19. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he shall have been elected, be appointed to any civil office under this commonwealth which shall have been created, or the emoluments of which shall have been increased during such time; and no member of congress, or other person holding any office, (except of attorney at law and in the militia,) under the United States or this commonwealth, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in congress or in office.

20. When vacancies happen in either house, the speaker shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

21. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives, but the senate may propose amendments as in other bills.

22. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law.

23. Every bill which shall have passed both houses shall be presented to the governor. If he approve, he shall sign it; but if he shall not approve, he shall return it with his objections to the house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large upon their journals, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent with the objections to the other house, by which likewise it shall be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall be a law. But in such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for or against the bill shall be entered on the journals of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the governor within ten days (Sun-

days excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, it shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the general assembly, by their adjournment, prevented its return, in which case it shall be a law, unless sent back within three days after their next meeting.

24. Every order, resolution or vote, to which the concurrence of both houses may be necessary, (except on a question of adjournment,) shall be presented to the governor, and before it shall take effect, be approved by him, or being disapproved, shall be re-passed by two-thirds of both houses according to the rules and limitations prescribed in case of a bill.

25. No corporate body shall be hereafter created, renewed or extended with banking or discounting privileges, without six months' previous public notice of the intended application for the same in such manner as shall be prescribed by law. Nor shall any charter for the purposes aforesaid, be granted for a longer period than twenty years, and every such charter shall contain a clause reserving to the legislature the power to alter, revoke or annul the same, whenever in their opinion it may be injurious to the citizens of the commonwealth, in such manner, however, that no injustice shall be done to the corporators. No law hereafter enacted, shall create, renew, or extend the charter of more than one corporation.

ART. 2. § 1. The supreme executive power of this commonwealth shall be vested in a governor.

2. The governor shall be chosen on the second Tuesday of October, by the citizens of the commonwealth, at the places where they shall respectively vote for representatives. The returns of every election for governor shall be sealed up and transmitted to the seat of government, directed to the speaker of the senate, who shall open and publish them in the presence of the members of both houses of the legislature. The person having the highest number of votes shall be governor. But if two or more shall be equal and highest in votes, one of them shall be chosen governor by the joint vote of the members of both houses. Contested elections shall be determined by a committee to be selected from both houses of the legislature, and formed and regulated in such manner as shall be directed by law.

3. The governor shall hold his office during three years from the third Tuesday of January next ensuing his election, and shall not be capable of holding it longer than six in any term of nine years.

4. He shall be at least thirty years of age, and have been a citizen and an inhabitant of this state seven years next before his election; unless he shall have been absent on the public business of the United States, or of this state.

5. No member of congress or person holding any office under the United States, or this state, shall exercise the office of governor.

6. The governor shall at stated times receive for his services a compensation, which shall be neither increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected.

7. He shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of this commonwealth, and of the militia, except when they shall be called into the actual service of the United States.

8. He shall appoint a secretary of the commonwealth during pleasure, and he shall nominate,

and by and with the advice and consent of the senate, appoint all judicial officers of courts of record, unless otherwise provided for in this constitution. He shall have power to fill all vacancies that may happen in such judicial offices during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session: Provided, that in acting on executive nominations the senate shall sit with open doors, and in confirming or rejecting the nominations of the governor, the vote shall be taken by yeas and nays.

9. He shall have power to remit fines and forfeitures, and grant reprieves and pardons, except in cases of impeachment.

10. He may require information in writing, from the officers in the executive department, on any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices.

11. He shall, from time to time, give to the general assembly information of the state of the commonwealth, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge expedient.

12. He may, on extraordinary occasions, convene the general assembly; and in case of disagreement between the two houses, with respect to the time of adjournment, adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper, not exceeding four months.

13. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

14. In case of the death or resignation of the governor, or his removal from office, the speaker of the senate shall exercise the office of governor, until another governor shall be duly qualified; but in such case another governor shall be chosen at the next annual election of representatives, unless such death, resignation, or removal, shall occur within three calendar months immediately preceding such next annual election, in which case a governor shall be chosen at the second succeeding annual election of representatives. And if the trial of a contested election shall continue longer than until the third Monday of January next ensuing the election of governor, the governor of the last year, or the speaker of the senate who may be in the exercise of the executive authority, shall continue therein until the determination of such contested election, and until a governor shall be duly qualified as aforesaid.

15. The secretary of the commonwealth shall keep a fair register of all the official acts and proceedings of the governor, and shall, when required, lay the same and all papers, minutes and vouchers relative thereto, before either branch of the legislature, and shall perform such other duties as shall be enjoined him by law.

ART. 3. § 1. In elections by the citizens, every white freeman of the age of twenty-one years, having resided in this state one year, and in the election district where he offers to vote, ten days immediately preceding such election, and within two years paid a state or county tax, which shall have been assessed at least ten days before the election, shall enjoy the rights of an elector. But a citizen of the United States, who had previously been a qualified voter of this state, and removed therefrom and returned, and who shall have resided in the election district, and paid taxes as aforesaid, shall be entitled to vote, after residing in the state six months: Provided, that white freemen, citizens of the United States, between the

ages of twenty-one and twenty-two years, and having resided in the state one year, and in the election district ten days as aforesaid, shall be entitled to vote, although they shall not have paid taxes.

2. All elections shall be by ballot, except those by persons in their representative capacities, who shall vote viva voce.

3. Electors shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of surety of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance on elections, and in going to and returning from them.

ART. 4. § 1. The house of representatives shall have the sole power of impeaching.

2. All impeachments shall be tried by the senate: when sitting for that purpose, the senators shall be upon oath or affirmation. No person shall be convicted, without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

3. The governor, and all other civil officers under this commonwealth, shall be liable to impeachment for any misdemeanor in office; but judgment, in such cases, shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold any office of honor, trust, or profit, under this commonwealth: the party, whether convicted or acquitted, shall, nevertheless, be liable to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

ART. 5. § 1. The judicial power of this commonwealth shall be vested in a supreme court, in courts of oyer and terminer and general jail delivery, in a court of common pleas, orphans' court, register's court, and a court of quarter sessions of the peace, for each county; in justices of the peace, and in such other courts as the legislature may, from time to time, establish.

2. The judges of the supreme court, of the several courts of common pleas, and of such other courts of record as are or shall be established by law, shall be nominated by the governor, and by and with the consent of the senate, appointed and commissioned by him. The judges of the supreme court shall hold their offices for the term of fifteen years, if they shall so long behave themselves well. The president judges of the several courts of common pleas, and of such other courts of record as are or shall be established by law, and all other judges required to be learned in the law, shall hold their offices for the term of ten years, if they shall so long behave themselves well. The associate judges of the courts of common pleas shall hold their offices for the term of five years, if they shall so long behave themselves well. But for any reasonable cause, which shall not be sufficient ground of impeachment, the governor may remove any of them on the address of two-thirds of each branch of the legislature. The judges of the supreme court, and the presidents of the several courts of common pleas, shall at stated times receive for their services an adequate compensation to be fixed by law, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office; but they shall receive no fees or perquisites of office, nor hold any other office of profit under this commonwealth.

3. Until otherwise directed by law, the courts of common pleas shall continue as at present established. Not more than five counties shall at any time be included in one judicial district organized for said courts.

4. The jurisdiction of the supreme court shall

extend over the state; and the judges thereof shall, by virtue of their offices, be justices of oyer and terminer and general jail delivery, in the several counties.

5. The judges of the court of common pleas, in each county, shall, by virtue of their offices, be justices of oyer and terminer and general jail delivery, for the trial of capital and other offenders therein; any two of said judges, the president being one, shall be a quorum; but they shall not hold a court of oyer and terminer, or jail delivery, in any county, when the judges of the supreme court, or any of them, shall be sitting in the same county. The party accused, as well as the commonwealth, may, under such regulations as shall be prescribed by law, remove the indictment and proceedings, or a transcript thereof, into the supreme court.

6. The supreme court, and the several courts of common pleas, shall, beside the powers heretofore usually exercised by them, have the powers of a court of chancery, so far as relates to the perpetuating of testimony, the obtaining of evidence from places not within the state, and the care of the persons and estates of those who are non compos mentis. And the legislature shall vest in the said courts such other powers to grant relief in equity, as shall be found necessary; and may, from time to time, enlarge or diminish those powers, or vest them in such other courts as they shall judge proper, for the due administration of justice.

7. The judges of the court of common pleas of each county, any two of whom shall be a quorum, shall compose the court of quarter sessions of the peace, and orphans' court thereof; and the register of wills, together with the said judges, or any two of them, shall compose the register's court of each county.

8. The judges of the courts of common pleas shall, within their respective counties, have like powers with the judges of the supreme court, to issue writs of certiorari to the justices of the peace, and to cause their proceedings to be brought before them, and the like right and justice to be done.

9. The president of the court in each circuit within such circuit, and the judges of the court of common pleas within their respective counties, shall be justices of the peace, so far as relates to criminal matters.

10. A register's office, for the probate of wills and granting letters of administration, and an office for the recording of deeds, shall be kept in each county.

11. The style of all process shall be "The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania." All prosecutions shall be carried on in the name and by the authority of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and conclude, "against the peace and dignity of the same."

ART. 6. § 1. Sheriffs and coroners shall, at the times and places of elections of representatives, be chosen by the citizens of each county. One person shall be chosen for each office, who shall be commissioned by the governor. They shall hold their offices for three years, if they shall so long behave themselves well, and until a successor be duly qualified; but no person shall be twice chosen or appointed sheriff in any term of six years. Vacancies in either of the said offices shall be filled by an appointment, to be made by the governor,

to continue until the next general election, and until a successor shall be chosen and qualified as aforesaid.

2. The freemen of this commonwealth shall be armed, organized, and disciplined for its defence, when and in such manner as may be directed by law. Those who conscientiously scruple to bear arms, shall not be compelled to do so, but shall pay an equivalent for personal service.

3. Prothonotaries of the supreme court shall be appointed by the said court for the term of three years, if they so long behave themselves well. Prothonotaries and clerks of the several other courts, records of deeds, and registers of wills, shall, at the times and places of election of representatives, be elected by the qualified electors of each county, or the districts over which the jurisdiction of said courts extends, and shall be commissioned by the governor. They shall hold their offices for three years, if they shall so long behave themselves well, and until their successors shall be duly qualified. The legislature shall provide by law the number of persons in each county who shall hold said offices, and how many and which of said offices shall be held by one person. Vacancies in any of the said offices shall be filled by appointments to be made by the governor, to continue until the next general election, and until successors shall be elected and qualified as aforesaid.

4. Prothonotaries, clerks of the peace and orphans' courts, recorders of deeds, registers of wills, and sheriffs, shall keep their offices in the county town of the county in which they, respectively, shall be officers, unless when the governor shall, for special reasons, dispense therewith, for any term not exceeding five years after the county shall have been erected.

5. All commissions shall be in the name and by the authority of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and be sealed with the state seal, and signed by the governor.

6. A state treasurer shall be elected annually, by joint vote of both branches of the legislature.

7. Justices of the peace, or aldermen, shall be elected in the several wards, boroughs, and townships, at the time of the election of constables by the qualified voters thereof, in such number as shall be directed by law, and shall be commissioned by the governor for a term of five years. But no township, ward or borough, shall elect more than two justices of the peace or aldermen without the consent of a majority of the qualified electors within such township, ward or borough.

8. All officers whose election or appointment is not provided for in this constitution, shall be elected or appointed as shall be directed by law. No person shall be appointed to any office within any county who shall not have been a citizen and an inhabitant therein one year next before his appointment, if the county shall have been so long erected; but if it shall not have been so long erected, then within the limits of the county or counties out of which it shall have been taken. No member of congress from this state, or any person holding or exercising any office or appointment of trust or profit under the United States, shall at the same time hold or exercise any office in this state, to which a salary is, or fees or perquisites are, by law, annexed: and the legislature may by law declare what state offices are incompatible. No

member of the senate or of the house of representatives shall be appointed by the governor to any office during the term for which he shall have been elected.

9. All officers for a term of years shall hold their offices for the terms respectively specified, only on the condition that they so long behave themselves well; and shall be removed on conviction of misbehavior in office, or of any infamous crime.

10. Any person who shall, after the adoption of the amendments proposed by this convention to the constitution, fight a duel, or send a challenge for that purpose, or be an aider or abettor in fighting a duel, shall be deprived of the right of holding any office of honor or profit in this state, and shall be punished otherwise in such manner as is, or may be, prescribed by law; but the executive may remit the said offence and all its disqualifications.

ART. 7. § 1. The legislature shall, as soon as conveniently may be, provide, by law, for the establishment of schools throughout the state, in such manner that the poor may be taught gratis.

2. The arts and sciences shall be promoted in one or more seminaries of learning.

3. The rights, privileges, immunities and estates of religious societies and corporate bodies, shall remain as if the constitution of this state had not been altered or amended.

4. The legislature shall not invest any corporate body or individual with the privilege of taking private property for public use, without requiring such corporation or individual to make compensation to the owners of said property, or give adequate security therefor, before such property shall be taken.

ART. 8. Members of the general assembly and all officers, executive and judicial, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support the constitution of this commonwealth, and to perform the duties of their respective offices with fidelity.

ART. 9. That the general, great and essential principles of liberty and free government may be recognized and unalterably established, we declare:

1. That all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain inherent and inalienable rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty, of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property and reputation, and of pursuing their own happiness.

2. That all power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their peace, safety, and happiness: For the advancement of those ends, they have, at all times, an unalienable and inalienable right to alter, reform, or abolish their government, in such manner as they may think proper.

3. That all men have a natural and inalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences; that no man can, of right, be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry against his consent; that no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience; and that no preference shall ever be given, by law, to any religious establishments or modes of worship.

4. That no person who acknowledges the being of a God and a future state of rewards and punishments, shall, on account of his religious sentiments, be disqualified to hold any office or place of trust or profit under this commonwealth.

5. That elections shall be free and equal.

6. That trial by jury shall be as heretofore, and the right thereof remain inviolate.

7. That the printing presses shall be free to every person, who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the legislature or any branch of government: and no law shall ever be made to restrain the right thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every citizen may freely speak, write and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty. In prosecutions for the publication of papers, investigating the official conduct of officers, or men in a public capacity, or where the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence; and, in all indictments for libels, the jury shall have a right to determine the law and the facts, under the direction of the court, as in other cases.

8. That the people shall be secure in their persons, houses, papers and possessions, from unreasonable searches and seizures; and that no warrant to search any place, or to seize any person or things, shall issue without describing them as nearly as may be, nor without probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation.

9. That in all criminal prosecutions, the accused hath a right to be heard by himself and his counsel, to demand the nature and cause of the accusation against him, to meet the witnesses face to face, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and in prosecutions by indictment or information, a speedy trial by an impartial jury of the vicinage: that he cannot be compelled to give evidence against himself, nor can he be deprived of his life, liberty or property, unless by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land.

10. That no person shall, for any indictable offence, be proceeded against criminally by information; except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service in time of war or public danger; or by leave of the court for oppression and misdemeanor in office. No person shall for the same offence be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall any man's property be taken, or applied to public use, without the consent of his representatives, and without just compensation being made.

11. That all courts shall be open, and every man for an injury done him in his lands, goods, person or reputation, shall have remedy by the due course of law, and right and justice administered without sale, denial, or delay. Suits may be brought against the commonwealth in such manner, in such courts, and in such cases, as the legislature may, by law, direct.

12. That no power of suspending laws shall be exercised, unless by the legislature, or its authority.

13. That excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel punishments inflicted.

14. That all prisoners shall be bailable by sufficient sureties, unless for capital offences, when the proof is evident or presumption great: and the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

15. That no commission of oyer and terminer or jail delivery shall be issued.

16. That the person of a debtor, where there is not strong presumption of fraud, shall not be continued in prison after delivering up his estate for the benefit of his creditors in such manner as shall be prescribed by law.

17. That no *ex post facto* law, nor any law impairing contracts, shall be made.

18. That no person shall be attainted of treason or felony by the legislature.

19. That no attainer shall work corruption of blood; nor, except during the life of the offender, forfeiture of estate to the commonwealth: that the estates of such persons as shall destroy their own lives, shall descend or vest as in case of natural death; and if any person shall be killed by casualty, there shall be no forfeiture by reason thereof.

20. That the citizens have a right, in a peaceable manner, to assemble together for their common good, and to apply to those invested with the powers of government for redress of grievances, or other proper purposes, by petition, redress, or remonstrance.

21. That the right of the citizens to bear arms, in defence of themselves and the state, shall not be questioned.

22. That no standing army shall, in time of peace, be kept up, without the consent of the legislature; and the military shall, in all cases, and at all times, be in strict subordination to the civil power.

23. That no soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

24. That the legislature shall not grant any title of nobility or hereditary distinction, nor create any office the appointment to which shall be for a longer term than during good behavior.

25. That emigration from the state shall not be prohibited.

26. To guard against transgressions of the high powers which we have delegated, we declare, that every thing in this article is excepted out of the general powers of the government, and shall forever remain inviolate.

ART. 10. Any amendment or amendments to this constitution may be proposed in the senate or house of representatives, and if the same shall be agreed to by a majority of the members elected to each house, such proposed amendment or amendments shall be entered on their journals, with the yeas and nays taken thereon, and the secretary of the commonwealth shall cause the same to be published three months before the next election, in at least one newspaper in every county in which a newspaper shall be published; and if in the legislature next afterwards chosen, such proposed amendment or amendments shall be agreed to by a majority of the members elected to each house, the secretary of the commonwealth shall cause the same again to be published in manner aforesaid, and such proposed amendment or amendments shall be submitted to the people in such manner and at such time, at least three months after being so agreed to by the two houses, as the legislature shall prescribe; and if the people shall approve and ratify such amendment or amendments by a majority of the qualified voters of this state voting thereon, such amendment or amendments shall become a part of the constitution, but no

amendment or amendments shall be submitted to the people oftener than once in five years: Provided, that if more than one amendment be submitted, they shall be submitted in such manner and form, that the people may vote for or against each amendment separately and distinctly.

SCHEDULE.

That no inconvenience may arise from the alterations and amendments in the constitution of this commonwealth, and in order to carry the same into complete operation, it is hereby declared and ordained, that:

1. All laws of this commonwealth in force at the time when the said alterations and amendments in the said constitution shall take effect, and not inconsistent therewith, and all rights, prosecutions, actions, claims, and contracts, as well of individuals as of bodies corporate, shall continue as if the said alterations and amendments had not been made.

2. The alterations and amendments in the said constitution shall take effect from the first day of January, eighteen hundred and thirty-nine.

3. The clauses, sections, and articles of the said constitution which remain unaltered, shall continue to be construed and have effect as if the said constitution had not been amended.

4. The general assembly which shall convene in December, eighteen hundred and thirty-eight, shall continue its session, as heretofore, notwithstanding the provision in the eleventh section of the first article, and shall at all times be regarded as the first general assembly under the amended constitution.

5. The governor, who shall be elected in October, eighteen hundred and thirty-eight, shall be inaugurated on the third Tuesday in January, eighteen hundred and thirty-nine; to which time the present executive term is hereby extended.

6. The commissions of the judges of the supreme court who may be in office on the first day of January next, shall expire in the following manner:—The commission which bears the earliest date shall expire on the first day of January, anno domini one thousand eight hundred and forty-two: the commission next dated shall expire on the first day of January, anno domini one thousand eight hundred and forty-five: the commission next dated shall expire on the first day of January, anno domini one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight: the commission next dated shall expire on the first day of January, anno domini one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one: and the commission last dated shall expire on the first day of January, anno domini one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four.

7. The commissions of the president judges of the several judicial districts, and of the associate law judges of the first judicial district, shall expire as follows:—The commissions of one-half of those who shall have held their offices ten years or more, at the adoption of the amendments to the constitution, shall expire on the twenty-seventh day of February, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine: the commissions of the other half of those who shall have held their offices ten years or more, at the adoption of the amendments to the constitution, shall expire on the twenty-seventh day of February, one thousand eight hundred and forty-two: the first half to embrace those whose commissions shall bear the oldest date. The com-

missions of all the remaining judges who shall not have held their offices for ten years at the adoption of the amendments to the constitution, shall expire on the twenty-seventh day of February next after the end of ten years from the date of their commissions.

8. The recorders of the several mayors' courts, and other criminal courts in this commonwealth, shall be appointed for the same time and in the same manner as the president judges of the several judicial districts: of those now in office, the commissions oldest in date shall expire on the twenty-seventh day of February, one thousand eight hundred and forty-one, and the others every two years thereafter according to their respective dates: those oldest in date expiring first.

9. The legislature, at its first session under the amended constitution, shall divide the other associate judges of the state into four classes. The commissions of those of the first class shall expire on the twenty-seventh day of February, eighteen hundred and forty: of those of the second class on the twenty-seventh day of February, eighteen hundred and forty-one: of those of the third class on the twenty-seventh day of February, eighteen hundred and forty-two: and of those of the fourth class on the twenty-seventh day of February, eighteen hundred and forty-three. The said classes, from the first to the fourth, shall be arranged according to the seniority of the commissions of the several judges.

10. Prothonotaries, clerks of the several courts, (except of the supreme court,) recorders of deeds, and registers of wills, shall be first elected under the amended constitution, at the election of representatives, in the year eighteen hundred and thirty-nine, in such manner as may be prescribed by law.

11. The appointing power shall remain as heretofore, and all officers in the appointment of the executive department shall continue in the exercise of the duties of their respective offices until the legislature shall pass such laws as may be required by the eighth section of the sixth article of the amended constitution, and until appointments shall be made under such laws; unless their commissions shall be superseded by new appointments, or shall sooner expire by their own limitations, or the said offices shall become vacant by death or resignation, and such laws shall be enacted by the first legislature under the amended constitution.

12. The first election for aldermen and justices of the peace shall be held in the year eighteen hundred and forty, at the time fixed for the election of constables. The legislature, at its first session under the amended constitution, shall provide for the said election, and for subsequent similar elections. The aldermen and justices of the peace now in commission, or who may in the interim be appointed, shall continue to discharge the duties of their respective offices until fifteen days after the day which shall be fixed by law for the issuing of new commissions, at the expiration of which time their commissions shall expire.

In testimony that the foregoing is the amended constitution of Pennsylvania, as agreed to in convention, we, the officers and members of the convention, have hereunto signed our names, at Philadelphia, the twenty-second day of February, anno domini one thousand

eight hundred and thirty-eight, and of the independence of the United States of America the sixty-second.

JOHN SERGEANT, *President*.

(Attest) S. SNOCH, *Secretary*.

GEORGE L. FAUSS, } *Ass't Secretaries*.
J. WILLIAMS, }

Distinguished Modern Whig Editors turning Honest.—The editor of the *Courier and Enquirer* in substance *substantiates* the *Federal Election Frauds* of "1838 and 1839," and the editor of the "*National Intelligencer*" gives the *lie* to the promised "better times;" and the famous "*Anti-Masonic*" editor comes out against the *oppressive Registry Law* for the city of New York, which was hurried through the Legislature by the Federal Whigs, to aid them to carry the charter election for the city of New York.

For the truth of the above statement, we annex what each of the three *worthy* editors say themselves.

"The charges injurious to the character of Jonathan D. Stevenson, in relation to the evidence given by him on the examination into the alleged election frauds of 1838 and 1839, and as to conduct in regard to the pilot law, made in the *Courier and Enquirer* of the 27th October, 1840, were made without any personal knowledge on our part of their truth or falsity—but at the time of making them, from information, we believed them to be true. As now advised, we believe that these charges are without just foundation, and should therefore never have been made, and we esteem it proper that they should be considered as withdrawn.—*Courier & Enquirer*, Jan. 7.

"That the condition of our country has grown relatively worse and worse, instead of better and better, as we and all our readers hoped and believed, under the changed circumstances of the government at the beginning of last year, that it would have done, is too true to need demonstration."—*National Intelligencer*.

"Our friends in the city of New York erred in making the Registry Law a party question. The evils which they desired to correct, would have, ere now, become so onerous to both parties, that the remedy would have been acceptable to all. Laws—especially laws affecting the elective franchise—must have the sanction of popular opinion, or they cannot be sustained. The Registry Law, had there been no other objection to it than its *partizan* character, would have been obnoxious to popular sentiment. But, in our judgment, there were other and higher objections to the New York Registry Law. It was demanded, however, by our friends, whose motives were pure and patriotic. It was signed, most reluctantly, by the Executive, who, foreseeing, forewarned its friends of the consequences.—*Albany Eve. Journal*.

Paul Grout's Speech in the Assembly to Repeal the Registry Act in the City of New York.—We had written a reply to the sophistry of *Squire Weed* about the "motives" of the Federal Whigs

being "pure and patriotic," in relation to the Registry Law—but we have given in its stead the speech of our distinguished working man, Paul Grout, in the Assembly on that subject, which must, and no doubt will, be viewed as a complete knock-down argument to the statements of the pipe-laying tribe, &c. It will also show that working men are capable of doing some things as well as others.

Mr. Grout asked the indulgence of the house for a few moments. He should not have said one word on this subject had the bill been permitted to pass in silence; but he was not disposed to suffer the imputation thrown out by the gentleman from Essex to pass entirely unnoticed. He alluded to the remark of that gentleman, that opposition to the Registry had been made a political hobby for the younger and more zealous of the Democratic party to straddle and ride rough-shod over not only their opponents, but the more moderate and conservative portion of their own party. Mr. G. had supposed that the gentleman from Essex had seen enough of the deep and indignant feeling of the citizens of New York under the operation of this Registry Act, as expressed through their representatives on this floor, and in all forms of remonstrance and protest from the Common Council of the city, and directly from the citizens themselves, to convince him that there was no pretence—no mere hobby-riding in this repeal movement, now about to be consummated. But if the uniform and earnest voice of complaint and protestation which had been heard from the great city ever since the act in question became a law, had not convinced the gentleman that New York was thoroughly and unalterably opposed to it, and that too, without reference to its party aspects and designs, Mr. G. did not know what evidence the gentleman would have of the state of the public sentiment on this subject.

But there were circumstances attending the passage of the Registry Act, which led all fair minded and honest men to look with suspicion on it from the start—aside from the provisions of the bill itself. Mr. G. denied that there was even purity of intention on the part of the wire-pullers and contrivers of this law. It emanated from foul and corrupt sources. It was the contrivance of that unprincipled clique of politicians who were identified with the treasonable election frauds of 1838-9—aye, of men, some of whom were located about the city pending those elections, charged with the especial duty of changing clothes for the gangs of fraudulent voters known to have been imported, at so much a head, from Philadelphia and other places, in order that they might more successfully carry out the corrupt designs upon the ballot boxes for which they were brought there. Members who were here in 1840, could not but remember that two or three persons of that description were to be seen constantly on the floor of the House or the Senate, whose business it was to lobby through not only the Registry bill, but several other bills of the same corrupt character—that they were successful in these efforts, and were subsequently implicated and convicted, in public opinion at least, in the election frauds to which he had alluded. But a single circumstance

would suffice to show the entire absence of principle and sincerity in those who were instrumental in procuring the passage of the batch of bills for New York which signalized that session. Mr. G. produced a letter dated at New York on the 12th January, 1840, addressed to an Assistant Alderman of a Whig ward in New York, then in Albany, stating, among other things, what the Whig party of the city expected at the hands of the then Whig Legislature. Among these requisitions, was the passage of the Registry Law, the Criminal Court bill, the Marine Court bill, &c., the bill taking from the Mayor the appointment of Marshals—nearly all which suggestions were carried out by the Legislature. To show that the writer of that letter had the confidence of those high in authority here at that time, it would be sufficient to state that he suggests that Senators, and even the Attorney General, should be consulted on the points covered by the letter. Mr. G. proceeded to read a single passage from the letter, in which the writer expresses the opinion that the Whig party should not waste powder on the spring election, but stake all on the November contest—and expresses the hope that meanwhile the party would be stirred up to perfect an efficient, thorough and secret organization, under which the names of every active and doubtful man, from the larger sections down to school districts, should be obtained—adding that the former were the tools to work with, and the doubtful the subjects on which their skill was to be exercised. Mr. G. repeated, that in view of the intentions and designs of the prime movers in the passage of this Registry bill, however honest and upright a majority of those who voted for it may have been, he felt justified in saying that it had its origin in the most corrupt and despicable sources.

Mr. G., in reply to the allusion to a petition from New York in favor of a registry, in times gone by, said that it was enough to remind the House that the Legislature, which was then Democratic, refused to pass any such law, on the express ground of its unconstitutionality. And Mr. G. passed to the other considerations having a bearing on the motives of those who got up the registry and crowded it upon the city—dwelling upon the fact acknowledged by the presses of both parties, that the election preceding the passage of the registry act, was a fairer and more satisfactory expression of the popular will than had ever been had in the city.

Resolutions passed at the Democratic Convention of Rockingham, Maine, 11th January, 1842.—These resolutions ought to be read by every admirer of Democratic principles.

The Committee on Resolutions reported the following, which were unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That the administration of Martin Van Buren, like that of his patriotic predecessor, was calculated to secure equal rights and privileges to all—exclusive to none; to preserve our national honor pure and unsullied, both at home and among the rest of the nations of the earth, and, therefore, worthy the admiration of the honest and intelligent throughout the civilized world.

Resolved, That our national Constitution contains certain expressed and delegated powers, sufficient for all national purposes, and calculated, when rightly used, “to promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.”

Resolved, That a latitudinous construction of the Constitution, like the doctrine of expediency, is dangerous to Liberty, and threatens our ships of State with a wreck upon the shoals and quicksands, with which must perish the brightest and most cheering hopes of the human race.

Resolved, That the Independent Treasury law, giving impunity to none, exacting strict accountability of all, infusing health and stability into the currency, exposing and preventing fraud and excessive issue, was anticipated by the Constitution, and, although repealed by means disgraceful to the American character, is still destined to throw around us its ample ægis, by becoming the supreme law of the land.

Resolved, That the Loan Bill, passed at the late Extraordinary Session of Congress, was unnecessary and uncalled for, exclusive in its provisions, designed more for a remuneration to foreign stock-jobbers for their pecuniary influence in our elections, than for the substantial good of the government, and is the result of that (foreign) doctrine, “a national debt is a national blessing”—a doctrine, which, in its results, has entailed upon England an overwhelming debt, and, for the aggrandizement of the few, reduced the majority of her subjects to practical and helpless servitude.

Resolved, That the Distribution Bill, passed at the late Extraordinary Session of Congress, is virtually an assumption of the State Debts, UNCONSTITUTIONAL, unequal, subversive of all the principles of, and destructive of all the landmarks between, the General and State Governments, and calls loudly upon New Hampshire, as one of the creators of the General Government, manfully to refuse the reception of the unhallowed and corrupting bribe so basely tendered her by her creature.

Resolved, That the excessive taxes upon commerce, imposed by the late Extraordinary Session of Congress, for the obvious purpose of supplying a deficiency in the National Treasury, created by giving away the public moneys, is a mark of any thing but wise and statesmanlike legislation, injurious to commerce, oppressive to the people, and, together with the Distribution Bill, forms an agrarian system the most detestable, and therefore meets our unqualified disapprobation, and shall be sure of our unflinching opposition.

Resolved, That a United States Bank, or an institution of whatever name, having, like the late United States Bank, power to place the public purse in the hands of a soulless and irresponsible corporation; to discount notes, to expand and contract the currency, thereby altering the prices of commodities and possessing itself of the fruits of others' industry; to corrupt our legislative assemblies by loaning large sums of money to legislators without security; to plunder the widow and orphan, and lavish the spoils upon its officers, is UNCONSTITUTIONAL, destructive of Liberty, and therefore that we, as patriots, have sworn, upon the altar of our God, eternal hostility to any and every such institution, under whatever name or form.

Resolved, That Rotation in Office is one of the vital principles of the Democratic Creed, and that

we hold that man an enemy to the rights of the people who wilfully departs from it.

Resolved, That we view the conduct of those who, for purposes of self-aggrandizement, have abandoned this principle, to be Aristocratic in the full sense of the word, and do not believe it safe to trust our liberties in their hands, believing that they would make merchandize of our blood-bought privileges, and buy and sell our suffrages as they would any other commodity.—*New Hampshire Gazette*.

The Bankers' Circular, in which Messrs. Biddle and Jaudon are represented as the greatest Financiers, Managers of Exchanges, &c., the world ever produced, &c., &c.—It will be recollected by a large portion of "this community," that in January, 1838, the Federal Whig prints, from Maine to Georgia, with great pomp republished a certain article from the "Bankers' Circular," in which Biddle and Jaudon are held up as gods in money matters, &c. When we first read the article under consideration, we not only pronounced it the production of Mr. Biddle and certain persons directly connected with the United States Bank, but that the whole was a plot to deceive the community on both sides of the Atlantic, and that the bubble would shortly burst—and that, too, with a tremendous crash. We are under the impression that we made this statement to the editor of the Federal paper we now copy the article from, viz. the New York Gazette, then edited by Mr. Daniels. The following is the article, with a kind of passport by, we believe, said editor.

[From the New York Gazette, January 23d, 1838.]

From the Bankers' Circular.

Banking, Paper Money and Currency—A United States Bank in the City of London, and Mr. Jaudon the Agent.—The Circular of the past week goes at length into this matter, and throws considerable light upon what the United States Bankers want. The Circular may be supposed to be exceedingly well informed on this subject, and may be regarded as an authority. We give the article entire.

"The Bank of the United States is become so important an agent in our transatlantic commerce that its projects and operations are of the highest interest to the manufacturers, merchants, and bankers of this country. The promptitude and boldness with which Mr. Biddle came to the aid of the merchants of New York, when they sent, last April or May, a deputation of their body to crave his assistance, is alone a proof of his confident, energetic, and enterprising character; the whole tenor of his life affords evidence of sagacity foresight and circumspection. If we correctly apprehend the necessity of the case which has caused the Bank of the United States to appoint their own special exclusive agent in London, and clearly understand the objects which Mr. Jaudon wishes to attain, the arrangement in progress must command approbation. The necessity of the case is produced by the rupture of almost all the means of maintaining the usual commercial relations and

correspondences between England and the United States. Mr. Biddle is attempting to apply the extensive and powerful machinery which he directs to effect the same purpose, by somewhat different means, which the five or six firms, now prostrate, defunct, or restricted by prudence, formerly accomplished. The objects contemplated are the establishment of a system of exchange between the two countries, facile, equable, permanent and regular in its operation; and an open every day market for the sale of American stocks. This briefly describes the origin of the measure and the purposes to which it is directed; and we believe that the statement, though general, may, as far as it goes, be taken as a strictly correct one.

"To go a little more into detail. As to the necessity, nothing further is required than to let it be borne in mind that this severe lesson of prudence and caution which the Bank of England has enforced upon all, and the alarm she has inspired in some, have rendered almost all merchants unwilling to come under obligations commensurate with the extent of the legitimate traffic carried on by the traders and merchants of England and America. The number of firms driven out of the American trade would cause an amazing increase of the obligations of those that remain, if the same amount of business is to be done in future as in past years. We shall not very soon again hear of acceptances being given by our English firms to their correspondents, amounting to two or three millions sterling; and of such amounts or of sums varying between £1,500,000 and £3,000,000, being constantly kept in circulation.—These immense sums have been altogether withdrawn from active employment; they constituted the credit currency of the merchants and manufacturers, and were of as much importance to them as the circulation of the notes of the Bank of England are to the internal traffic of their country. They were the means of carrying on the trade between England and the United States, and it never can be restored to a healthy and regular action without some such remedy as that which Mr. Biddle is now applying. And as a proof of his zeal and sagaciously enterprising spirit, we may repeat what we intimated some weeks ago, viz: that the Bank of the United States has received a sufficient amount of funds and securities from Messrs. Brown & Co. to induce that Bank to propose to the Bank of England to take the debt as a transfer due from the Liverpool house to that corporation, on condition of the guarantees lodged to secure it being given up and cancelled. This proposal was declined on some ground which the Directors may explain; they proposed, we believe, to relinquish all the securities held by them for advances to the house, except collateral guarantees. We recur to the fact only for the purpose of illustrating the necessity of the cases with which Mr. Biddle has to deal, and his foresight and energy in attempting a remedy. To bring such a house as that of Brown & Co. again into independent action was an object of sufficient magnitude and importance.

"Then as to the objects or means of renovation and of provisions for the healthy and equable action of supply and demand in future. Is it the design of Mr. Biddle to draw the same amount of bills on his agent, Mr. Jaudon, as formerly circulated upon Baring, Brown, Wilson, and other

eminent merchants? No such thing. But he does intend—and it would serve no good purpose to attempt to blink the question—he does intend to place, by one means or other, the same amount of British capital at the service of his fellow citizens as they have for the last eight or ten years been able to command. And when the most eminent merchants are declining to co-operate in such an enterprise, in the same manner as heretofore, upon a scale commensurate with the occasion, we honor Mr. Biddle for his boldness, energetic promptitude, and long-sightedness in attempting to accomplish the great purpose of restoring commerce by his own independent resources of capital and credit. The means are legitimate and familiar to the people of England. His method of proceeding we imagine will be this: he will try, through the instrumentality of Mr. Jaudon and other agencies, ostensible or unobserved, to establish a current daily market for American securities; which, after those of Great Britain, are the best securities for the investment of money that the whole world affords. With this will be attempted the bringing into action a regularly working system of Exchange. This point requires more space for explanation than we can now give it. It may be sufficient for our present purpose to intimate the difference that exists in the state of the Foreign Exchange with the United States and any foreign country, with which we carry on intercourse. A bill is drawn at Petersburg, Vienna, Hamburg, Amsterdam, or Paris, upon any large town in England, or Scotland, or at any such town upon any of those cities, can, at all times, be as readily sold, at a given rate of exchange, as a bundle of twist, a bale of cloth, or a case of hardware can at their respective values. Such transactions are of ordinary daily occurrence; there are dozens of customers always ready to buy bills on any great European city. Ask any broker on the Royal Exchange to sell a large bill on Boston, Baltimore, New York, or Philadelphia—granted all that can be asked for the responsibility of the drawer—and he would at once say, “I do not know who is to buy this at any fixed fair price of exchange; I will ask Barings, Rothschild, or Lizardi, what they will give for it.” Whereas, in the case of a similar bill upon any European city, the broker would at once be able to say, within a minute fraction, at what rate he could sell. The Foreign Exchanges with the United States is a one-sided operation. From New York or Philadelphia upon Liverpool or Manchester, it works as freely at a given rate as from Liverpool upon Havre. Havre upon London; but from Leeds, or Sheffield, or Birmingham, upon any city of the United States, bills are not so current as to afford much profit to the brokers; indeed they would with difficulty meet with a sale at all. It is, we believe, one of the primary objects of Mr. Jaudon to establish a regularly working exchange where such bills shall be current.

“Such has been the occasion, and such are the objects of Mr. Jaudon’s mission. They are of indescribable interest and importance: not merely on account of their immediate bearing on the welfare and prosperity of those classes whose industry is more or less dependent on American commerce, but to public functionaries in the Government and the Bank of England. The mission is one requiring great address and circumspection, as well

as much experience of British influence, to ensure its complete success. Over-confidence and precipitation would inevitably endanger it. We have yet discovered no symptom of a weakness of this nature, unless the putting forward by zealous and officious friends of the Bank of the United States, startling accounts of the banking accommodations that may at particular times be required for short periods. Mr. Jaudon has not offered his account to any banker who refused it. He was, we understand, introduced by Messrs. Baring to one or more of the principal city bankers; and, previous to deciding, he held conversations with several of those bankers who are most conversant with American affairs, relating to their terms of transacting such business as he would have to offer. We know of no hesitation manifested by any of the parties addressed, to keep the account according to the ordinary method of working London accounts. But the Bank of the United States has, we believe, at this time a very large amount of cash in the hands of their old agents. When this, or any considerable portion of it, is about to be transferred, Mr. Jaudon must discover the means of making it yield some interest, and if the rigid rules of the London Bankers preclude this being effected by their instrumentality, he must find some other method. He must, in short, provide for occasional glut and occasional scarcity in his supplies of cash. He has opened a deposit account at the Bank of England, and a general business account with Messrs. Denison & Co.

“With respect to bills to be drawn upon Mr. Jaudon by the Bank of the United States, the wish of that establishment at present clearly is to restrict such transactions; and bills will be given out charily and upon a high rate of exchange. We understand the amount yet drawn is utterly insignificant, not exceeding ten or twelve thousand pounds. The object is rather to give facilities and encouragement to the sale and circulation in England of other American credit in the shape of shares, bonds, &c., than that of the Bank of the United States, in the form of bills drawn upon its agent.

“The profits of the Bank of England, like those of all banks, are dependent on the nature of their custom, except when they speculate for gain, as in the purchase of the Dead-weight. Ordinary banking profits were large with all the banks for a considerable period previous to the close of the year 1836, because prices were comparatively high, and from the progressive rise and returns in business were large, and the universal stir and activity centred partly in banking profits. The Bank of England departed further from a prudent and precautionary course to grasp at these increased profits than the great mass of private banks, and out of such gains, riskfully obtained, they were enabled to pay half-yearly dividends of four per cent., without trenching much upon the “rest,” or reserved fund. This reserve is by no means greater in amount than it ought to be for such an establishment as the Bank of England. To lower it materially is a thing which prudence forbids. In these circumstances, it would be impossible to pay a dividend of four per cent. next March, because the Bank has now a very heavy unproductive lock-up in the shape of gold, and because the Directors have annihilated some of their best custom at Liverpool, Manchester, and Bir-

mingham, by their vacillation and weakness in damaging the credit of the American merchants in September, 1836; and in letting solvent firms drop in June, after supporting them for three months. The Corporation must submit to the consequences of bad banking, as well as the smallest Country Banker. The result must be a reduction of the dividend paid to their proprietors. The prevalent opinion is that the reduction will be two per cent., viz: from eight to six per cent. per annum. Our own impression is that in the first instance it will be half that, from eight to seven per cent. per annum.

"The Foreign Exchanges are now approximating to that point which would indicate a little profit on sending gold abroad. We should be glad to see some of it depart; there would be no ground for alarm if it did, because, in the present state of the circulation, the most insignificant action on the part of the bank would be sufficient to check any drain."

In republishing the above article, we are aware that little advantage or instruction will be gained to the majority of our subscribers, except as to additional knowledge and proof of the various *tricks* and means resorted to by Messrs. Biddle, Jaudon & Co., to cheat and swindle the community evidently for the purpose of *making the rich richer and the poor poorer*, by stealing from the many to *give* to the few. We now take leave of this *Precious Pair & Co.*, by inserting the following:—

Biddle and Company bound over.—The examination in this case, before Recorder Vaux, was brought to a close last night about 9 o'clock, which resulted in the Recorder stating it as his firm belief, that there was sufficient cause produced in the investigation and testimony before him, to warrant him in binding the defendants over, and he accordingly bound over Nicholas Biddle, Samuel Jaudon, Cowperthwaite, Thomas Dunlap, and John Andrews, each in the sum of \$10,000, in two sureties, to appear at the Court of General Sessions, to answer the charges brought against them by Austin Montgomery, that is, for a conspiracy to rob and cheat the stockholders of the United States Bank.—*Philadelphia Enquirer.*

"Philadelphia is not only a degraded, but a deeply afflicted city. Hundreds of worthy families have been plunged into the deepest distress and poverty, by the infamous conduct of Biddle and his coadjutors. Nor can any one predict where this evil will end. Their banks are virtually bankrupt, and the people have lost all confidence in their 'promises to pay.' 'Benton mint drops' are as scarce as cherries in winter, and nothing but depreciated or worthless rags are in circulation. I am glad to learn that these bank swindlers are beginning to receive their deserts; and if justice is done, Biddle and his partners in iniquity will receive the reward of their doings. This city is now, and has been for years, the hot bed of all the financial schemes which have disgraced and ruined our country."—*Evening Post.*

A Princely Salary.—It was proved before the Recorder, in the examination pending the binding over of Nicholas Biddle and others, that Samuel

Jaudon had realized \$84,000 per annum, as agent for the Bank in England. He also asked, and finally received, in addition, the sum of \$67,910 for extra services. Our only wonder is, that he did not receive a ton of silver plate from the plundered stockholders. He might have had at least half a ton, if, like Mr. Biddle, he had retired.—*Hartford Times.*

A National Bank.—It is but a few years since a great political party, struggling for the mastery, were bold and fearless in their avowals of favoritism for a National Bank. Political financiers and political presses were claiming and urging that without such an institution, we never could have commercial quiet—regularity and facility in the exchanges, and stability and safety in the currency of the country.

In all this they were seconded and supported by the party leaders and thousands of their followers, and the almost universal cry of those opposed to the administration of the illustrious Jackson, was, "down with the Tyrant and Usurper!"—"the deposits must be restored!"—"the BANK RECHARTERED!" and "the business of the country revived!"

But the silent and onward progress of truth and right, as certain and unavoidable as the march of time, has worked great changes in public opinion.

The advocates of a National Bank are less numerous, and their attachment to such an institution is gradually weakening as the events of each year unfold and develop its immense power to do evil.

During the late contest for the Presidency, the boldness which had hitherto characterized its advocates, was cautiously laid aside and a miserable attempt to deceive the people to support a measure towards which they have a growing repugnance, was adroitly made by the same men who had so often been defeated in the open contest.

The people were warned of this before the election and during the canvass—and the opening of the Extra Session but too fully confirmed the apprehensions of those who deprecate the existence of a National Bank.

Another attempt and another failure more signal than all before, to establish it, was again made in Congress.

In connexion with this, other events have transpired, which give a certain indication to the current of public opinion.

The "Great Regulator," with its enormous load of political iniquities, has at least been crushed beneath a burthen it can no longer bear, and has already received the merited condemnation of all men and all parties.

Biddle and his satellites, "fallen from their high estate," have already been branded as criminals, ready and ripe for the vengeance of the violated laws, and none of the millions who once "did them reverence," will ever sympathize in their misfortunes.

Political presses, who, less than a twelvemonth since, were singing praises to the "BANK," have renounced their attachment, and denounced it as a "millstone about the necks" of any party.

In our commercial cities, and even in the halls of Congress, where, during the extra session, the attempt to include monied and other corporations in the provisions of the Bankrupt Law, was met

and denounced by the old cry of "THE WAR OF LOCOFOCOISM upon the BANKS, the BUSINESS, and the CREDIT of the country." The policy and expediency of such a provision is now generally admitted, and its adoption urged by the voice of mass conventions of the people.

All these are among the "signs of the times," which assure us that the Bank question is soon to be settled forever.

The day is near at hand when the American people will see more clearly than ever the wisdom and sagacity of the hero and statesman, who, in a seemingly perilous hour, had the firmness to "MAKE WAR UPON THE BANK AND THE CREDIT SYSTEM," and who, throwing himself upon the indulgency of his countrymen, assured them that, "if sustained in his efforts, he should feel grateful and happy, if not, he should find in the motives which impelled him, ample ground for contentment and peace."

They did sustain him, and the hope is still indulged, that he may yet be spared to see the consummation of those great measures of policy in aid of which it has been his part to render so important service.—*Ontario Messenger*.

The Beauties of Whig Legislation.—The Whig party came into power under promises of reform, economy, the restoration of business and of a sound currency to the people, the elevation of State credit, and the relief of unfortunate bankrupts.

How have they fulfilled these promises? They called together an extraordinary session of Congress, at an expense of half a million of dollars. The first act of that Congress was to vote a large sum to the furnishing of the White House and the embellishment of its grounds, though the Whig party had made an issue upon that very subject before the people, by denouncing the extravagance of the preceding administration in this very matter. Their next act was to commence a system of pensions, by awarding to the widow of the deceased President the sum of \$25,000. They then passed an act to create a permanent National Debt, another to incorporate a National Bank, another to bribe the States by dividing among them the proceeds of the Public Lands, another to discharge from debt insolvent debtors—the Bankrupt law—another to pay themselves, and adjourned.

The project of a National Bank was vetoed by the President, that of a National Debt by the capitalists, who refused to trust the Federal Government. There remained then but two acts of the Whig party, after the adjournment of the extra session, by which that party could justify their having called it together—the Land Distribution bill and the Bankrupt law. These, however, it was maintained, were alone sufficient to cover with glory, and secure in the perpetual gratitude of the people, the party to whose legislation they were due. The Land Distribution bill contained a clause repealing its own operation whenever Congress should raise the tariff of duties over twenty per cent.; the Bankrupt law was not to go into effect till some time in February ensuing.

The same Congress have re-assembled, and within a week past have indicated the clearest determination to repeal the Distribution law, by increasing the tariff, and have instructed the judi-

ciary committee to bring in a bill to repeal the Bankrupt law!

When this is done, all the monuments of the legislation of the extra session that will remain will be the vote to furnish and ornament the White House, the pension to Mrs. Harrison, and the act to pay themselves.

These have already so bankrupted the treasury, that Mr. Fillmore, a Whig leader in Congress, has brought in a bill to issue Treasury notes! in order to carry on the Government.

What an example of unblushing impudence and inconsistency does this history furnish us! The Whig party have not only broken every promise which they held out to the people, but they have falsified every hope by which they they led on their deluded followers through the insane political campaign of 1840. The fairy gold which was promised the followers of whiggery as the reward of their service, has turned out mere dirt and leaves.—*Albany Atlas*.

"The cry is, Change, Change, Change!"

DANIEL WEBSTER.

The heads which devised the hard cider campaign were more cunning than wise. In looking to the end, they lost sight of the inevitable consequences of the means they employed. They forgot that promises must be fulfilled, that imposition is always destined to exposure, and that the mask of deception cannot be retained when men begin to speak by their actions. They forgot that separate and antagonist interests, though they may yield for a brief moment to a great and powerful general motive, will inevitably, like the bent bow, spring back to their natural position, the moment the string which united the opposite extremes is broken or loosened. In short, they forgot every thing but success, and never calculated the consequences of obtaining a power which must, in its exercise, inevitably alienate the auxiliaries by which it was attained.

The catastrophe of these short-sighted political views came even more speedily than we anticipated, and the Whig party, at this moment, exhibits an example and a warning. Its professions have become the subject of derision; its promises are on a par with those of its favorite hantling, the "great Regulator;" its impostures are every day coming to light, and the party is become incapable of uniting on any principle, because it was originally constituted without principles. It has fallen to pieces by the action of its own inherent antipathies, and in a little while will have left no traces of its power, but the mischiefs which have marked its brief career.

But desperate men in power may perpetrate enormous evils in a very short space of time; evils which, in their consequences, if not irremediable, extend to future periods, and affect succeeding generations. The hundred days of the extra session afford a pregnant example. Phæton had then mounted the chariot of the sun, and in his headlong career, he deranged the whole system of policy adopted by the Democratic Administration, and which was slowly but surely performing its office in bringing about a return of public confidence and public prosperity. He dashed uncontrollably against every thing that stood in his way, and though, like his prototype, he did not set the world on fire, he resembled him in his fate. Both

were drowned—one in the Euxine, the other in the vast sea of ambition.

The Government of the United States is now virtually in abeyance. The pilot at the helm cannot command the ship. Every thing is disarranged, and no power exists to set it in order; chaos is come again, and no one can point out a mode of escape, except through a direct and speedy return to the good old Democratic principles and policy. The entire financial system is in almost inextricable confusion. The Treasury is exhausted, and those in power cannot agree on any mode by which it may be replenished. They cannot borrow money, having given away the only security they had to offer, and yet the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of War, and the Postmaster General, are strenuously recommending measures that will increase the public expenditures half a score of millions, and add that sum to the amount of the national bankruptcy.

They have repealed the Independent Treasury, but can agree on no substitute. They denounced Treasury notes, and substituted a loan, and now they have resorted, in the extremity of abject distress, to the very expedient they have denounced. They have given away three or four millions a year, which they had no right to bestow, and they are at the same time pushing on with desperate celerity a system of measures which will impose a necessity for perpetually borrowing, or perpetually increasing taxation. They promised the country relief, and they have inflicted only additional distress; they promised reform, and have done only what will require to be reformed; they promised economy, and they have given millions, borrowed millions, and increased the public expenditures many millions more. In short, their inconsistencies and contradictions are so grossly absurd, that were it not for their injurious consequences to the prosperity and happiness of the people, they would excite nothing but laughter.

Every thing is in confusion; nobody can anticipate the future action of the Government, as it bears on the various interests of the country; and consequently all the operations of commerce, all the business of human life, founded on the solid basis of existing things, is at a dead stand; or, as Mr. Cost Johnson wittily said of the Maryland Whigs, "as stiff and torpid as a barrel of frozen hard cider." Such is the final result of the Whig triumph; such the practical interpretation of Mr. Webster's prophetic cry of "CHANGE, CHANGE, CHANGE!"—*Globe*.

The last Presidential Contest.—MR. EDITOR: In the last Presidential contest the opponents of the Democratic party, "the enemy of mankind," urged as a very strong reason why Mr. Van Buren should not receive the suffrages of a free people, that the party of which he was the leader, had "obtained power by deceiving the people with promises and pledges of retrenchment and reform, which they could never have intended to fulfil, and had never attempted to redeem," and also, that "the same party had introduced abuses never before known in the Government; had placed dishonest men in high and responsible offices, and retained them until they had run away with the public treasure." These two charges were particularly urged, and the people were exhorted to go for a *change*; and at the same time promises

and pledges much stronger were given on the part of our opponents. It is not my intention here to go into the defence of the Democratic party; it is too true that in some instances they had laid themselves open to censure; they had retained dishonest men in office—men opposed to them in principle, or rather professing to belong to that party who avow no principles—who, in some instances, ran away with the public treasure, and the people had to suffer the loss. That matters little, however, to the plundering the people have undergone, within the last few months, under a change of rulers—and to which we have to peaceably submit, as it is done according to law.

It may not be out of place, however, to remind our friends, and especially those who, from their high standing in society as men of correct morals and christian character, and who, on that account, possessed an influence, and which influence added strength to their arguments—that some few of their many promises and pledges have not been kept and fulfilled. Instead of increased prices to the farmer for the products of his farm, the prices are lower than they were in 1837 and '38; instead of the same to the mechanic for his work, there are many who are not only out of employment at present, but who have no prospects for the future; instead of *constant employment, reasonable wages, and prompt pay* to the laborer, they have little to do, and some have not been able to procure a day's work this winter.

Where, gentlemen Whigs, has your economy been exercised in retrenching the expenses of the Government, that they might be kept within the ordinary revenues? Was it by squandering \$600,000 of the people's money at an extra and useless session, and taxing the necessaries of life to pay the expense? Where is your holy horror of national debt? Was it in the passage of the law authorizing the \$12,000,000 loan? Have you shown your purity in appointing men to office? and who *honors* the station of Collector of the port of New York? Have you shown your opposition to party violence by burning your President in effigy? Have you opposed all measures that would tend to build up distinctions among the people—in the passage of a law giving away \$25,000, as a civil pension, when hundreds, who sacrificed their country's cause, are suffering in alms-houses for the necessaries of life? Was it economy, a return to the primitive usages of our country, to expend \$3,000 in burying one who was recommended for the highest station in the world, merely on account of his eating corn off the cob and drinking cider out of a gourd—when the sufferers of Valley-Forge have been carried to their lowly homes with indifference, and covered up by the cold hand of charity?

How strikingly have the promises given us been fulfilled! We were to be protected against a standing army, the sound of which struck terror in our hearts—from this, however, we have recovered by the more startling proposition of dividing the *Union*. The odious treasury notes introduced by Van Buren, are to be driven out of circulation by the introduction of double the number of the same kind. The country has been relieved by dividing the only permanent revenue she ever had—"the public domain," among the States, for the benefit of the stock-gamblers, speculators, &c., and making up the deficiency thus caused, by oppressing

still more an already cheated and oppressed people. The boasted Bankrupt bill, which was so much required, has been framed so that those who require it most, the honest but oppressed debtor, cannot be benefitted by it. These are a few of your promises—and how well your practice has comported with them, I leave for an honest and injured people to answer.—*Newburgh Telegraph.*

Modern Whig Retrenchment.—Almost every person must recollect the cry that was made during the election of 1840, against Mr. Van Buren's Administration. It was alleged that its expenditures were enormously extravagant and unnecessary. The Whigs, it was said, if put in power, would reduce these expenditures. They would bring every thing to a rigid accountability, and put every department of the Government into a prosperous condition. The country was to increase rapidly in wealth, money was to be plenty, wages high, and a state of affairs was to be introduced that would not fail to be satisfactory to the people. These were some of the numerous promises made. Now let us see how they have been fulfilled.

Immediately after the Whigs came into power, an extra session of Congress was called to devise measures of "relief." Among the acts passed was a bill giving away the public lands, and rendering the Treasury empty, and another for borrowing money to replenish the Treasury. This with the defeated project of a National Bank, constituted the principal labors for which the people had to pay the round sum of nearly half a million of dollars.

A sufficient time having elapsed to show the sincerity of the Whigs, and the virtue of their measures, if any virtue existed in them, Congress has again assembled. Reports have emanated from the different departments, showing the manner in which the Government has been administered under Whig management. We are now told by the Secretary of the Treasury, that the expenditures of the first year, instead of having been reduced as promised, have been increased. So far from being a prudent and economical administration, we have the most expensive and extravagant one that has ever been known in this country. To prove this, only a few facts from the Secretary's report are necessary:

Expenditures, first year,	\$32,025,070 70
Receipts,	31,497,412 80

Excess, \$627,557 90

Here we have an excess of more than half a million of the receipts, carrying the Government that amount into debt. Let us contrast the expenditures of the year 1840 with those of 1839:

Mr. Tyler's first year,	\$32,025,070 70
Mr. Van Buren's first year,	27,852,475 45

Excess, \$4,161,595 25

Here is a still greater excess, making in all nearly five millions. Is not this a singular beginning for a party that abused and stigmatized its opponents for extravagance? But this is not all:

Est'd expenditures, second year,	\$32,791,101 18
Estimated receipts,	18,572,440 10

Excess, \$14,218,570 62

This is retrenchment with a vengeance. Fourteen millions over and above the receipts in the short space of one year, to carry on the operations of Government. At this rate we shall soon have a national debt of twenty-five or thirty millions, and nearly all contracted under the benign auspices of an administration pledged to retrenchment and reform. Can any Whig read these statements without regretting that he supported a party that has thus, according to its own showing, grossly violated the trusts confided to its care.—*Onondaga Standard.*

Overthrow of the Federal Whigs.—No party in this country ever met with such a signal overthrow, as that which, within a few months, has befallen the lately triumphant Federal Whig party in this State and Union. Prominent among the causes which have lead to this result, we place the attempt to smuggle through Congress, against the known wishes of the people, and in direct violation of the solemn pledges of the Whig leaders, the thrice condemned United States Bank. Humiliating is the reflection that a majority of the people's representatives were so reckless of public opinion and the will of their constituents, as to be found aiding in this iniquitous scheme. Fortunately for the country, they had themselves unwittingly provided the antidote for their own poison. They had placed a man at the helm of Government, who, contrary to their expectations, had firmness enough to withstand all the powerful influences with which he was surrounded, and boldly oppose and finally defeat the plot which they supposed was so sagaciously concocted. The people have looked on, and noted the conduct of their representatives, and of their chief magistrate, in this matter—and in the State elections which have lately been held, we see their decision. The contest this fall, in this and in other States, has been between the people on the one hand, and a National Bank on the other. Let the Federalists disguise it as they will, this has been the true issue. The result has been such as might have been anticipated. The bank party is defeated, prostrate, annihilated. There is no probability that they will ever organize again, unless under some new name. The truth is, the rank and file of the late Whig party were not such fools as their leaders took them to be.

Never was a faction so liberal in promises as were the leaders of the late Whig party before they came into power; and never was an administration so utterly wanting in the performance of their promises, as those same Whig leaders have since shown themselves. They declaimed so long and so vehemently on the extravagance of Mr. Van Buren, that a considerable portion of the people honestly supposed they had been robbed of their earnings and impoverished by their rulers. How have the Whig promises of retrenchment been fulfilled? The expenses of Government have been enormously increased. The shameless avowal has been made through their organs, that they had no intention of reducing the expenditures. The present has in fact been the most wasteful administration the nation has ever had.

Instead of showing themselves to be the exclusive friends of the poor man, as they professed before the election, the Federalists have endea-

vored to raise the price of the necessities of life, by taxing our sugar, tea, and coffee.

Mr. Van Buren was accused of plunging the country in debt. When the Whigs came into power, they found the country free from a permanent debt. Their first care was to create a funded debt of twelve millions of dollars.

Gen. Jackson and Mr. Van Buren were denounced for removing their opponents from office, and appointing their friends. What has been the course of the present administration in that respect? There have been more removals for opinion's sake during the last eight or nine months, than during the whole term of any former administration.

Mr. Van Buren and his cabinet were accused of compromising the national honor in negotiating with foreign powers. Witness the truckling course of Mr. Webster in his correspondence with the British minister, and compare it with the manly and dignified stand taken by his predecessor. See also the State debts virtually assumed by the General Government, for the obvious purpose of silencing the clamors of British capitalists.

The people have learned the difference between Whig professions and promises, and Whig fulfillment of them. They are beginning to open their eyes to the utter worthlessness of those who have deceived them in so many particulars, as is shown in the result of this fall's elections.—*Lockport Democrat & Balance.*

A Device of the Enemy.—The State paper, as well as the Executive organ edited by the Adjutant General, seem to suppose that the State is to be managed by a central junto at Albany, with branches in each county, according to the system acted upon during the reign of whiggery. No such form of government can exist for a moment, under a truly Democratic administration. The very essence of the Democratic principle is violated, when offices are disposed of at the dictation and for the benefit of cliques, instead of giving effect to the wishes of the majority and bestowing offices for the advantage of the great mass of the people.

If the Democrats were not restrained by their principles from the error of their opponents on this point, they would be deterred by an apprehension of bringing down on themselves the same measure of indignation from political friends as well as opponents, which has been visited on the Federal junto at Albany, and largely contributed to the political revolution at the late election.

It is only necessary that the members of the legislature should carry into effect those principles of justice and equal rights, on which the democratic party is based, to give general satisfaction and secure the approbation of all sections of the State. We have the fullest confidence that no cliques, either in Albany or any other county, can divert them from an honest and fearless discharge of their duty to the State in general and their constituents in particular.

The results of the late election were brought about by a spontaneous movement on the part of the great mass of the people. The representatives brought into power by this signal manifestation of the popular will, cannot disregard the wishes and feelings of their constituents and sur-

render themselves into the hands of cliques and juntos to carry out their selfish schemes.

The Federal junto in this city, which for three years has dictated appointments of every grade, are endeavoring to create an impression that a similar dictatorship has been or will be established by their opponents: but if there are any Republicans in the State who have heeded this weak device of the enemy, they may rest assured that the Democrats of Albany will not follow in the footsteps of Federalism, and that these representations are the mere coinage of the "pipe-layers."—*Albany Argus.*

The Disputed Territory.—The following is an extract from Governor Fairfield's late Message to the Legislature of Maine, which we conceive will be a good guide to the American and British Governments in settling the North-eastern Boundary Question:—

"The course which, under this view, the General Government should pursue, to my mind, admits neither of doubt nor hesitancy. National honor, as well as justice to Maine, clearly indicates it—and that is—to purge the soil of this State, effectually and without delay, of every vestige of British encroachment. And then, if there is to be further negotiation upon the subject, let it be, on the part of Great Britain, to obtain what for more than a quarter of a century she has refused to yield. When a reasonable expectation can no longer be entertained, that the General Government will adopt this, or some other equally efficacious course, if Maine be true to herself, she will take possession of the whole territory, and if need be, use all the means which God and nature have placed in her hands to maintain it. The consideration of the whole subject is with you, who, I have no doubt, will prove yourselves faithful guardians of the honor and interests of the State."

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF NEW YORK.

THE PEOPLE'S RESOLUTION.

"Resolved, That the Constitution of the State be so amended that every law authorizing the borrowing of money, or the issuing of State Stocks, whereby a debt shall be created or increased on the credit of the State, shall specify the object for which the money shall be appropriated; and that every such law shall embrace no more than one such object, which shall be single and specifically stated; and that no such law shall take effect until it shall be distinctly submitted to the People at the next general election, and be approved by a majority of the votes cast for and against it at such election. That all money to be raised by the authority of such law be applied to the specific object stated in such law, and to no other purposes whatever, except the payment of the debt thereby created or increased. This provision shall not extend or apply to any law to raise money for the purpose of suppressing insurrection, repelling a hostile invasion, or defending the State in war."

THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC GUIDE



THE blessings of Government, like the dews of Heaven, should be dispensed alike on high and low, the rich and the poor. JACKSON.

The privilege of self-government is one which the people will never be permitted to enjoy unmolested. Power and wealth are continually stealing from the many to the few. WILLIAM LEGGETT.

VOL. I.

MAY, 1842.

No. VII.

AN ANALYSIS

Of the Political portion of Thomas Jefferson's Works, (4 vols.) giving copious views, statements, &c. of that late distinguished American Patriot and Statesman, in relation to a Republican form of Government, and the Equal Rights of the People, &c.; which shows the deceptions practised by the Modern Whigs, who call themselves "Jefferson Democrats."

In our analysis of the writings of Mr. Jefferson we shall confine our remarks, chiefly, to those portions of them which are strictly of a political character. The literary and scientific matter, in which they abound, although deeply interesting to the enquirer into the laws of nature, does not come within the prescribed limits of the "Democratic Guide." We pass over it with the simple expression of our astonishment and admiration at the untiring industry of the Sage of Monticello, and the rare versatility of a mind that could embrace within its influence, during an arduous and responsible political life, all that was interesting in the philosophy of letters and the arena of science.

Having already presented to our readers, in the "Analysis of the Madison Papers," the substance of much of the matter contained in the first volume of Mr. Jefferson's writings; it is unnecessary here to repeat it. We therefore pass onward to his appointment as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of France, in the year 1785—noting a few

intervening remarks which we consider too valuable to omit.

"Contrast between the Speakers in the Congresses of 1782-3, with those of later days."

"I never," says Mr. Jefferson, "heard General Washington or Dr. Franklin speak more than ten minutes at a time, nor to any but the main point which was to decide the question. They laid their shoulders to the great point, knowing that the little ones would follow of themselves. If the present Congress errs in too much talking, how can it be otherwise in a body to which the people send one hundred and fifty lawyers, whose business it is to question every thing and talk by the hour."

We strongly recommend the perusal of the above extract to those members of our present Congress, whose whole time seems to be spent in talking much, but doing—nothing. Let them profit by the lessons of experience and wisdom!!

Mr. Jefferson was decidedly opposed to the opening of a *distribution land office* under the protection of Congress: he says, and *truly*, that in dividing the lands among the States, we break the great bonds of a federal union—present opposing *State interests*, and so far destroy that *unity* which is indispensable to our *national union*—in addition to which, a fund is destroyed which ought to pay our national debt. "When the States get their portions," says Mr. Jefferson, "they will either fool them away, or make a job of it to serve

individuals." How opposite is this language to that master-piece of political Federal Whig sagacity—Mr. Clay's "Land distribution bill"—a bill, so far as its *present* action is concerned, to divide *nothing*; in the face of an empty treasury—we might almost add—of a National Bankruptcy.—Yet, on this measure, a high Tariff, and a National Bank, Henry Clay has staked his chances of success for the ensuing Presidential contest. Should its repeal follow the recent Special Message of the President to Congress, the day-star of Harry of the West is *set*; nor can we imagine that Mr. Tyler has placed himself, *in this event*, in a situation much more enviable than that of the *retired* Western Senator. What confidence is to be placed in the administration of a President, who, in the midst of great *national calamity*—*prostrate commerce*, and *ruined credit*—signs a bill dividing away a fund intended to meet such emergencies, and in a few months following, advises the repeal of the measure, as the only means of saving the country from ruin? Such is the consistency of Federal Whigism.

This political prediction of Mr. Jefferson has been fulfilled with the truth of prophecy. The close of the last war found us with a large debt, which, after being liquidated, left a surplus fund of no inconsiderable amount in the national treasury. A very considerable portion of this surplus revenue was divided among the different States, contrary to the advice of General Jackson, who advised that it should be appropriated to the placing our country in the best possible condition of defence. Where now is any evidence, founded on *State prosperity*, of the advantages arising from this distribution of the public money? It has, in the language of the venerable Jefferson, *been made a job of to serve individuals*. It has passed through the hands of political gamblers and jugglers, until its former existence has become almost *problematical*. The distribution bill to which we have alluded—like its relative, the present "land distribution bill," own one common parent—Henry Clay. Allied in their parentage, they will be so in their consequences—ruin, misery, and disgrace.

"French Revolution—Queen of France."

Mr. Jefferson was our accredited Minister to the Court of France during the period of the Revolution. The post was one of peculiar difficulty and delicacy. After enumerating the causes which led to the Revolution—high taxes—oppression of the laboring classes—excise laws—the haughty and tyrannical conduct of the nobles, &c.,—Mr. Jefferson narrates, in simple and perspicuous language, the progress of that remarkable era in French history. In the Parliament of Paris, pre-

viously to the Revolution, the nobles had greatly outnumbered the Tiers Etat, (third state,) or those chosen and elected by the people. One of the first questions agitated by the revolutionist party was, shall the "Tiers Etat" bear an equal proportion to the other orders in the parliament; having decided in the affirmative, the king was compelled to submit—although violently instigated by his queen and by his brother, the Count D'Artois, to oppose this first great step in the progress of liberty. Mr. Jefferson seems to think that Louis XVI. was sincere in his profession, and ascribes all the horrors which stained the annals of France at the Revolution, to the intrigues of the Queen and nobles. Frequently called upon by the patriots to assist at their deliberations, Mr. Jefferson, although ardently uniting with them in their common aspirations for freedom, refused to interfere in the political affairs of the kingdom—and by his firmness, integrity, and candor, passed onward without suspicion, during a contest remarkable for the System of Espionage, (spy system,) which marked its progress, and the violations of individual right, by which it was too often attended.

"Mr. Jefferson's opinion of an Agriculturist."

"An industrious farmer occupies a more dignified place in the scale of beings, whether moral or political, than a lazy loungeur, valuing himself on his family—too proud to work—subsisting on the surplus of other men's labor, which is the sacred fund of the helpless poor."

Expenses of the Revolution—Paper and Specie Currency contrasted—Forty Dollars in Paper pass equal in value to One Silver Dollar.

If there was any period in the history of mankind, at which great individual and national sacrifices were required, it was during the eventful contest which terminated in the establishment of our glorious Constitution.

A great and general object was to be attained—three millions of people had united in a common cause; the issue was between the proud title of Freemen, or the brand of rebels; the United States formed one grand *convention*, the members of which included the merchant, the agriculturist, the laborer, the mechanic, and the citizen soldier; every heart offered its homage to the genius of Liberty, and every hand was raised to defend the approach to the sacred temple in which she administered her rites. At such a crisis, and animated by such sentiments, every expedient was resorted to that ingenuity could suggest, to supply a currency which should be adequate to meet the wants of the army and other expenses incident on the struggle. We have copied the table detailing the depreciation in the *paper* currency from the

year 1775 to 1779, to show the effect of *paper money*, even when imperiously demanded, and to furnish our readers with indubitable evidence of its fatal consequences to those who, *under any other circumstances*, become its dupes and its victims.

The following table exhibits the comparative and actual diminution of the continental money from June 23d, 1775, to November 29th, 1779.

Emission.	Sum emitted.	Depreciation	Worth of the sum emitted, in silver dolls.
1775—June 23d,	2,000,000	None.	2,000,000
Nov. 29th,	3,000,000	None.	3,000,000
1776—Feb. 17th,	4,000,000	None.	4,000,000
Aug. 13th,	5,000,000	None.	5,000,000
1777—May 20th,	5,000,000	2½	1,877,273
Aug. 15th,	1,000,000	3	333,333½
Nov. 7th,	1,000,000	4	250,000
Dec. 3d,	1,000,000	4	250,000
1778—Jan. 8th,	1,000,000	4	250,000
Jan. 22d,	2,000,000	4	500,000
Feb. 16th,	2,000,000	5	400,000
March 5th,	2,000,000	5	400,000
April 4th,	1,000,000	6	166,666⅔
April 11th,	5,000,000	6	833,333⅓
April 18th,	500,000	6	83,333⅓
May 22d,	5,000,000	5	1,000,000
June 20th,	5,000,000	4	1,250,000
July 30th,	5,000,000	4½	1,111,111
Sept. 5th,	5,000,000	5	1,000,000
Sept. 26th,	10,000,100	5	2,000,020
Nov. 4th,	10,000,100	6	1,666,683⅓
Dec. 14th,	10,000,000	6	1,666,683⅓
1779—Jan. 13th,	24,447,620	8	3,055,952½
Feb. 3d,	5,000,160	10	500,015
April 2d,	5,000,060	17	294,127
May 5th,	10,000,100	24	416,670⅕
June 4th,	10,000,100	20	500,005
July 17th,	15,000,280	20	750,014
Sept. 17th,	15,000,260	21	625,010⅕
Oct. 14th,	5,000,180	30	116,672⅔
Nov. 17th,	10,050,540	38½	261,053
Nov. 29th,	10,000,140	38½	259,743
\$200,000,000			\$36,367,719⅕

What a state of *nominal value* does the above table present! Two hundred millions of dollars in *paper* are worth only thirty-six millions in *silver*!! He who received forty dollars for any services rendered on the 29th of November, 1779, could purchase no more with them than he could have purchased with one dollar in the year 1775! From the year 1779 to that of 1786, (seven years) speculators had been at work—the bills depreciated in value in the hands of every one through which they passed. Nor was this the maximum of the loss sustained; the States had issued paper money to an amount equal to that we have cited above. We have then 400,000,000 of paper dollars, worth, in silver, at the close of the revolution, about 72,000,000. In 1786 a redemption was offered for this vast amount of paper money; the sum of *six millions of silver* was offered to re-

deem four hundred millions of paper money. If such were the consequences of a fictitious paper currency during the trying scenes of the revolution, when the deed warranted the act, shall we suffer it to exist at the present period, when peace pervades the land—when the earth luxuriantly yields her increase, beyond our wants, and when nought is wanting to ensure and perpetuate our happiness—but a righteous government and a constitutional currency.

(SECOND VOLUME.)

“Barbarian stipulations for purchasing a Peace.”

Mr. Jefferson says that on his visit to London in 1786, to negotiate a treaty of commerce with Portugal, he was introduced to the Bey of Tripoli's ambassador, who demanded, as the purchase of his country's piratical forbearance, the sum of thirty thousand guineas—about \$150,000, and for similar favors from the Bey of Tunis a like sum. The demand could not be complied with, and happily we have since that period taught these African despots, that our gallant tars can at any time purchase a peace of them on terms more favorable than money could ensure.

Influence of English Manufactures: extravagance in the use of them to the prejudice of our home manufacture.

After speaking of the great perfection to which manufactures and mechanic arts, generally, are carried in England, Mr. Jefferson adds, “But of these I need not speak—my countrymen have too many examples before their eyes. I consider the extravagance which has siezed them, as a more baneful evil than toryism during the war. Would a missionary appear, who would make frugality the basis of his religious system, and go through the land preaching it up as the only road to salvation, I would join the school.” Would not the precept sought to be inculcated by the above extract, if acted upon, lay the foundation for a *protective* system more firm and durable in its character, than any which legislative or executive enactments can enforce, in exorbitant imposts on foreign importations? Extravagance in foreign luxuries has ever been destructive to republics. The introduction of Asiatic refinement was more fatal to the Roman republic than the armies of the Northern hordes which finally subjugated her liberties; and the gaudy splendors which distinguished the age of the Grecian “Pericles,” destroyed the morals of Athens, and sapped the foundation of his country's freedom.

Character of Mr. Monroe, as portrayed by Mr. Jefferson.

“He is a man whose whole soul might be turned

wrong side outwards, without discovering a blemish to the world."

"Virginia—The bill for the diffusion of Knowledge among the People, the most important in her revised code of laws."

The subject of universal education, as the best support and preservative of liberty, seems deeply to have impressed the mind of Mr. Jefferson on viewing the effects of its absence during his residence at the French court. In one of his letters to Mr. Wythe, he thus forcibly expresses himself on this important subject:

"I think by far the most important bill in our whole code is that for the diffusion of knowledge among the people. No other sure foundation can be devised for the preservation of freedom and happiness. If any body thinks that kings and nobles are good conservators of public happiness, send him here. It is the best school in the universe to cure him of the folly. He will see here, with his own eyes, that these descriptions of men are an abandoned confederacy against the happiness of the mass of the people. The omnipotence of their effect cannot be better proved, than in this country particularly, where, notwithstanding the finest soil upon earth, the finest climate under heaven, and a people of the most benevolent, gay and amiable character of which the human form is susceptible; where such a people, I say, surrounded by so many blessings from nature, are loaded with misery by kings, nobles, and priests; and by them alone. Preach, my dear sir, a crusade against ignorance; establish and improve the law for educating the common people. Let our countrymen know, that the people alone can protect us against these evils; and that the tax which must be paid for that purpose, is not more than the thousandth part of what will be paid to kings, priests, and nobles, who will rise up amongst us, if we leave the people in ignorance."

Liberty and extension of the Press essential to the stability of our Government.—The People the only censors of their governors.

"The basis of our Government," says Mr. Jefferson, "being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right. In order to do this, give them full information of their affairs through the public papers, and contrive that those papers shall penetrate the whole mass of the people. Were it left me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. But I should mean that every man should receive and be capable of reading them."

He proceeds to declare it as his opinion, that

societies, such as our forest tribes, which live without governments, enjoy in the aggregate more general happiness than those who live under monarchical governments. That public opinion among the former restrains morals more powerfully than laws. While in the latter, under the pretence of governing, mankind are divided into two classes—the wolves and the sheep.

Pecuniary national and individual embarrassment the effect of indolence and extravagance.

If the Sage of Monticello had been permitted to look with the eye of a prophet into the future, and to have beholden the bankrupt condition of our public and private finances—had he beheld us, as a nation, disgraced abroad and impoverished at home, his predictions could not have been more singularly and truly fulfilled in relation to some of the causes which have produced our pecuniary embarrassments, and the effects which are likely to follow them.

"Among the many good qualities," says he, "which my countrymen possess, some of a different character unhappily mix themselves. The most remarkable are indolence, *extravagance*, and infidelity to their engagements. Cure the two first, and the last would disappear, because it is a consequence of them, and does not proceed from a want of morals. I know of no remedy against extravagance but a free course of justice. The maxim of buying nothing without money in our pockets to pay for it, would make our country one of the most happy upon earth. Desperate of finding relief from a free course of justice, I look forward to the *abolition of all credit*, as the only remedy which can take place." Is not this state of things fast approaching?

The second volume of Mr. Jefferson's writings, although deeply interesting to the general reader, abounding as it does in deep reflection on the arts and sciences, the political and moral condition of the nations of Europe, and the most minute detail of the causes and consequences of the French revolution, contains nothing, of importance, beyond what is here contained in its analysis, that appeared to us to come within the province of the "Democratic Guide."

(THIRD VOLUME.)

In 1759 Mr. Jefferson vacated his station as minister to the court of France, for one not less important at home; that of Secretary of State in the administration of General Washington. From this period to the year 1794, when he retired, from ill health, to his seat at Monticello, his official communications to ambassadors, consuls, &c., are marked by that sincere love of country—that inflexibility of principle, and that undeviating candor

for which his previous life had been so eminently remarkable. In the year 1790 he lost his early acquaintance and long associated friend, Dr. Benjamin Franklin. In speaking of the American Philosopher, in a letter to Jonathan Williams, he says: "I have seen with extreme indignation, the blasphemies lately vended against the father of American Philosophy. But his memory will be preserved and venerated so long as the thunder of heaven shall be heard and feared." We pass on, however, reluctantly, from the private virtues which distinguished his life, to that, apparently, *intuitive* political sagacity, which marked his public career.

The grounds of distinction between Consuls and Vice Consuls.

"The grounds of distinction between these two officers," says Mr. Jefferson, "is this. Our Government thinks, that to whatever there may be of honor or profit resulting from the consular office, *native* citizens are first entitled, where such, of proper characters, will undertake the duties; but where such are not, a vice consul is appointed, of any other nation. Consuls and vice consuls have the power to appoint their own agents in the several parts of their district, and it is with themselves alone those agents are to correspond."

In the treaty of amity executed by Dr. Franklin and Dr. Lee with the court of France, one of the articles stipulated that American citizens should not be reputed as aliens in France, and consequently should be exempt from the alien tax. By one of those refinements in national policy, peculiar to the governments of Europe, the French court determined to construe this article as applicable only to citizens residing in *France*, whereas those in French colonies were exposed to the odious and oppressive impost. Mr. Jefferson contended that the article was made and admitted in its wisest sense, and that the word France comprehended the whole government of the kingdom wherever that government had the power to enforce her laws: the tax was, finally, after much negotiation, abolished.

British Press Gangs and American Citizens.

To the oppressive and hateful system of naval impressment, still existing in England, the attention of Mr. Jefferson was early arrested, in consequence of the arrest of an American citizen, Hugh Pendie, a native of Williamsburg in Virginia. Our Minister at London was directed to appeal to the British Government for his release. The Lords of the Admiralty, tardily, ordered Lord Howe to release him—but before the order reached the commanding officer of the ship into which he had been unjustly forced, the unfortunate man

had been transported to another—nor was it until many subsequent months that he was emancipated from his thralldom; and even then was subjected to a public whipping at the gangway of the vessel in which he had been incarcerated—a final offering to the genius of injustice and tyranny.

Claim of Spain to the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi below the mouth of the Ohio.

The question of exclusive right on the part of Spain to the sovereignty of the Mississippi river, produced a long and severe correspondence between Mr. Jefferson and the Spanish authorities. Our citizens, with their cargoes, were seized, and the latter confiscated. In a letter of instruction to our Minister at Madrid, Mr. Jefferson says: "You are instructed to ask our right to navigate this river on the broad ground of necessity, and that it be ceded by the court of Madrid in such form as to render the exercise of it efficacious and free from chicanery. It will be most unfortunate indeed if we cannot convince the court of Spain that we make this demand in earnest—but by acts which render that conviction too late to prevent evil."

Adventurous attempt to seize on Indian Territory—National and moral integrity of Mr. Jefferson towards the Indian Nations.

It appears from Mr. Jefferson's works, that in 1791 an adventurer named James O'Fallon, undertook to raise and organize an army to subdue the Indians, and possess himself of their lands. Upon becoming informed of this reckless attempt, Mr. Jefferson, in his official capacity, thus instructs the District Attorney of Kentucky: "I send you herein the Attorney General's opinion of what may be legally done, with a desire that you proceed against the said O'Fallon according to law. It is not our wish to extend the prosecution to other individuals who may have thoughtlessly given in to his unlawful proceedings. But they may be assured, that if this undertaking be prosecuted, the whole force of the United States will be displayed, to punish the aggression."

The desire of a Conquest not a principle of the American Constitution.

"If," says Mr. Jefferson, "there be one principle more deeply rooted than another in the mind of every American, it is, that we should have nothing to do with conquest."

"Preservation of National faith in pecuniary engagements."

"I am authorised," says Mr. Jefferson, in a correspondence with the French Minister at Washington, "to assure you, that the Government of the United States have no idea of paying their debt in a depreciated medium; and that in the final

liquidation of the payments which shall have been made, due regard will be had to an equitable allowance for the circumstance of depreciation."

The above extract has reference to the fractional payments made to the Court of France, for the sum advanced to the United States during the revolutionary struggle.

Demand of the Algerine Government for the ransom of American Captives, taken by an Algerine Pirate, off Cape St. Vincent.

A reference has already been made in this analysis to the exorbitant demand made by the Algerine Government for the purchase of a peace from them. We have now to record another instance in which they wantonly claimed an enormous sum, and under circumstances in which humanity was so forcibly enlisted, that nothing, save future national consequences, could have interposed to prevent our Government submitting to the unjust requisition. Twenty-one Americans had been seized by these ruthless marauders and consigned to Algerine captivity. Eight of these unfortunate beings quickly perished in the dungeons of the barbarians. For the residue, Mr. Jefferson directed that the sum of two hundred dollars per man should be offered as a ransom. The Dey treated the offer with contempt, and fixed his price at \$59,496—equal to upwards of four thousand five hundred and seventy-six dollars per man. The captives had been prisoners for nine years. Mr. Jefferson, in his letter to Paul Jones, charged with a special mission on the subject to the Algerine court, 1792, says: "Had it not been for the danger it would have brought on the residue of our seamen, by exciting the cupidity of these rovers against them, our citizens at Algiers would long ago have been liberated, without regard to price. The mere money neither is or has been an object with any body here. It is from the regard to the safety of our seamen at large, that they have now restrained us from any ransom unaccompanied by peace."

Right of Search and Impressment of American Seamen, by British Cruisers.

This tyrannical assumption of an exclusive privilege on the ocean by Great Britain, has ever been, and will continue to be, a firebrand thrown among the nations whose rights are thus wantonly violated. It became the subject of much diplomatic correspondence between Mr. Jefferson and the Court of St. James, during the years 1792 and '93. "You are desired to persevere," says Mr. Jefferson, in instructions to Mr. Pinckney, our Minister in London, "till you obtain a regulation to guard our vessels from having their hands impressed, and to inhibit the British navy officers

from taking them, under the pretext of their being British subjects." When power assumes the place of right, it is not often that she relinquishes her iron grasp—Mr. Jefferson's remonstrations were ineffectual. So far from any just concession being made to the rights of a free nation, another grievance was added, more extensive and disastrous in its consequences. France and England were then (1793) at war, and the British Parliament issued instructions to its naval officers to seize all vessels laden with corn, flour or meal, bound to any port in France—and to send them into any English port: there to be purchased by the British Government, or to be released only on the condition that security be given by the master, that he will proceed to dispose of his cargo in the ports of some country at amity with the English Government. Will Great Britain ever yield to the justice of ocean rights—will she ever listen to the natural, national, and moral rights and privileges of other countries, until the maritime force of a world shall make a final appeal against her assumptions, which may extend its influence and effects from the shores of England to the enslaved nations of Hindostan?

Salary of Clerks in the Secretary of State's Office, in the year 1793.

Chief Clerk,	\$800	per annum.
Second do.	500	do.
Third do.	500	do.
Clerk for Foreign Languages,	250	do.
Messenger and Office Keeper,	250	do.

Total, \$2300

In 1794 Mr. Jefferson resigned the office of Secretary of State, which he filled with so much credit to himself and honor to his country, and retired to his estate at Monticello. For some time preceding his retirement, he had not been an unobservant spectator of a departure from the pure principles of Democracy in our Government. An aristocratic party had sprung up—a British party—the infection had spread from the executive to the judiciary, and from thence to two out of three branches of the legislative departments. British gold had become too much the capital of our merchants—British fundholders dealt largely in our stocks, and British influence was rapidly pervading all our transatlantic negotiations; the national debt increased at the rate of one million of dollars per annum. The banking system then, as now, the source of final pecuniary ruin, was completely saddled on the people. The old U. S. Bank, under the influence of political gamblers, declared that the value of property had increased, and consequently that its circulation must be increased to furnish a representative of such increase. About one hundred and twenty millions

of paper dollars were issued by this chartered monopolist. Landed property rapidly rose in price under the fictitious currency. Political corruption kept pace with the means to produce it; and *Democracy*, at least for a season, seemed to have fled from the *republic* of America. In 1796 Mr. Jefferson was placed by the Democracy as a candidate for the Presidency against John Adams: in addressing Elbridge Gerry, on this occasion, he says: "On principles of public respect I should not have refused; but I protest, before my God, I shall from the bottom of my heart rejoice at escaping. I know well that no man will ever bring out of that office the reputation which he carries into it." Mr. Adams was elected President at this time, and Mr. Jefferson Vice President. Fully persuaded in his own mind that the principles of John Adams were of that political school which was strongly under *British* bias, Mr. Jefferson, although urged by his friends, refused to take any share in the executive cabinets. "As to my participating," says he, "in the executive administration, duty and inclination will shut that door to me. I cannot wish to see the scenes of 1793 renewed, in relation to myself, and to descend daily into the arena like a gladiator, to suffer defeat and martyrdom in every conflict."

Hamilton and the Aristocracy—Influence over the Press—Proposition to Dissolve the Union.

"They, the aristocrats," says Mr. Jefferson, "possess our printing presses! a powerful engine in their government of us. At this very moment they would have drawn us into a war with England, had it not been for the failure of her bank. Such was their open and loud cry. After plunging in all the broils of European nations, there would remain but one act to close our tragedy, that is, to break up our Union: and even this they have ventured seriously and solemnly to propose and maintain by arguments, in a Connecticut paper. Our countrymen have divided themselves by such strong affections to the French and to the English, that nothing will secure us internally but a divorce from both nations, and this must be the object of every real American."

British influence through the Old Tories—Endeavor to unite our destinies with those of England.

Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to Col. Campbell, Sept. 1st, 1797, deploras the still existing influence of the *British* supporters in the Cabinet. "They, the aristocrats," says he, "are endeavoring to separate us from France, and to unite our destinies with Great Britain. Our lenity in permitting the return of the old Tories, gave the first body to this party: they have been increased by large importa-

tions of British merchants and factors—by American merchants dealing on British capital—by *stock dealers* and *banking companies*, who, by the aid of a *paper* system, are enriching themselves to the ruin of our country."

Would not the venerated Sage of Virginia have equal cause, were he now amongst us, to use identical language in reference to the Federal Whigs of 1842!!!

Political Creed of Mr. Jefferson.

"I do, with sincere zeal, wish an inviolable preservation of our present Federal Constitution. I am opposed to *monarchizing* its features by the forms of its administration, with a view to conciliate a first transition to a President and Senate for life, and from that to an hereditary tenure of these offices, and thus to worm out the *elective* principle. I am for a government vigorously frugal and simple, applying all the possible savings of the public revenue to the discharge of the national debt, and not for a multiplication of officers and salaries merely to make *partisans* and for increasing the public debt, on the principle of its being a public blessing. I am not for a standing army in time of peace. I am for *free commerce* with all nations: political connexion with *none*, and little diplomatic establishment. I am for freedom of religion, and against all manœuvres to bring about a legal ascendancy of one sect over another. I am for freedom of the Press—and for encouraging the progress of science in all its branches. The first object of my heart is my own country."

Such a declaration of principles should be inscribed in letters of gold on the walls of every *Democrat's* dwelling; he should leave it as the *best* legacy to his posterity.

In 1801 Mr. Jefferson was elected President of the United States, and Aaron Burr Vice President. One of the subjects which presented itself painfully to the mind of the President elect, was the removal from offices. On the removal of those appointed by John Adams in the interval between Mr. Jefferson's election and his occupancy of the Presidential chair, he (Mr. J.) had no scruples, as he did not recognise the right of Mr. Adams to appoint officers for *him*. In addressing Mr. Elbridge Gerry on the subject, he says: "The removals will be few, and governed by strict rule, and not by party passions. *The right of opinion shall suffer no invasion from me. Those who have acted well have nothing to fear, however they may have differed from me in opinion: those who have done ill, have nothing to hope.*"

Non-interference with the votes of Public Officers.

"Every officer of the Government may vote ac-

cording to his conscience—but we should betray the cause committed to our care, were we to permit the influence of *official patronage* to overthrow that cause. When that official patronage has been used, I desire to find out the offenders—but I also desire to be quite sure of the ground, that I may commit no error or wrong.”

Let the Federal Whigs contrast such conduct and advice as the above, with the proscriptive system—the wholesale sweeping away of all opposition—the ruin of individuals and of families, which has distinguished the accession of their party to power! Our limits will not allow us to extend our remarks. We shall continue the Analysis, of the fourth volume, in our June number.

An Analysis of the Report of the Committee of the Ways and Means, relating to the Finances of the State of New York; also respecting the Debts and Revenues of said State; in which will be seen the necessity of imposing a Direct Tax to redeem and maintain the Credit of the Empire State.—We now redeem the promise made in the last number of the Democratic Guide, by laying before our readers an expose of the condition in which the Whig Legislature at Albany have left the public debt of the State. We can imagine no condition which could have been more disastrous in its consequences—more trying to their successors in office—requiring more energetic efforts—or greater sacrifices. On the one hand we have a State debt, recklessly increased by speculating projects under the name of public improvements—on the other, a fund so alarmingly depreciated by insecure loans to broken banks and other institutions of a similar character, as scarcely to leave a *fraction* to meet the swollen demand which presses on the public State Treasury, like an incubus, from its numerous and unsatisfied creditors. The State has permanent productive funds, the income of which is devoted to certain specific objects—such as the School Fund, the Literature Fund, the United States Deposit Fund, the Bank Safety Fund, and others. In fact, when moneys are set apart for any specified purpose, they are treated in the accounts and reports as a fund, with a name expressive of the purpose, the principal money being considered as capital, and the income as revenue. With the exceptions stated below, all these funds are under the direction of the Comptroller for collection and disbursement. The moneys, capital and revenue, of all of them, are collected and blended together in the State Treasury, and are kept by the Treasurer in certain banks designated by the Comptroller and Treasurer. Out of these moneys all warrants drawn by the Comptroller, according to law, are

paid, without any reference to the source from which the money was received. At the close of the fiscal year, September 30, the accounts of the Treasurer, and of each of these funds, are closed in the books in the Comptroller's office, and the just balance of each is ascertained and stated. Whatever the balance of one fund may be against another, or against the treasury,—*the single balance of the Treasurer in his books is all the money on hand.*

It appears by the Report of the Finance Committee recently laid before the Legislature, that the State debt, for its current expenses, brought down to February 7th, 1842, was \$1,933,926 58. There was due from the general fund to *specific funds*, such as the School Fund, the Literature Fund, &c. enumerated above, \$542,158 88. The amount left in the Treasury to meet these payments to specific funds, was \$87,765 91. We have thus

\$542,158 88

owing as above, and to meet the demand,

87,765 91

Leaving a deficiency in the general fund to meet its payments to the *specific funds*, of

\$454,392 97

Independently of the above claims of specific funds, the general fund debt, as above stated, is

1,933,926 58

The debt for incorporated companies,

5,235,700 00

The Canal debt,

19,056,466 22

Which, added to the *specific fund* debt,

542,158 88

Gives as a total,

\$26,768,251 68

There is pressing on the general fund for *immediate* payment, the sum of \$884,595 31, as will appear by the subjoined table.

1. *General Fund or current expenses, pressing for speedy payment; deficiency in revenues; railroad interest.*

Due specific funds as before stated, to the United States Deposit Fund—revenue,

\$114,915 72

Erie and Champlain Canal Fund—principal collected of the United States Deposit Fund, Sept. 30, 1841,

\$68,525 82

Collected since that date

to Feb. 7, 1842,

170,899 34

\$239,425 16

School and other funds exclusive of Bank Fund,

140,926 43

\$494,267 31

Bank Fund for which no stocks have been issued:

Capital,	\$24,587 65
Revenue,	22,303 92
	<hr/>
	\$46,891 57

Stock debt to Bank Fund, 343,436 43

\$390,328 00

Pressing claims on General Fund,

1842, \$884,595 31

The balance due to the Canal Fund would place so much in the hands of the Canal Commissioners to pay off the April interest on the Stock Canal debt, and half a year's interest on the temporary Canal loans due in March. In reference to the debt due to the Bank Safety Fund, our readers, many of them, must have felt, in the repeated *discounts* they have endured on some of these notes and the residue which are on the broken institutions of the *safety fund accommodations*, how imperiously the amount due to this fund is called for. Until this circulation shall by these means be withdrawn, the mechanic will be compelled, in the absence of all other money, to receive it for his daily labor at *par*. But can he dispose of it on the same terms? Certainly not; the first quarter of a pound of tea—loaf of bread—or pound of sugar, he purchases, will teach him that these notes are at *par* only on one side of the question, and his *loss* in *discounts* will be proportioned to the amount which he is enabled to spend.

Deficiency in the Revenue for the year 1841, ending Sept. 30th.

The fiscal year ending Sept. 30, 1841, began with balance in the treasury, \$47,505 71

Ended, 28,242 18

\$19,263 53

Ended with temporary

loans, \$210,000 00

Began with 200,000 00

10,000 00

Ended with due spe-

cific funds, \$177,735 50

Began with do.

(Comp. Rep. 1840,
p. 15,) 91,669 16

86,066 34

Showing a deficit of \$115,308 87

The total revenue of the General Fund for the last fiscal year, exclusive of temporary loans, appears to have been, (Comp. Rep. p. 90,) \$842,135 36

Among the items, the following appear to be reasonably permanent:

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2 C

Auction duty,	\$266,702 11
Salt tax,	130,439 34
Erie and Champlain canal contributions,	200,000 00
	<hr/>
	537,141 45
But the following are either temporary or variable:	
First payments for land sold,	\$29,641 10
Bonds transferred to School Fund,	95,506 34
Arrears of county taxes,	30,744 02
Redemption of taxes,	49,650 08
	<hr/>
	205,541 50

A portion of the payments called for from the Treasury may be temporary—but in general they will be repeated or replaced by others. Besides the minor casualties of this kind, the State Treasury is frequently called on for larger amounts. Thus, in the year ending April 30th, 1841, the Ithaca and Owego Railroad, and that of Canajoharie and Catskill, were unable to pay interest; and the public treasury, to support the credit of the State, was compelled to make up the deficit, amounting (for one quarter) to \$6,121 62. By an act of Assembly, May 14th, 1840, all Railroad Companies aided by the State are required to deposit the interest in bank on the stock advanced to them, and to give notice five days previous to the interest becoming due, to the Comptroller, of such deposit. Should any of these companies be unable to meet such interest, the Comptroller must draw such interest from the Treasury. This provision extends to all the loans of the credit of the State to railroads. These loans amount to \$5,235,700: the interest on them, quarterly, \$70,021.62. The State has now outstanding \$22,934,092.65—and as the Comptroller has only *five* days legally allowed to make up the deficits to which we have alluded, it is unnecessary to say to our friends, that any means short of actual destruction should be resorted to which will enable the Treasury to meet such contingencies.

New York and Erie Railroad—finished, unfinished, and in progress—the sum already expended, and the further aid required.

Forty miles finished. Seven miles nearly graded. Other disconnected portions graded or under contract. Eleven miles in *legal controversy* with the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company. Forty miles, no work done. Partially done for one hundred and seventeen miles. For one hundred and thirty miles, advancing with great rapidity. Such is the report, as disconnected as its object, of Governor Seward, in relation to the Erie Railroad. Forty miles *alone* is *continuously* finished. The remnant is partially finished in broken and discon-

needed patches, and much yet remains to be done. The sum of \$3,660,976 70 has already been expended—the whole of the funds subscribed are nearly exhausted. \$3,000,000 more are required. It is utterly impossible that the Company, with a road yielding comparatively no profit, should meet the interest of the stock advanced: it must come from the *State Treasury*, or the State must be dishonored. The Federal Whigs have fixed on us the burthen, and we must sink under it or support it. The latter is the part of wisdom and honor. Should the treasury be called on, as in all human probability it will, for interest on the above loan, it will, added to the yearly interests on the Owego and Ithaca and the Canajoharie Railroad loans, make together yearly the sum of \$190,986 48. If the above be added to the already ascertained deficit in the General Fund revenue, the amount will be \$115,308 87. *Claims on the Canal Fund in 1842, pressing for immediate payment.*

The sum required to be furnished, under this head, for interest on Canal Stock debt—repairs, salaries to superintendents, clerks, collectors, &c., beside temporary loans which become due during the present year, with one exception of \$18,967, is \$3,794,747 52. More than three millions and three-quarters of dollars!!

Having now estimated the Canal debt, we particularly desire the attention of our Democratic friends to the available means provided by the Federal Whigs to meet it. These means appear on the *books* to be \$328,626 00 to satisfy three and three-quarters millions of dollars. But, alas! for Federal Whig government—two hundred and twenty-three thousand five hundred and forty-four dollars and six cents of the above *apparently* available funds, are in the broken Banks of Buffalo, &c.

The City Bank of Buffalo,
The Commercial Bank of Buffalo,
The Commercial Bank of Oswego,
The Wayne County Bank,

And bills of other broken Banks.

The apparently available resources to meet this mammoth debt are \$105,081 94. But even of this sum, diminutive as it is, 29,984 14

have been specially appropriated, leaving \$76,097 80 to pay the Canal debt.

If we deduct the above amount from the sum required, there is a deficit of \$3,718,649 72 under this head alone in 1842.

Although the tolls on hand at the close of the fiscal year, Sept. 30, 1841, vide Fund rep., p. 93, were \$868,317 95. And tolls were afterwards received to the amount of \$88,908 44

Making together, \$1,757,226 39

Yet such was the fiscal condition of the Canal Fund, that there was not sufficient to pay one-third of the interest to become payable before any new revenue could accrue; and by retrospective payments the Canal Fund was so reduced as to show a deficit of \$605,382.72, to pay current interest, open the canals, and carry them to a period when new revenue can be expected.

3. *Canal Stock debt, payable before and in 1845, and the means on hand provided to meet it.*

The above debt amounts, in the aggregate, to \$4,373,215.65.

Means set apart to pay the old debt of the Erie and Champlain Canal.

The above means, like most others which depend on Federal Whig calculation, are large only on *paper*. They were provided by the payment of a loan on the part of the city of Albany, in 1841-'42-'43, \$162,000 00

In Deposit Fund mortgages for the Canal Fund, \$917,385 06

Out of this fund has been extracted for balances due to specific funds, Feb. 8, 1842, before and subsequently to Sep. 1841, 239,425 16

The above deduction leaves in the Deposit Fund mortgages for the Canal Fund, \$677,960 90. Which, added to 162,000 00

Makes a balance in the fund mortgages above alluded to of \$839,960 90

Of these moneys, there are on loan to banks, as appears by the table C, of bank balances:

Special loans, 1st column, \$320,069 25
60 day loans, 2d col'n, 719,165 01

Total in banks, \$1,039,234 26

Of these, the following, in the following broken banks, are unavailable:

Bank of Buffalo, \$90,000 00
City Bank of Buffalo, 25,155 90
Commercial Bank of Buffalo, 64,032 00

Commercial Bank of New York,	44,000 00
Commercial Bank of Oswego,	30,000 00
Lockport Bank,	29,700 00
Wayne County Bank,	21,987 64
Lafayette Bank, N. Y.,	10,614 00
Unavailable,	\$315,489 54
	<hr/> 723,744 72
	<hr/> \$1,563,705 62

If the treasury shall refund the capital of this fund for the mortgage moneys collected and used by it, 239,425 16

There will be available towards paying the Erie and Champlain old debt, by 1845, \$1,803,130 78

The Erie and Champlain old debt is \$2,010,679 99
Available means above, 1,803,130 78

Deficit in these means, \$207,549 21
Add above Chenango debt, no means, 2,362,535 66

Total deficit of means on hand to meet the canal debt redeemable in 1845, \$2,570,084 87

The aggregate of these unavailable loans to, and deposits in broken banks, including broken bank bills—

For the Canal Fund for current expenses, \$223,544 06

For the fund set apart for the Erie and Champlain old debt, 315,489 54

Making a probable loss of \$539,033 60

The aggregate to be met in 1842 and 1845, and the means provided to meet it—Surplus tolls and deficit of means.

Current State expenses, \$884,595 31

Canal demands for 1842, including half a million to preserve the unfinished works, 3,794,747 52

Stock debt for Canals to be paid at or before 1845, 4,373,215 65

Total to be paid in 1842 and 1845, \$9,052,558 48

Total of present and available canal funds (as before stated) is only 1,879,228 78

Leaving a deficit to be provided for of \$7,173,329 73

Prospective Revenue—Surplus of Canal Tolls.

The only remaining sources, excepting taxation, to meet the alarming deficiencies in the State liabilities, are from the surplus Canal tolls. The *surplus* of the Canal revenue is that which remains after paying all the interest on the Canal

debt and other incidental expenses, besides \$200,000 to the General State Fund.

The average of the Canal expenses for five years, from 1837 to 1841, was \$2,353,136 17
Stock debt of the Chemung Canal repairs, 1841, 114,292 23

Divided by 5, \$2,467,428 40

Makes a yearly average surplus of \$493,485 68

To obtain the above surplus, the annual increase on the tolls of 1841 is assumed at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and the annual expenses at \$452,000 00

The estimate of the surplus of the Canal surplus for the current year will probably not exceed, at its *maximum*, 600,000 00

A great portion of this amount has already been lost in broken banks or consumed in retrospective payments. It has before been stated that the Canal Stock debt to be provided for before or in 1845, is 7,173,329 73

Deducting from this formidable amount the *surplus* Canal revenue for 1842, allowing for broken bank losses and retrospective payments, \$250,000 00

The surplus Canal revenues of 1843-'44-'45, at 600,000 00

2,050,000 00

There is still a deficit of \$5,123,329 73 to meet the liabilities of 1845.

And deducting that part of these liabilities which constitutes the pressing debt of the General fund, which is 884,595 31

And we have a deficiency of \$4,238,834 42 in means, *present, available* and *prospective* surplus of canal revenue, to meet the canal liabilities of the State at the close of 1845.

Such is the condition to which the Federal Whig administration at Albany has reduced the revenues and credit of the Empire State in *three* years of their misrule. In the year 1839, when the Whig Legislature came into power, our debt was *eleven million dollars*. The surplus on hand to meet this debt was *four million and a half dollars*. On the first of January, 1842, the State debt had been increased to the sum of *twenty-seven million and a half dollars!!!* What have we gained by this increase of debt? Let our Democratic friends turn to our account of the *New York and Erie Railroad*, for the appalling answer to this question. When the present Legis-

lature, to meet these enormous demands and deficits in the State debt, and to save a credit that must in any other event become annihilated, proposed and carried a tax to meet them, the Whig Federalists directly accused them of an intention unnecessarily to impose additional burdens on the people. We ask our Democratic friends to look back on our statement for a refutation of the foul calumny. Let them again and again read it. It is worthy of being *indelibly* fixed on the memory, and engraved on every door-post of Democracy. But the period has passed when Whig calumny can overthrow the foundation of truth. Their utter recklessness of all save *self*—visible in every department of our State and National Legislatures; the immense sacrifice of money and time which the people have been compelled to make to these cormorants for place, profit, and power, has at length aroused the latter to a proper sense of their situation. The trumpet of Democracy—of equal rights and equal privileges, has sounded through the land, and its final *triumph* will be commensurate with its past sufferings.

THE TARIFF.

This is a vital question—it reaches the mechanic, the farmer, the merchant, the professional man, and the government. No man is too rich, too poor; too high, too low; too learned, too illiterate; too conspicuous, or too obscure, not to be effected. The people should understand its bearings and ramifications. But, most of all, the workingman (whose sympathies and interests are directly appealed to by the selfish advocates of what they foolishly term the “protection of American industry,”) should make himself acquainted with it; and as our journal is more particularly devoted to them, we shall, to the extent of our poor ability, occasionally discuss it as connected with their welfare. We have annexed an article from one of the ablest political writers of the day—a gentleman who had the honor of a seat in the cabinet of Mr. Van Buren. We ask for it an attentive perusal.

At the present rate of expenditure, it will take at least thirty-five millions of dollars annually to carry on the government and make any progress in payment of the national debt. This is two dollars a head for every man, woman and child, black and white, in the United States.

This amount is to be paid by a tariff of duties on imported merchandize, equal to one-third of its value.

Now, *who pays this tax?* The foreign producer or manufacturer does not pay it; for his articles are sold to our merchants *before it is collected*. Our merchants themselves pay it to the government when they land the goods in this country. But does it *finally* come out of the merchants? Not at all, or only so far as they are consumers.

They add the tax to the price of the goods, with a profit upon it, and make the next purchaser pay it back to them. The second purchaser and the third do the same thing, until the goods are bought for consumption by the Farmer, Planter, Mechanic, Laborer, Professional man, and all others who use or consume such articles. Of course, it is these who ultimately pay the tax to the government, increased by the profit of one, two, three or more dealers. If the tax or duty be thirty per cent., the profit of the first purchaser raises it to at least thirty-three and one-third, of the second to thirty-seven, of the third to about forty-three, and so on, increasing ten to twenty-five per cent. as they pass through the hands of each successive dealer. But for purposes of illustration, we will assume that the duties are thirty per cent., increased only to thirty-three and one-third when they come into the hands of the consumer. This is an addition of fifty per cent. to the price of the goods as it would be if they were not taxed.

The consequence is, that the Farmer, Mechanic, and other consumers pay **FIFTY PER CENT.** *more for what they buy than they would otherwise have to pay.*

What we are most anxious to effect is, to make these classes fully sensible of the real effect of this system upon their industry and interests.

Can it be the interest of the Farmer to make him give THREE bushels of wheat, corn, rye, oats, potatoes, or three pounds of meat, butter, cheese, wool, &c., &c., for that which would otherwise cost him but TWO?

Suppose the government were to permit foreign goods to come in free, thereby reducing the prices one-third, and instead of a tariff, were to station its officers at the Farmers' doors to take for the use of the government one-third of all the produce, meat, poultry, wool, and whatever else they send out to sell, would they not consider it a monstrous tax?

If, instead of a tariff adding fifty per cent. to the price of merchandize and groceries, the government were to take from the Mechanic and Laborer *one-third* of the money they now spend for those articles, or rather should make them *work for the government* one day out of three during the period now occupied by them in earning that portion of their money, would they not consider it intolerable oppression?

There are no classes who spend a larger portion of their income in purchasing foreign commodities than Lawyers, Doctors, and Divines. What interest have *they* in paying fifty per cent. more than the regular and fair price for those commodities?

And what interest have the merchants themselves in this system? They, in common with the Farmers, are taxed fifty per cent. on their consumption of foreign commodities; and as a class they consume more than any other. Yet, *it does not increase their profits*. If a third of the capital invested in goods were not required to pay the duty, they could purchase fifty per cent. more goods; and if one-third of the Farmers' and Mechanics' surplus were not required to refund this duty to the merchants, those classes would buy more goods. The consequence is, that the merchants, like the farmers, are made by a tariff to pay a tax on the amount of foreign goods consumed in their families without the least return.

Indeed, a high tariff is injurious to their business by lessening, and in some cases annihilating, the ability of other classes to purchase of them.

Let us take another view of the effects of Tariff Taxation upon the industry of a people.

Trade, so far as producers are concerned, is but an interchange of commodities between producers of different countries or of the same country. The merchants and all those employed in buying, transporting and selling, are but the *agents of the producers*, paid for their services *out of the articles bought, transported and sold*, or out of the moneys received for them, (which amounts to the same thing.) If the producers could make these exchanges without the aid of these agents, they would get much more in return for their products, and *would enjoy among themselves the ENTIRE fruits of their mutual industry.*

There are two neighbors living close together; one has pork to spare and wants corn; the other has corn to spare and wants pork. If they exchange corn for pork without the intervention of a trader, it is evident that so far they enjoy between them *the entire fruits of their own industry.*—But it is otherwise if they sell their corn and pork to a merchant, and buy of him the article wanted. The merchant takes *every tenth pound of the pork and every tenth bushel of the corn to feed his own family*, and sells the remaining nine for as much as he gave for the ten. Thus, the two Farmers, instead of enjoying between them the entire fruits of their own industry, *lose one-tenth by employing this agency to do the business for them*; and thus it is that the merchant's support and wealth come out of the Farmers and other producers.

But suppose the government were to station its Agent in the road between the Farmers' houses, with instructions to *stop their wagons, and take out for the use of the government ONE-THIRD of all the pork and corn sent for exchange or sale, or actually exchanged*, would they esteem it a benefit worthy of their gratitude and applause?

If the Farmers lived in different townships, and the tax gatherers were stationed on the line between them, would it make the matter a whit less objectionable? If they lived in different States, and the tax gatherer were upon the borders of the States, would not the effect be the same?

And if they live in different nations, and the tax gatherer is found on their coasts or their boundaries, *taking for the use of government one-third of all that comes in or goes out, one or both*, how can it be any benefit to the Farmer, on the one side or the other? Can it be an advantage to him to lose one-third of his crops of grain or other produce? If so, let him raise a stock of squirrels, rats and mice, hawks, crows and buzzards, to eat it up and save further trouble.

It is obviously the interest of the Farmer to exchange his surplus for what he wants with his neighbor Farmer or other producers, without any deduction at all, either for merchants' profit or government tax. In exchanges with producers living in different States and nations, the intervention of merchants is not to be avoided, and their profit is a fair deduction from the surplus products sold or exchanged or their proceeds. But the interposition of governments taking a third or half of the articles exchanged for their own uses, is not a necessary incident to the transaction, and it a tax on all classes of consumers, acting with

blighting effect, both directly and indirectly, on the great mass of producers in both countries: directly in taking from them a large portion of their surplus produce; indirectly in lessening the ability of their neighbors or fellow producers to purchase the balance. If I have pork to sell and my neighbor has corn, and the government take from me one-third of my pork, I cannot, with the other two-thirds, buy so much of his corn. *His market for corn is therefore impaired by the government tax upon me.* So, if the government take a third of his corn, it in like manner impairs my market for pork. Thus, a tax upon one is an *injury to both*, and an *equal tax upon both doubles the injury.*

In this view, we have confined ourself to the natural and necessary effect of Tariff taxation, independent of the object for which it is levied.—These are its effects upon different classes of society when imposed for purposes of *revenue only.* We beg our readers to consider whether there is any thing untrue or unsound in our premises or conclusions; for our only object is to lead them to the truth. If any one thinks he sees any thing erroneous in them, and will favor us with a condensed statement or argument adverse to our conclusions, we will most cheerfully give it insertion in the Democratic Guide—*provided the name of the person is given with the statement. No article will be published in this journal without a responsible name.*

Distribution—Loan Bill—Tariff—Federal Whigs' Increased Expenses—Public Debt, &c.—

Selected from a letter written by Lewis D. Henry, the Democratic candidate for Governor of North Carolina.

"*Distribution—Loan Bill—Tariff.*—They give away the public lands, which afforded the best security to sustain the public credit, and to effect loans on *favorable terms*; and then go into the money market to borrow twelve millions of dollars; at a time when they admitted their finances were embarrassed, the people and the State in debt, and when universal distrust abounded! It was fatuity!—rashness and presumption beyond the power of language to describe!! The natural consequence immediately followed—the credit of the Government was dishonored—regular dealers distrusted the financial ability of the heads of Government to conduct the public affairs—her bonds for small sums of five hundred dollars were hawked about Wall-street at the mercy of the shavers and brokers, and Mr. Forward, the present Secretary of the Treasury, now states to Congress, that the Government cannot effect a loan in this country. The public lands were given by the States to the Federal Government, to pay the public debt, and were so pledged by a resolution of Congress in 1790, and they are the most permanent, convenient, and economical security any Government could have to sustain its credit. Besides, the Federal Government is charged with the *public faith and defences* of the whole Union: it should never therefore have been robbed of the *main pillar of support.*

Public credit is public honor and public wealth. To tarnish that credit, ought to be looked upon as the *greatest crime.* It is bringing *shame and dishonor* on one's country, and when evil days

come, the distress of the people is increased by the inability of the Government to alleviate the heavy hand of taxation.

Again, with one hand, they beg for money to replenish the Treasury; with the other, they take millions out and give it away. *Again*, they distribute, in donations, the people's money, and in the next breath take it back in taxes, which cost them ten per cent. to collect; making a loss of one hundred thousand dollars upon every million of dollars collected. *Again*, they give the public money to pay the gambling debts of the States, invoked in mad schemes of internal improvement, and tax the people of North Carolina, on their salt, iron, and sugar, to replace the amount. *Again*, they distribute by one rule, Federal numbers, and *tax* by another rule, *per capita*, which make the slave-holding States pay the larger share of the taxes, in proportion to the benefit. *Again*, like the Pharisees of old, they distribute *openly*, to *gain favor*, and next *secretly and fraudulently* take back, in tithes upon the *living* of the people, to pay their hypocritical extravagance. *Again*, they give the public lands to British bankers, who are the holders of State bonds, and tax the laboring classes, to make the Treasury whole. *Again*, they give to that class which has been the most profligate and imprudent in getting into debt, and take it back in taxes, from that class which has the *least*—*works the hardest*—and *fights the battles of the country*.

In fine, the extra session ushered into the world a *monster of legislative incongruities*, so heterogeneous and absurd, so made up of *Clay and brass*, that, like the famed image of Nebuchadnezzar, it will mark the age in which we live. The preposterous scheme! of growing rich by borrowing, of relieving the people by taxing them, and of being generous to them by robbing them of their land.

Increased Expenditures and enormous Public Debt.—The Whigs promised the people to *lessen expenses*, and to administer the Government with fifteen millions of dollars per year. Let us examine how they have redeemed their pledges of *economy*. Mr. Woodbury, one of the ablest and most faithful Secretaries of the Treasury we have ever had, states that the expenses of the Government, the last year of Mr. Van Buren, were about \$23,000,000. The President, Mr. Van Buren, himself declares, in his annual message to Congress, December, 1840, from which I now quote, as follows:—"The expenditure of 1839 was reduced six million of dollars. Those of 1840, exclusive of disbursements of public debt and trust claims, will probably not exceed twenty-two and a half millions, being between two and three millions less than those of the preceding year, and nine or ten millions less than 1837." Here, then, we have the evidence of the President of the United States, when under his *official oath*, in December, 1840, corroborated by Secretary Woodbury, that he had reduced the expenditures in three years about ten millions, and that when he quit office they did not exceed *twenty-two and a half millions*.

The Whig leaders told the people, in 1840, that the *expenses* of the Government under Van Buren's administration had amounted to thirty-nine or forty millions. This *was false*, because they

spoke against the *book*, which was *before their eyes*. For, on the 4th of May, 1840, in compliance with a resolution of the Senate, the Secretary of the Treasury reported to the Senate, (see Senate's document 26th Congress, 1st Session, 450, pages 2 and 6,) that the expenditures for the year 1837, (independent of payments on account of the public debt, funded or unfunded,) amounted to \$37,213,214.21, from which the sum of \$6,186,428.38, on account of trust funds, indemnities, claims of States, for war debts, three per cent. on lands sold, is to be deducted, and it leaves Mr. Van Buren's highest year chargeable for *expenses proper* the sum of \$31,056,784.84.

Now mark the contrast! President Tyler and his Secretary, Mr. Forward, declared to the present Congress, (in the message and report,) that the last year's expenditures of the Government amounted to more than thirty-two millions of dollars, which includes a payment of about five and a half millions of the public debt; so that Mr. Van Buren brought the expenditures down to about twenty-two and a half millions, his last year, at an average diminution for three years, of three million a year; and the Whigs in one year, 1841, increased them over four millions of dollars.

Thus, President Tyler in his message, and Secretary Forward in his report to the present Congress, December, 1841, say the expenditures of 1841, were

Secretary Forward in said report		
says the payments in 1841, on		
account principal and interest,		
Treasury notes, and public debt,		
are as follows:—		
Treasury notes re-		
deemed, principal		
and interest,	\$5,027,811	13
Public debt,	27,080	64
Third quarter, inter-		
est on loan,	70,000	00
Third quarter, principal and interest		
on Treasury notes,	503,183	95
		5,628,075 72

Nett expenditures of Whig year, 1841, \$26,396,994 98

Document No. 31, House of Representatives, 27th Congress, second session—statement laid before the House by Mr. Fillmore, Chairman of Committee of Ways and Means, contains Secretary Ewing's letter to said Chairman, dated July 7, 1841, in which letter Mr. Ewing reports to him statement No. 8 of said document, showing expenditures for the last 12 years—at page 26 we have the aggregate nett expenditures of Mr. Van Buren's last year, 1840, independent of Treasury notes and public debt, to be

22,389,356 31

This balance is Whig increase of expenses in one year, \$4,007,638 67

This statement, then, as it shows, is made upon the authority of President Tyler, and the two

Whig Secretaries, Ewing and Forward. The Whigs cannot question it.

Having shown how the Whigs have increased the expenditures of the Government, I will now show how much they propose to augment the public debt.

Mr. Woodbury states, in a late speech in the Senate, that the public debt left by Mr. Van Buren was between five and six millions, for the issue of Treasury notes. Mr. Forward, the present Whig Secretary of the Treasury, reported to the Senate on the 10th of January, 1842, that the debt for Treasury notes issued under Mr. Van Buren, was, on the 3d of last March, \$6,607,361.54; and that the public debt for Treasury notes and loans, on the 23d of December, 1841, was \$12,959,504.51. They differ in three statements, from about one-half to a million of dollars, in respect to Mr. Van Buren's debt. I will take Mr. Forward's statement, merely because it is most against us, and therefore cannot be impugned by our adversaries. Whig debt, on 23rd December,

1841,	\$12,959,504 57
Van Buren's administration, on	
3d of March, 1841,	6,607,361 54

Increased actual debt,	\$6,352,143 03
Add the balance of the loan, authorised by the act of 21st July, 1841,	6,422,524 00
	<hr/>
	\$12,771,667 03

Add the following items on account of extraordinary expenditure, proposed by the Secretaries of the Whig Cabinet, and for objects *strongly recommended and approved* by President Tyler in his late message.

Mr. Forward, Secretary of the Treasury, a new issue of Treasury notes,	5,000,000 00
Postmaster General, to purchase partnerships in railroads,	8,000,000 00
Secretary of the Navy, to increase our navy to half the size of the British navy, say from 66 to 4 or 500 vessels of war, the annual expenditure for which is variously estimated from 15 to 25 millions—say, however, for two years,	20,000,000 00
Secretary at War proposes, among other things, to increase the standing army, and extend a chain of military posts to the Rocky Mountains. This cannot be estimated at less than	2,000,000 00
The President, besides approving the foregoing objects, proposes a Government Bank, with power to create a debt, by certificate, notes, and loan, the further amount of	35,000,000 00
	<hr/>
	\$82,774,667 03

Here, then, we have an *actual and proposed* debt by the Whigs in less than ten months after they got into power, of more than \$82,000,000. But this is not the worst. We are taxed under the new Whig tariff, upon the necessities of life,

according to their own estimates at the extra session,

Secretary Forward, in his late annual report, proposes a further tax of	\$5,774,000 00
	<hr/>
Total taxes,	4,718,570 00
Add to this the public debt as above,	\$10,492,579 00
Also, one year's interest on public debt as above,	82,774,667 03
	<hr/>
	4,966,480 00

Total of taxes and public debt, *actual and proposed*,

Here we have, in one year—the Whig year, 1841—in taxes and public debt, *actual and proposed*, the enormous sum of NINETY-EIGHT MILLIONS OF DOLLARS. More than six dollars per head for every white man, woman, and child in the United States.

The Whigs are estopped from questioning the principle of this calculation. They promised to administer the Government with fifteen millions a year—to *economize, retrench, and reform*. Is this *retrenchment*, to propose expenditures and taxes, which cannot, under any view, fall short of *one hundred millions* of dollars? The best way to make *prodigals* is to talk of expending *millions*, when sober men would only talk of *hundreds*. It begets a contempt for economy in small sums, and is sure, in the end, to corrupt the minds of men in public and private life. But above all, the principle is more than warranted by the Whig charge, in 1840, that Mr. Van Buren proposed to raise a standing army of 200,000 militia.

What a signal contrast between the Democratic and Whig Administrations!!

The two Democratic Administrations paid off the old war debt of 1776 and 1812—stopped leaks in the Treasury, which would have carried off \$200,000,000 to mad schemes of internal improvement by the General Government, (as was estimated at the time Gen. Jackson vetoed the Maysville Road bill)—carried on two expensive wars with Black Hawk, and the Seminole Indians—removed Indians, and purchased from fifty to one hundred millions of acres of Indian lands—paid State claims for war debts—finished the public buildings—paid double the amount of pensions to soldiers since dead—levied no new taxes—created no loans—but the tariff taxes were *biennially diminishing under the act of 1833*: all this, too, at a time when the supplies of the Government for the army, navy, &c., were double the price they are now; and, after discharging all these extraordinary expenditures, deposited *twenty-eight millions of dollars with the States*: more than this!—brought all foreign nations to settlement and payment who owed us for spoliation upon our commerce, and exalted the national honor and credit abroad to a height which caused other nations to look upon us with wonder and admiration.

Now turn your face to the picture of the *Whig year 1841!* You there behold the *national credit tarnished*, and the nation itself covered with a *pall of deep foreboding gloom!* Trade depressed—the profits of the plough diminished—the laborer and his family turned out of employment—the people dispirited with *low prices and large debts*—mortified and deceived with Whig pro-

mises of better times—the nation disgraced by the frauds and failure of the GREAT BANK—the Federal Treasury bankrupt—the avowal before the world that this Whig Administration cannot borrow money upon the *honor and credit* of the country—the expenses of Government increased in one year to over four millions of dollars, and taxes and a proposed public debt together of ninety-eight millions of dollars. As a Republican, proud of my country, I look upon this picture more in *sorrow than in anger*.

In summing up millions upon millions of Whig extravagance, I cannot condescend to notice such small sums as \$6,000—to enhance the gorgeousness of the President's house, called by the Whigs in 1840, "*the Palace of royal magnificence*"—nor the sum of nearly half a million of dollars for the expenses of the useless extra session—nor the sum of \$25,000 paid to Mrs. Harrison—these, I agree, are contemptible sums in a *long catalogue of millions*. It were ridiculous to complain of the sting of a viper, when a Giant is strangled by the folds of the Anaconda! I do quarrel, however, with the principle of the appropriation to the widow of the President—because it is the commencement of the horrible policy of civil pensions. Jefferson died poor, and Monroe died poor—both, I believe, insolvent, and no pension was given by Congress to their families. No men deserved it more, because they were among the *fathers and founders of the Republic*. Make a beginning, and where will you end? You must extend it to Judges, Governors, Senators, members of Congress, Secretaries, Ministers, &c., until it may amount to a standing army of *horse leeches* sucking the BLOOD of the PEOPLE. The policy of civil pensions is the very essence of the British monarchy—which is supported by giving the lands to the oldest son, and taxing the bread of the laborer to enhance his profits, and promoting to office the younger sons of the nobility, and taxing the people to support their families."

Paper Money Payments refused by the Hon. Thomas H. Benton—Protest of Government Check—Selections from Mr. Benton's Speech on the subject, and his Resolutions presented to the Senate on the nature of Government Payments, &c.

[COMPENSATION No. 149.]

OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF THE SENATE }
OF THE U. S. A. }
Washington, Jan 31, 1842. }

Cashier of the Bank of Washington,

Pay to Hon. Thomas H. Benton, or order, one hundred and forty-two dollars.

\$142.

(Signed.)

ASBURY DICKENS,
Secretary of the Senate.

(Endorsed.)

☞ "*The Hard, or a Protest.*"
"THOMAS H. BENTON."

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,

Washington County, Sct.

Be it known, That on the 31st day of January, 1842, I, George Sweeny, Notary Public, by lawful authority duly commissioned and sworn, dwelling in the County and District aforesaid, at the re-

quest of the Hon. Thomas H. Benton, presented at the Bank of Washington, the original check whereof the above is a true copy, and demanded there payment of the sum of money in said check specified, whereunto the Cashier of said Bank answered: "The whole amount cannot be paid in specie, as Treasury notes alone have been deposited here to meet the Secretary of the Senate's checks; but I am ready to pay this check in one Treasury note for one hundred dollars, bearing six per cent. interest, and the residue in specie."

Therefore, I, the said Notary, at the request aforesaid, have protested, and by these presents do solemnly protest, against the drawer and endorser of the said check, and all others whom it doth or may concern, for all costs, exchange, re-exchange, charges, damages, and interest, suffered and to be suffered for want of payment thereof.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto

set my hand, and affixed my Seal Notarial, this first day of February, 1842.

GEORGE SWEENEY,

Notary Public.

Protesting, \$1 75.

Recorded in Protest Book, G. S., No. 4, page 315.

"Mr. Benton said this paper explained itself. It was a check and a protest. The check was headed "*compensation*," and was drawn by the Secretary of the Senate for so much pay due to him (Mr. B.) for his per diem attendance in Congress. It had been presented at the proper place for payment, and it would be seen by the protest that payment was refused, unless he (Mr. B.) would consent to receive two-thirds paper and about one-third specie. He objected to this, and endorsed upon the check, as an instruction to the messenger who carried it, these words: "*The hard, or a protest.*" Under instructions the protest came, and with it notarial fees to the amount of \$1 75, which were paid in the hard. Mr. B. said this was what had happened to himself, here at the seat of government, and he presumed the same thing was happening to others, and all over the Union. He presumed the time had arrived when paper money payments, and forced tenders of Treasury notes, were to be universal, and when every citizen would have to decide for himself, whether he would submit to the imposition upon his rights, and to the outrage upon the Constitution, which such a state of things involved. Some might not be in a situation to submit. Necessity, stronger than any law, might compel many to submit; but there were others who were in a situation to resist; and though attended with some loss and inconvenience, it was their duty to do so.—Tyranny must be resisted; oppression must be resisted; violation of the Constitution must be resisted; folly or wickedness must be resisted; otherwise there is an end of law, of liberty, and of right. The Government becomes omnipotent, and rides and rules over a prostrate country, as it pleases. Resistance to the tyranny or folly of a government becomes a sacred duty, which somebody must perform, and the performance of which is always disagreeable, and sometimes expensive and hazardous. Mr. Hampden resisted the payment of ship money in England; and his resistance cost him money, time, labor, losses of every kind, and eventually the loss of his life. His

share of the ship money was only twenty shillings, and a suggestion of self-interest would have required him to submit to the imposition, and put up with the injury. But a feeling of patriotism prompted him to resist for others, not for himself—to resist for the benefit of those who could not resist for themselves; and, above all, to resist for the sake of the Constitution of the country, trampled under foot by a weak King and a profligate Minister. Mr. Hampden resisted the payment of ship money to save the people of England from oppression, and the Constitution from violation. Some person must resist the payment of paper money here, to save the people from oppression, and the Constitution from violation; and if persons in station, and at the seat of government, will not do it, who shall? Sir, resistance must be made; the safety of the country, and of the Constitution, demands it. It must be made here: for here is the source and presence of the tyranny. It must be made by some one in station: for the voice of those in private life could not be heard. Some one must resist, and for want of a more suitable person, I find myself under the necessity of doing it—and I do it with the less reluctance because it is in my line, as a hard money man, and because I do not deem it quite as dangerous to resist our paper money Administration, as Hampden found it to resist Charles the First and the Duke of Buckingham.

"There is no dispute about the fact, and the case which I present is neither a first one, nor a solitary one. The Whig Administration, in the first year of its existence, is without money, and without credit, and with no other means of keeping up but by forced payments of paper money, which it strives from day to day to force into the hands and to stop the mouths of its importunate creditors. This is its condition: and it is the natural result of the folly of throwing away the land revenue—which repealed the hard money clause of the Independent Treasury—which repealed the prohibition against the use of small notes by the Federal Government—which has made war upon gold and protected paper—and which now demands the establishment of a national manufactory of paper money for the general and permanent use of the Federal Government. Its present condition is the natural result of these measures; and bad as it is, it must be far worse if the people do not soon compel a return to the hard money and economy of the Democratic administrations. This administration came into power upon a promise to carry on the Government upon thirteen millions per annum; the first year is not yet out; it has already had a revenue of twenty odd millions, a Loan bill for twelve millions, a Tax bill for eight or ten millions, a Treasury Note bill for five millions; and with all this, it declares a *deficit*, and shows its insolvency, by denying money to its creditors, and forcing them to receive paper or go without pay. In a season of profound peace, and in the first year of the Whig Administration, this is the condition of the country! a condition which must fill the bosom of every friend to our form of government with grief and shame.

"Sir, a war upon the currency of the Constitution has been going on for many years; and the heroes of that war are now in power. They have ridiculed gold, and persecuted it in every way, and exhausted their wits in sarcasms upon it and

its friends. The humbug gold bill was their favorite phrase; and among other exhibitions in contempt of this bill and its authors, were a couple of public displays—one in May, 1837, the other in the autumn of 1840—at Wheeling, in Virginia, by two gentlemen, now high functionaries in this Government, in which empty purses were held up to the contemplation of the crowd, in derision of the gold bill and its authors. Sir, that bill was passed in June, 1834; and from that day down to a few weeks ago, we were paid in gold. Every one of us had gold that chose it. Now the scene is reversed. Gold has gone: paper has come.—Forced payments, and forced tenders of paper, is the law of the Whig Administration! and empty purses may now be held up with truth and with sorrow, as the emblem both of the Administration and its creditors.

"The cause of this disgraceful state of things, Mr. B. said he would not farther investigate at present. The remedy was the point now to be attended to. The Government creditor was suffering; the Constitution was bleeding; the character of the country was sinking into disgrace; and it was the duty of Congress to apply a remedy to so many disasters. He (Mr. B.) saw the remedy; but he had not the power to apply it. The power was in other hands; and to them he would wish to commit the inquiry which the present condition of things imperiously required of Congress to make.

"Mr. B. said there was a forced payment of paper money—a forced tender of paper money—and forced loans from the citizens. The loan to be forced out of him was \$100, at 6 per cent.; but he had not the money to lend, and should resist the loan. Those who have money will not lend it, and wisely refuse to lend it to an Administration which throws away its rich pearl—the land revenue. The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Mangum] proposes a reduction of the pay of the members by way of relief to the Treasury, but Mr. B. had no notion of submitting to it: he had no notion of submitting to a deduction of his pay to enable an Administration to riot in extravagance, and to expend in a single illegal commission in New York more than the whole proposed saving from the members' pay would amount to. He had no notion of submitting to such curtailments, and would prefer the true remedy, that of restoring the land revenue to its proper destination, and also restoring economy, Democracy and hard money to power."

"Mr. B. presented the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the Committee on Finance be instructed to inquire into the nature of the payments now made, or offered to be made, by the Federal Government to its creditors. Whether the same are made in hard money or paper money? Whether the creditors have their option? Whether the Government paper is at a discount? And what remedy, if any, is necessary to enable the Government to keep its faith with its creditors, so as to save them from loss, the Constitution from violation, and the country from disgrace?"

"Mr. Mangum said he had been appealed to in this matter, or he would not now rise; but he had a word or two to say. He had mentioned yesterday his proposition to commence the work of retrenchment with members of Congress, but he had met with so little encouragement from the

opposite side that he had now very little hope he would ever have an opportunity of bringing it forward. He protested against the frequent assumption that the Whig majority in Congress was responsible for the acts of the present Administration. The gentlemen had seduced the President from their service, and now that there was no co-operation between the Executive and the Whig majority, on every occasion they endeavored to hold his (Mr. Mangum's) friends responsible for the conduct of the Administration. He, on the part of his friends, repudiated this responsibility. Although they had voted to lift the Government out of its difficulties, while the new allies of the Executive folded their arms, and refused to give a helping hand; yet it was not because they approved of the mode of supply, but in consequence of being cut off from the perfecting of the Whig system of measures, which, if fully carried out, would have rendered no such resort as Treasury notes necessary. His attention had been directed to the New York commission.—Were he and his friends in the Senate responsible for that? Why should they be continually taunted with the extravagance, wickedness, and folly of this Administration, and held in responsibility for what they could not, in the absence of Executive co-operation, control? They were ready to do all they had promised, if they had an opportunity. The Whigs still stood upon the principles which had brought them into power, and which he felt assured would continue them in power, notwithstanding the anticipations of their opponents, and the new ally they had seduced from the Whig ranks."

TRICKS OF THE ENEMY.

The Federal party are consistent in one thing at least; their want of confidence in the intelligence and patriotism of the masses. Their whole policy when in power, and the tricks to deceive and false lights held up when out, sufficiently establish this assertion a truism. No sooner have they met defeat under one cognomen, than another has been invented; no sooner has popular condemnation been placed upon one set of measures, than others apparently contradictory have been proposed; and no sooner have devices, catch phrases and humbugs been stripped of their disguise, than others equally as inviting, but equally deceptive, have been adopted. The elections of 1840 have given a new impulse to this system of electioneering. In that great battle the many favoring circumstances and speedy following of the election after the rearing of the log cabins, *humbug* was triumphant, and obtained *pro tem.* the ascendancy. The managers were elated at this eventual success of the policy; it had won them the General Government, with its immense patronage. Their reliance in the susceptibility of the *canaille* being easily duped they thought was fully established. The policy had at last succeeded—its adaptation to the American people was proven. And is it reasonable to assume that a

principle of political warfare which, as its advocates agree, has so recently crowned their arms with victory, is to be abandoned? If appeals to popular passions and interests had been persisted in election after election, when defeat and discomfiture were invariably the results, is it reasonable to suppose that at this time, after the apparent success of that mode of warfare, it is to be discontinued? Certainly not! In fact, already the *platform* (we thank you, Mr. Clay, for the word) has been laid. A return to the log cabin and hard cider cannot be effected, for those emblems of patriotism have ceased to inspire any sentiments but disgust. Other means must be devised; and after labored thoughts, it has been decided to go into the next presidential contest under the protective mantle of the Home League. This is to be the next great Federal Whig humbug. In secret serious conclave of the friends of Mr. Clay at Washington, it has been concluded that a combination of associations formed for the ostensible purpose of protecting American industry, under this pleasing title should be formed as the platform upon which that gentleman is to be raised to the executive chair. The mandate has been sent forth that home leagues are to be formed throughout the country—in every county, town, and village, that the dispersed forces may be gathered for another rally. And that the objects may be attained, false lights are hung out to catch the unwary and unsuspecting. The people are told these nightly convocations are not for party purposes—that party politics is not discussed, and the object is simply to form societies to raise the price of wages to the mechanic—to give protection and encouragement to the manufacturer—to enhance the profits of the farmer—to benefit the merchant and trader—to fill the coffers of the National Treasury, and to insure a good and steady currency. These, we are told, are the objects of Home Leagues; and all men, without respect to party, are called upon to aid in the patriotic and laudable enterprise. When asked the means by which these promised blessings are to be obtained, the answer is, by a high tariff—to place additional duties on imports, that the productions of other nations may not be brought in competition with our own. This is the magic wand by which the necromancers of the Home League promise to effect the bestowment of every desired blessing. Reader, look to the men who make these promises, and look well to the instrument by which they are to be accomplished. Who are the men who are now coming forward with protestations of concern for your condition and voluntary offers of medicine for relief? Are they or not the same—identically the same, who, a few short months since, seduced you to the log cabin

and coon skin révels? And by what art is the filling of your purses and oiling of your troubles to be brought about? A high tariff! And what is a high tariff? Exorbitant duties levied upon foreign merchandize. And what will be the effect of those duties? We will briefly answer. For every thirty per cent. duty levied upon an article fifty per cent. is added to its cost—consequently added to its price, and must be paid by the consumer. Or, in other language, suppose two dollars per yard duty is laid upon cloth which before had been admitted free, and had been sold, when admitted free, at five dollars per yard; of course it could not be sold, with the duty added, for less than seven dollars per yard, and the man desiring a coat from it would be forced to pay four dollars (considering two yards as the required quantity) more than before the duty was laid. And so with every other article of consumption. The duty is paid by he who buys and uses it—it is a tax upon him to that amount, with the increased expense of merchants' profits besides. Therefore, supposing that from thirty to fifty per cent. duty was levied upon all commodities, as is desired by the home leaguers, the great body of the people, including the laborer and all other classes, would be obliged to pay half as much again as they do now for every thing they eat, drink, and wear, which is not raised in this country. But not only would the prices of foreign products be increased, but similar articles of our own production would also advance, owing to an inflation of the currency and competition having been cut off. But there are other equally grave objections to this Federal Whig catholicism, and we warn our mechanics and workmen to turn their backs upon this new device. It is a weak invention of their old enemies. We shall turn to the subject again—and *ad interim*, repeat, fellow Democrats, do not allow yourselves to be seduced into the meetings of these gull traps—yclept *Home Leagues*.

The Speech of the Hon. Henry Clay in the Senate of the United States, 20th of February, 1811, against re-chartering the Bank of the United States.—When Mr. Clay made this speech he was a Jefferson Democrat; and that he may be fully understood, the speech is given entire; at the end of which are attached a few observations in the form of a summary of said speech.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. President: When the subject involved in the motion now under consideration was depending before the other branch of the legislature,* a disposition to acquiesce in their decision was evinced. For, although the committee who reported this bill had been raised many weeks

prior to the determination of that House on the proposition to re-charter the bank, except the occasional reference to it of memorials and petitions, we scarcely ever heard of it. The rejection, it is true, of a measure brought before either branch of Congress does not absolutely preclude the other from taking up the same proposition; but the economy of our time, and a just deference for the opinion of others, would seem to recommend a delicate and cautious exercise of this power. As this subject, at the memorable period when the charter was granted, called forth the best talents of the nation—as it has, on various occasions, undergone the most thorough investigations, and as we can hardly expect that it is susceptible of receiving any further elucidation, it was to have been hoped that we should have been spared an useless debate. This was the more desirable because they are, I conceive, much superior claims upon us for every hour of the small portion of the session yet remaining to us. Under the operation of these motives, I had resolved to give a silent vote, until I felt bound, by the defying manner of the arguments advanced in support of the renewal, to obey the paramount duties I owe my country and its constitution: to make one effort, however feeble, to avert the passage of what appears to me a most unjustifiable law. After my honorable friend from Virginia (Mr. Giles) had instructed and amused us with the very able and ingenious argument which he delivered on yesterday, I should have still forborne to trespass on the Senate, but for the extraordinary character of his speech. He discussed both sides of the question with great ability and eloquence, and certainly demonstrated to the satisfaction of all who heard him, both that it was constitutional and unconstitutional, highly proper and improper to prolong the charter of the bank. The honorable gentleman appeared to me in the predicament in which the celebrated orator of Virginia, Patrick Henry, is said to have been once placed. Engaged in a most extensive and lucrative practice of the law, he mistook, in one instance, the side of the cause on which he was retained, and addressed the court and jury in a very splendid and convincing speech in behalf of his antagonist. His distracted client came up to him, whilst he was progressing, and interrupting him, bitterly exclaimed, "You have undone me! You have ruined me!" "Never mind, give yourself no concern," said the adroit advocate; and, turning his argument, by observing, "May it please your honors, and you, gentlemen of the jury, I have been stating to you what I presume my adversary may urge on his side. I will now show you how fallacious his reasoning and groundless his pretensions are." The skillful orator proceeded, satisfactorily refuted every argument he had advanced, and gained his cause. A success with which, I trust, the exertion of my honorable friend will, on this occasion, be crowned.

It has been said by the honorable gentleman from Georgia, (Mr. Crawford) that this has been made a party question, although the law incorporating the bank was passed prior to the formation of parties, and when Congress was not biased by party prejudices. [Mr. Crawford explained. He did not mean that it had been made a party question in the Senate. His allusion was elsewhere.] I do not think it altogether fair to refer to the discussions in the House of Representatives, as gen-

* A bill for the same purpose was rejected by the House only the month before.

tllemen belonging to that body have no opportunity of defending themselves here. It is true that this law was not the effect, but it is no less true that it was one of the causes of the political divisions in this country. And, if during the agitation of the present question, the renewal has, on one side, been opposed on party principles, let me ask, if, on the other, it has not been advocated on similar principles? Where is the Macedonian phalanx, the opposition in Congress? I believe, sir, I shall not incur the charge of presumptuous prophecy, when I predict that we shall not pick up from its ranks one single straggler! And if, on this occasion, my worthy friend from Georgia has gone over into the camp of the enemy, is it kind in him to look back upon his former friends, and rebuke them for the fidelity with which they adhere to their own principles?

I shall not stop to examine how far a representative is bound by the instructions of his constituents. That is a question between the giver and receiver of the instruction. But I must be permitted to express my surprise at the pointed difference which has been made between the opinions and instructions of State Legislatures, and the opinions and details of the deputations with which we have been surrounded from Philadelphia.—Whilst the resolutions of these Legislatures—known, legitimate, constitutional and deliberative bodies—have been thrown into the back ground, and their interference regarded as officious, these delegations from self-created societies, composed of whom nobody knows, have been received by the committee with the utmost complaisance.—Their communications have been treasured up with the greatest diligence. Never did the Delphic priests collect with more holy care the frantic expressions of the agitated Pythia, or expound them with more solemnity to the astonished Grecians, than has the committee gathered the opinions and testimony of these deputies, and, through the gentleman from Massachusetts, pompously detailed them to the Senate! Philadelphia has her immediate representatives, capable of expressing her wishes upon the floor of the other House. If it be improper for States to obtrude upon Congress their sentiments, it is much more highly so for the unauthorised deputies of fortuitous congregations.

The first singular feature that attracts attention in this bill is the new and unconstitutional veto which it establishes. The Constitution has required only, that after bills have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, they shall be presented to the President for his approval or rejection, and his determination is to be made known within ten days. But this bill provides, that when all the constitutional sanctions are obtained, and when, according to the usual routine of legislation, it ought to be considered as a law, it is to be submitted to a new branch of the legislature, consisting of the President and twenty-four directors of the Bank of the United States, holding their sessions in Philadelphia, and if they please to approve it, why then it is to become a law! And three months (the term allowed by our law of May last, to one of great beligerents for revoking his edicts, after the other shall have repealed his) are granted them to decide whether an act of Congress shall be the law of the land or not! An act which is said to be indispensably necessary to our

salvation, and without the passage of which universal distress and bankruptcy are to pervade the country. Remember, sir, that the honorable gentleman from Georgia has contended that this charter is no contract. Does it then become the representatives of the nation to leave the nation at the mercy of a corporation? Ought the impending calamities to be left to the hazard of a contingent remedy?

This vagrant power to erect a bank, after having wandered throughout the whole Constitution in quest of some congenial spot whereupon to fasten, has been at length located by the gentleman from Georgia on that provision which authorizes Congress to lay and collect taxes, &c. In 1791, the power is referred to one part of the instrument; in 1811, to another. Sometimes it is alleged to be deducible from the power to regulate commerce. Hard pressed here, it disappears, and shows itself under the grant to coin money. The sagacious Secretary of the Treasury, in 1791, pursued the wisest course; he has taken shelter behind general, high-sounding, and imposing terms. He has declared, in the preamble to the act establishing the Bank, that it will be very conducive to the successful conducting of the national finances; will tend to give facility to the obtaining of loans, and will be productive of considerable advantage to trade and industry in general. No allusion is made to the collection of taxes. What is the nature of this government? It is emphatically federal, vested with an aggregate of specified powers for general purposes, conceded by existing sovereignties, who have themselves retained what is not conceded. It is said that there are cases in which it must act on implied powers. This is not controverted, but the implication must be necessary, and obviously flow from the enumerated power with which it is allied. The power to charter companies is not specified in the grant, and I contend is of a nature not transferable by mere implication. It is one of the most exalted attributes of sovereignty. In the exercise of this gigantic power, we have seen an East India company created which has carried dismay, desolation and death throughout one of the largest portions of the habitable world. A company which is in itself a sovereignty—which has subverted empires, and set up new dynasties—and has not only made war, but war against its legitimate sovereign! Under the influence of this power we have seen arise a South Sea Company and a Mississippi Company, that distracted and convulsed all Europe, and menaced a total overthrow of all credit and commerce, and universal bankruptcy. Is it to be imagined that a power so vast would have been left by the wisdom of the Constitution to doubtful inference? It has been alleged that there are many instances in the Constitution, where powers, in their nature incidental, and which would have necessarily vested along with the principal power, are nevertheless expressly enumerated; and the power “to make rules and regulations for the Government of the land and naval force,” which it is said is incidental to the power to raise armies and provide a navy, is given as an example. What does this prove? How extremely cautious the convention were to leave as little as possible to implication. In all cases where incidental powers are acted upon, the principal and incidental ought to be congenial with each other,

and partake of a common nature. The incidental power ought to be strictly subordinate and limited to the end proposed to be attained by the specified power. In other words, under the name of accomplishing one object which is specified, the power implied ought not to be made to embrace other objects, which are not specified in the Constitution. If then, as is contended, you could establish a bank to collect and distribute the revenue, it ought to be expressly restricted to the purposes of such collection and distribution. It is mockery, worse than usurpation, to establish it for a lawful object, and then to extend it to other objects which are not lawful. In deducing the power to create corporations, such as I have described it, from the power to collect taxes, the relation and condition of principal and incident are prostrated and destroyed. The accessory is exalted above the principal. As well might it be said that the great luminary of day is an accessory, a satellite to the humblest star that twinkles forth its feeble light in the firmament of heaven!

Suppose the Constitution had been silent as to a judicial department of this Government, could you under the power to lay and collect taxes establish a judiciary? I presume not; but if you could derive the power by mere application, could you vest it with any other authority than to enforce the collection of the revenue? A bank is for the ostensible purpose of aiding in the collection of the revenue, and whilst it is engaged in this, the most inferior and subordinate of all its functions, it is made to diffuse itself throughout society, and to influence all the great operations of credit, circulation and commerce. Like the Virginia justice, you tell the man whose turkey had been stolen, that your book of precedents furnishes no form for his case, but then you will grant him a precept to search for a cow, and when looking for that he may possibly find his turkey! You say to this corporation, we cannot authorize you to discount—to emit paper—to regulate commerce, &c. No! Our book has no precedents of the kind. But then we can authorize you to collect the revenue, and, whilst occupied with that, you may do whatever else you please.

What is a corporation such as the bill contemplates? It is a splendid association of favored individuals, taken from the mass of society, and invested with exemptions and surrounded by immunities and privileges. The honorable gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Lloyd) has said that the original law, establishing the bank, was justly liable to the objection of vesting in that institution an exclusive privilege, the faith of the Government being pledged that no other bank should be authorized during its existence. The objection he supposes is obviated by the bill under consideration; but all corporations enjoy exclusive privileges—that is, the corporators have privileges which no others possess; and if you create fifty corporations instead of one, you have only fifty privileged bodies instead of one. I contend that the States have the exclusive power to regulate contracts, to declare the capacities and incapacities to contract, and to provide as to the extent of responsibility of debtors to their creditors. If Congress have to erect an artificial body and say it shall be endowed with the attributes of an individual—if you can bestow on this object of your own creation the ability to contract, may you not,

in contravention of State rights, confer upon slaves, infants and females covert the ability to contract? And if you have the power to say that an association of individuals shall be responsible for their debts only to a certain limited degree, what is to prevent an extension of similar exemption to individuals? Where is the limitation upon this power to set up corporations? You establish one, in the heart of a State, the basis of whose capital is money. You may erect others whose capital shall consist of land, slaves, and personal estate, and thus the whole property within the jurisdiction of a State might be absorbed by these political bodies. The existing bank contends that it is beyond the power of a State to tax it, and if this pretension be well founded, it is in the power of Congress, by chartering companies, to dry up all the sources of State revenue. Georgia has undertaken, it is true, to levy a tax on the branch within her jurisdiction, but this law, now under a course of litigation, is considered as invalid. The United States own a great deal of land in the State of Ohio; can this Government, for the purpose of creating an ability to purchase it, charter a company. Aliens are forbidden, I believe in that State, to hold real estate—could you, in order to multiply purchasers, confer upon them the capacity to hold land, in derogation of the local law? I imagine this will hardly be insisted upon; and yet there exists a more obvious connection between the undoubted power, which is possessed by this Government to sell its land, and the means of executing that power by increasing the demand in the market, than there is between this bank and the collection of a tax. This Government has the power to levy taxes—to raise armies—provide a navy—make war—regulate commerce—coin money, &c., &c. It would not be difficult to show as intimate a connection between a corporation, established for any purpose whatever, and some one or other of these great powers, as there is between the revenue and the Bank of the United States.

Let us inquire into the actual participation of this bank in the collection of the revenue. Prior to the passage of the act of 1800, requiring the collectors of those ports of entry, at which the principal bank or any of its offices are situated, to deposit with them the custom house bonds, it had not the smallest agency in the collection of the duties. During almost one moiety of the period to which the existence of this institution was limited, it was no ways instrumental in the collection of that revenue to which it is now become indispensable! The collection, previous to 1800, was made entirely by the collectors, and even at present, where there is one port of entry at which this bank is employed, there are eight or ten at which the collection is made as it was before 1800. And, sir, what does this bank or its branches when resort is had to it? It does not adjust with the merchant the amount of the duty, nor take his bond; nor, if the bond is not paid, coerce the payment by distress or otherwise. In fact, it has no active agency whatever in the collection. Its operation is merely passive; that is, if the obligor, after his bond is placed in the bank, discharges it, all is very well. Such is the mighty aid afforded by this tax-gatherer, without which the Government cannot get along! Again, it is not pretended that the very limited assistance which this

institution does, in truth, render, extends to any other than a single species of tax, that is duties. In the collection of the excise, the direct and other internal taxes, no aid was derived from any bank. It is true, in the collection of those taxes, the farmer did not obtain the same indulgence which the merchant receives in paying duties. But what obliges Congress to give credit to all? Could it not demand prompt payment of the duties? And in fact does it not so demand in many instances? Whether credit is given or not is a matter merely of discretion. If it be a facility to mercantile operations, (as I presume it is,) it ought to be granted. But I deny the right to engraft upon it a bank, which you would not otherwise have the power to erect. You cannot *create the necessity* of a bank, and then plead *that necessity* for its establishment. In the administration of the finances, the bank acts simply as a payer and receiver. The Secretary of the Treasury has money in New York and wants it in Charleston; the bank will furnish him with a check, or bill, to make the remittance, which any merchant would do just as well.

I will now proceed to show, by fact, actual experience, not theoretic reasoning, but by the records themselves of the Treasury, that the operations of that department may be as well conducted without as with this bank.—The delusion has consisted in the use of certain high-sounding phrases, dexterously used on the occasion.—“The collection of the revenue;” “the administration of the finance;” “the conducting the fiscal affairs of the Government;”—the usual language of the advocates of the bank, extort express assent, or awe into acquiescence without injury or examination into its necessity. About the commencement of this year, there appears, by the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, of the 7th January, to have been a little upwards of two millions four hundred thousand dollars in the Treasury of the United States; and more than one-third of this whole sum was in the vaults of local banks. In several instances, where an opportunity existed of selecting the bank, a preference has been given to the State Banks, or, at least, a portion of the deposits has been made with it. In New York, for example, there was deposited with the Manhattan Bank \$188,670, although a branch bank is in that city. In this District, \$115,080 were deposited with the Bank of Columbia, although here, also, is a branch bank; and yet the State Banks are utterly unsafe to be trusted! If the money, after the bonds are collected, is thus placed with these banks, I presume there can be no difficulty in placing the bonds themselves there, if they must be deposited with some bank for collection, which I deny.

Again, one of the most important and complicated branches of the Treasury Department is the management of our landed system. The sales have, some years, amounted to upwards of half a million of dollars, are generally made upon credit, and yet no bank whatever is made use of to facilitate the collection. After it is made, the amount, in some instances, has been deposited with banks, and, according to the Secretary's report, which I have before reverted to, the amount so deposited was, in January, upwards of \$300,000, not one cent of which was in the vaults of the Bank of the United States, or in any of its branches, but in the

Bank of Pennsylvania, its branch at Pittsburg, the Marietta Bank, and the Kentucky Bank. Upon the point of responsibility, I cannot subscribe to the opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury, if it is meant that the ability to pay the amount of any deposits which the Government may make, under any exigency, is greater than that of the State Banks. That the *accountability* of a ramified institution, whose affairs are managed by a single head, responsible for all its members, is more simple than that of a number of independent and unconnected establishments, I shall not deny; but, with regard to safety, I am strongly inclined to think it is on the side of the local banks. The corruption or misconduct of the parent, or any of its branches, may bankrupt or destroy the whole system, and the loss of the Government, in that event, will be of the deposits made with each; whereas, in the failure of one State Bank, the loss, will be confined to the deposit in the vaults of that bank. It is said to have been a part of Burr's plan, to seize on the branch bank at New Orleans. At that period, large sums, imported from La Vera Cruz, are alleged to have been deposited with it, and if the traitor had accomplished his design, the Bank of the United States, if not actually bankrupt, might have been constrained to stop payment.

It is urged by the gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Floyd) that as this nation progresses in commerce, wealth, and population, new energies will be unfolded, new wants and exigencies will arise, and hence he infers that powers must be implied from the Constitution. But, sir, the question is, shall we stretch the instrument to embrace cases not fairly within its scope, or shall we resort to that remedy, by amendment, which the Constitution prescribes?

Gentlemen contend that the construction which they give to the Constitution has been acquiesced in by all parties and under all administrations; and they rely particularly on an act which passed in 1804, for extending a branch to New Orleans, and another act, of 1807, for punishing those who should forge or utter forged paper of the bank. With regard to the first law, passed, no doubt, upon the recommendation of the Treasury Department, I would remark, that it was the extension of a branch to a territory over which Congress possesses power of legislation almost uncontrolled, and where, without any constitutional impediment, charters of incorporation may be granted. As to the other act, it was passed no less for the benefit of the community than the bank—to protect the ignorant and unwary from counterfeit paper, purporting to have been emitted by the bank. When gentlemen are claiming the advantage supposed to be deducible from acquiescence, let me inquire what they would have had those to have done, who believed the establishment of the bank an encroachment upon State rights? Were they to have resisted, and how? By force? Upon the change of parties in 1800, it must be well recollected that the greatest calamities were predicted as consequences of that event. Intentions were ascribed to the new occupants of power of violating the public faith, and prostrating national credit. Under such circumstances, that they should act with great circumspection was quite natural. They saw in full operation a bank, chartered by a Congress, who had as much right to judge of their constitutional powers as their successors. Had

they revoked the law which gave it existence, the institution would, in all probability, have continued to transact business notwithstanding. The judiciary would have been appealed to, and, from the known opinions and predilections of the judges then composing it, they would have pronounced the act of incorporation as in the nature of a contract, beyond the repealing power of any succeeding Legislature. And, sir, what a scene of confusion would such a state of things have presented—an act of Congress, which was law in the statute book, and a nullity on the judicial records! Was is not wisest to wait the natural desolation of the corporation, rather than accelerate that event by a repealing law, involving so many delicate considerations?

When gentlemen attempt to carry this measure upon the ground of acquiescence or precedent, do they forget that we are not in Westminster Hall? In courts of justice, the utility of uniformity of decision exacts of the judge a conformity to the adjudication of his predecessor. In the interpretation and administration of the law, this practice is wise and proper; and without it, every thing depending upon the caprice of the judge, we should have no security for our dearest rights. It is far otherwise when applied to the source of legislation. Here no rule exists but the Constitution; and to legislate upon the ground merely that our predecessors thought themselves authorized, under similar circumstances, to legislate, is to sanctify error and perpetuate usurpation. But, if we are to be subjected to the trammels of precedents, I claim, on the other hand, the benefit of the restrictions under which the intelligent judge cautiously received them. It is an established rule that, to give to any previous adjudication any effect, the mind of the judge who pronounced it must have been awakened to the subject, and it must have been a deliberate opinion formed after full argument. In technical language, it must have been *sub silentio*. Now, the acts of 1804 and 1807, relied upon as pledges for the re-chartering this company, passed not only without any discussions whatever of the constitutional power of Congress to establish a bank, but, I venture to say, without a single member having had his attention drawn to this question. I had the honor of a seat in the Senate when the latter law passed, probably voted for it; and I declare, with the utmost sincerity, that I never once thought of that point, and I appeal confidently to every honorable member who was then present to say if that was not his situation.

This doctrine of precedents, applied to the Legislature, appears to me to be fraught with the most mischievous consequences. The great advantage of our system of Government, over all others, is, that we have a *written* Constitution, defining its limits, and prescribing its authorities; and that, however, for a time, faction may convulse the nation, and passion and party prejudices sway its functionaries, the season of reflection will recur, when calmly retracing their deeds, all aberrations from fundamental principle will be corrected. But once substitute *practice* for principle—the expositions of the Constitution for the text of the Constitution, and in vain shall we look for the instrument itself! It will be as diffused and intangible as the pretended Constitution of England, and it must be sought for in the statute

book, in the fugitive journals of Congress, and in reports of the Secretary of the Treasury! What would be our condition if we were to take the interpretation given to that sacred book, which is, or ought to be, the criterion of our faith, for the book itself? We should find the Holy Bible buried beneath the interpretations, glosses, and comments, of councils, synods, and learned divines, which have produced swarms of intolerant and furious sects, partaking less of the mildness and meekness of their origin than of a vindictive spirit of hostility towards each other! They ought to afford us a solemn warning to make that Constitution, which we have sworn to support, our invariable guide.

I conceive, then, sir, that we are not empowered, by the Constitution, nor bound by any practice under it, to renew the charter of this bank; and I might here rest the argument. But, as there are strong objections to the renewal upon the score of expediency, and as the distresses which will attend the dissolution of the bank have been greatly exaggerated, I will ask your indulgence for a few moments longer. That some temporary inconvenience will arise, I shall not deny; but most groundlessly have the recent failures in New York been attributed to the discontinuance of this bank. As well might you ascribe to that cause the failures of Amsterdam and Hamburg, of London and Liverpool. The embarrassments of commerce—the sequestrations in France—the Danish captures; in fine, the belligerent edicts are the obvious sources of these failures. Their immediate cause is the return of bills upon London, drawn upon the faith of unproductive or unprofitable shipments. Yes, sir, the protests of the notaries of London, not those of New York, have occasioned these bankruptcies.

The power of a nation is said to consist in the sword and the purse. Perhaps, at last, all power is resolvable into that of the purse; for with it you may command almost every thing else. The specie circulation of the United States is estimated by some calculators at ten millions of dollars; and, if it be no more, one moiety is in the vaults of this bank. May not the time arrive when the concentration of such a vast portion of the circulating medium of the country in the hands of any corporation, will be dangerous to our liberties? By whom is this immense power wielded? By a body, who, in derogation of the great principle of all our institutions—responsibility to the people—is amenable only to a few stockholders, and they chiefly foreigners. Suppose an attempt to subvert this Government—would not the traitor first aim, by force of corruption, to acquire the treasure of this company? Look at it in another aspect.—Seven-tenths of its capital are in the hands of foreigners, and these foreigners chiefly English subjects. We are possibly upon the eve of a rupture with that nation. Should such an event occur, do you apprehend that the English premier would experience any difficulty in obtaining the entire control of this institution? Republics, above all other nations, ought most studiously to guard against foreign influence. All history proves that the internal dissensions, excited by foreign intrigue, have produced the downfall of almost every free Government that has hitherto existed; and yet gentlemen contend that we are benefited by the possession of this foreign capital! If we could

have its use, without its attending abuse, I should be gratified also. But it is in vain to expect the one without the other. Wealth is power; and, under whatsoever form it exists, its proprietor, whether he lives on this or the other side of the Atlantic, will have a proportionate influence. It is argued that our possession of this English capital gives us a certain influence over the British Government. If this reasoning be sound, we had better revoke the interdiction as to aliens holding land, and invite foreigners to engross the whole property, real and personal, of the country. We had better at once exchange the condition of independent proprietors for that of stewards. We should then be able to govern foreign nations, according to the arguments of gentlemen on the other side. But let us put aside this theory, and appeal to the decisions of experience. Go to the other side of the Atlantic, and see what has been achieved for us there, by Englishmen, holding seven-tenths of the capital of this bank. Has it released from galling and ignominious bondage one solitary American seaman, bleeding under British oppression? Did it prevent the unmanly attack upon the Chesapeake? Did it arrest the promulgation, or has it abrogated the orders in council—those orders which have given birth to a new era in commerce? In spite of all its boasted effect, are not the two nations brought to the very brink of war? Are we quite sure that, on this side of the water, it has had no effect favorable to British interests? It has often been stated, and although I do not know that it is susceptible of strict proof, I believe it to be a fact, that this bank exercised its influence in support of Jay's treaty; and may it not have contributed to blunt the public sentiment, or paralyse the efforts of this nation against British oppression?

The Duke of Northumberland is said to be the most considerable stockholder in the Bank of the United States. A late lord chancellor of England, besides other noblemen, was a large stockholder. Suppose the prince of Essling, the duke of Cadore, and other French dignitaries, owned seven-eighths of the capital of this bank, should we witness the same exertions (I allude not to any made in the Senate) to re-charter it? So far from it, would not the danger of French influence be resounded throughout the nation?

I shall give my most hearty assent to the motion for striking out the first section of the bill.

The question was then taken on the motion to strike, and was decided as follows. Yeas 17, nays 17.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Messrs. Anderson, Campbell, Clay, Cutts, Franklin, Guillard, German, Giles, Gregg, Lambert, Leib, Mathewson, Reed, Robinson, Smith of Maryland, Whiteside, and Worthington.

Those who voted in the negative are:

Messrs. Bayard, Bradley, Brent, Condict, Champlin, Crawford, Dana, Gilman, Goodrich, Horsey, Lloyd, Pickering, Pope, Smith of New York, Tait, Taylor, and Turner.

The Senate being equally divided, the President (George Clinton) determined the question in the affirmative, first submitting to the Senate the following prefatory remarks:

GENTLEMEN: As the subject on which I am called upon to decide, has excited great sensibility, I must solicit the indulgence of the Senate whilst

I briefly state the reasons which influence my judgment.

Permit me to observe, that the question to be decided does not depend simply upon the right of Congress to establish, under any modification, a bank, but upon their power to establish a national bank as contemplated by this bill. In other words, can they create a body politic and corporate, not constituting a part of the government, nor otherwise responsible to it but by forfeiture of charter, and bestow on its members privileges, immunities, and exemptions, not recognized by the law of the States, nor enjoyed by the citizens generally?

It cannot be doubted that Congress may pass all necessary and proper laws for carrying into execution the powers specifically granted to the government, or to any department or office thereof; but, in doing so, the means must be suited and subordinate to the end. The power to create corporations is not expressly granted; it is a high attribute of sovereignty, and in its nature not accessorial or derivative by implication, but primary and independent.

I cannot believe that this interpretation of the constitution will, in any degree, defeat the purposes for which it was formed; on the contrary, it does appear to me that the opposite exposition has an inevitable tendency to consolidation, and affords just and serious cause of alarm.

In the course of a long life I have found that the government is not to be strengthened by an assumption of doubtful powers, but by a wise and energetic execution of those which are incontestible; the former never fails to produce suspicion and distrust, whilst the latter inspires respect and confidence.

If, however, after a fair experiment, the powers vested in the government shall be found incompetent to the attainment of the objects for which it was instituted, the constitution happily furnishes the means for remedying the evil by amendment, and I have no doubt that in such event on an appeal to the patriotism and good sense of the community, it will be wisely applied.

I will not trespass upon the patience of the Senate any longer than to say, from the best examination I have been able to give the subject, I am constrained by a sense of duty to decide in the affirmative—that is, that the first section of the bill be stricken out.

Remarks on and a Summary of Mr. Clay's Speech above republished.—It will be recollected that Henry Clay joined in the abuse of General Jackson and the Democratic party in general, for their zeal and firmness in resisting the renewal of the charter of the United States Bank; it will also be remembered that the ground assumed by Gen. Jackson and the Democratic party for opposing the re-chartering the Bank of the U. S. was, that it was contrary to the Constitution of the U. S., and that such an institution was dangerous to the liberties of our country.

The Democracy of our country are much indebted to Senators Benton and Wright, and many other members of Congress, for defeating the monster. On looking back at the speech of Mr. Clay

on the same subject in 1811, we feel somewhat at a loss which to admire most, his reasoning in the above speech, or that of Mr. Benton and others, as they all come to the same conclusion; viz. that a National Bank would be "unconstitutional and dangerous to the liberties of the American people." Strong and forcible as the language of Mr. Clay was against re-chartering the Bank of the U. S., yet we are informed by a gentleman who heard him deliver one or more speeches against re-chartering the Bank in Congress in 1811, that he made use of, nearly, the following language, viz: *I oppose re-chartering the Bank not only for its unconstitutionality, but for its immense capital—ten millions of dollars. An institution of this kind may make a President of these U. S. With money you may almost purchase any thing—every man has his price. I have no fears of the present Chief Magistrate usurping powers not delegated to him, but we do not know who may come after him, and through a moneyed institution subvert the liberties of our country.* We have italicized the above information as received from our correspondent, who authorized us to say that if not the very language made use of by Mr. Clay, it contains the substance of it. How Harry of the West has changed since he was a Jefferson Democrat! We know that the modern Whigs say "that his eyes became opened, and that he clearly saw the country wanted a National Bank with a capital of *fifty millions* of dollars." Should we be asked our opinion as to the cause of the change of Mr. Clay from the views and opinions expressed in the above speech, we should say that Harry of the West must, like many other backsliders from Democracy, have found his price.

Henry Clay's Letter to the Legislature of Kentucky, upon resigning his seat as Senator in Congress of the United States—to which a few remarks by the Editors of this Journal, are added.

WASHINGTON, SENATE CHAMBER, }
Feb. 16, 1842. }

To the Honorable the General Assembly of Kentucky:

When I last had the honor of an appointment as one of the United States Senators from Kentucky, I intimated in my letter of acceptance, the probability of my not serving out the whole term of six years.

In consequence of there having been two extra sessions of Congress, I have already attended, since that appointment, as many sessions of Congress, as ordinarily happen during a Senatorial term, without estimating my services at the present session.

I have for several years desired to retire into private life, but have been hitherto prevented from executing my wish by considerations of public duty. I should have resigned my seat in the Sen-

ate at the commencement of the present session, but for several reasons, one of which was that the General Assembly did not meet until nearly a month after Congress, during which time the Senate would not have been fully represented, or my successor would have had only the uncertain title of an Executive appointment.

The time has now arrived when, I think, without any just reproach, I may quit the public service, and bestow some attention on my private affairs, which have suffered much by the occupation of the large part of my life in the public councils. If the Roman veteran had title to a discharge after thirty years' service, I, who have served a much longer period, may justly claim mine.

I beg leave, therefore, to tender to the General Assembly, and now hereby tender, my resignation of the office which I hold as Senator in the Senate of the United States, from the State of Kentucky, to take effect on the 21st of March, 1842; and I request that the General Assembly will appoint my successor to take his seat on that day. I have fixed that day to allow me an opportunity of assisting in the completion of some measures which have been originated by me.

I embrace this occasion to offer to the General Assembly my most profound and grateful acknowledgment for the numerous and distinguished proofs, by which I have been honored, of its warm attachments and generous confidence during long series of years. I have the honor to be, &c.

H. CLAY.

Remarks.—We distinctly remember that when Mr. Clay received the appointment to which he refers above, his friends predicted the "probability of his not serving out the whole term of six years." This prediction was founded on the presumption that he would have been made President instead of General Harrison. The retired Senator himself doubtless believed it; and we must, for ourselves, confess that such progress had been made in the art of pipe-laying—and other arts, well known to the Federal Whigs, to gain elections—that had it not been for false friends and Abolitionists at the Harrisburg Convention, Harry of the West would now have been President of the United States—the *National Bank*, *Fifty million* scheme would have been carried out, and the proceeds of our public lands would have been appropriated to the payment of our State debts. Mr. Clay says, in his letter of resignation, "I have for several years desired to retire into private life." Does this modest annunciation comport with his late electioneering journey over various portions of our country? We much doubt the sincerity of this "desire to retire into private life." It is now clear as the sun shining at noon day, that Henry Clay is the Federal Whig Candidate for the next Presidency—that he is to fly into the Presidential chair on the wings of a Protective Tariff—a Tariff calculated to advance the prices of our home manufacture until foreigners can afford to pay the exorbitant duty, and yet *undersell*

ns in the face of this *great commercial panacea!* Our laboring and producing classes will be told that the price of labor will advance 25 or 50 per cent: so will *paper* money. Let not our readers be deceived—we ask them to look back to the period of the revolution—to the table of depreciated money, in “the Analysis of Jefferson’s Writings.” They will there find that a man may possess \$50 at one time and a *single* dollar at another, and yet the *real* value is the same in both cases. We in common with the Democratic party, are in favor of a Tariff, limited in its extent and duties to the wants of Government, whether to pay a National debt, or to arm for the defence of the country: but we are, and ever shall be, opposed to a Tariff calculated to enrich the few at the expense of the many. Such a Tariff we leave to the “Home League” and its Federal Whig supporters.

The subject of Tariff protection will be fully discussed in our future numbers: in the meantime we recommend to our readers, to read the first article in No. II. of this Journal—also page 45 of the same number: Mr. Wood’s Speech, page 151, No. V: “Roosevelt on Political Economy,” page 140, same number.

Beautiful Consistency.—The Courier, in a warm eulogium of Mr. Clay, enumerates, among his many virtues, “a beautiful consistency and a straight-forward advocacy of right, such as no other public man can boast.” To the high praise—we might almost say the devout homage—which that paper bestows upon its political idol, we make no objections. But its commendation of “a beautiful consistency” is certainly worthy of notice; it indicates a striking change of opinion on the part of the Courier, as to the excellence of this virtue in a public man.

It is but a short time since that paper was pouring out the hottest vials of its wrath upon the devoted head of the Chief Magistrate of the nation. And why? Simply because he had been consistent—because he had firmly refused to sanction a measure which, from his first entrance into public life, he had steadily and earnestly opposed. That measure was a United States Bank. It was Mr. Tyler’s vetoes of the bills establishing such a corporation which brought down upon him denunciations from the Courier, so severe, so bitter, and so contemptuous, that it pained all good Americans to hear them, no matter to what party they belonged. They regarded it as casting insult and dishonor upon their country, thus to abuse its highest functionary.

Now then let us compare the “beautiful consistency”—the “straight-forward advocacy of right”—prohibited by Mr. Tyler and Mr. Clay, upon this very subject of a United States Bank. As we have said, Mr. Tyler has always, and on all proper occasions, opposed such an institution, on the ground that it was not authorized by the constitution, and could not be established without a violation of that sacred instrument, which, in all public

stations, he was bound by a solemn oath to support. The people voted for him with a perfect knowledge of his opinions upon this question. They knew when they gave him their suffrages, that if he was honest, conscientious, or consistent, as they believed him to be, he must and would oppose, to the full extent of his power, the establishment of such an institution. He did so; with his eye fixed upon the constitution of his country, with his hand resting upon the Bible, with his oath on his lips, and with honest motives in his heart, he could not have done otherwise. He exhibited on these trying occasions, not only a “beautiful,” but a fearless “consistency.”

Look now upon the other picture. Mr. Clay, it is well known to all the world, once stood upon the same ground with Mr. Tyler, in strong and gigantic opposition to a United States Bank.—Which of them has changed? Mr. Clay is a brilliant statesman—a renowned orator—but among all the great productions of his towering intellect and sparkling genius, nothing will be found surpassing his famous speech against a United States Bank, in 1811.* It is a very common and a very just remark, that he has never since been able to answer it. The positions which he then maintained were based upon truth, supported by the constitution, and fortified by powerful and conclusive arguments. To the present hour they stand unshaken by all the artillery of his intellect. Truly “*men* change, but *principles* never.” Where now is Mr. Clay? The zealous, fierce, impassioned advocate of a bank—the leader of the “forlorn hope of the bank forces.” “Beautiful consistency” indeed! When the Courier wrote that passage, it must have had Mr. Tyler, and not Mr. Clay, in its mind.—*New York Sun.*

At a recent Irish repeal meeting held at Frankfort, Kentucky, Col. Johnson, late Vice President of the U. S., was called to the chair. The gallant Colonel delivered the following address, which cannot fail to be read with great satisfaction by Irishmen and their descendants, and by all citizens who are supporters and admirers of the “Equal Rights of the People.”

GENTLEMEN—I have been honored with the office of presiding over the deliberations of this assembly; and the first duty I shall perform, is to return you my heart-felt thanks—to make my sincere acknowledgments to you for this great honor derived from such a respectable collection of my fellow-citizens. The object of this meeting is not so well known to me in detail, as to the distinguished individual who will address you. I understand, however, that the great question to which others may be incidental or auxiliary, is—Ireland oppressed, or Ireland disenthralled from that oppression. Ireland feels the iron hoof of oppression. She cries aloud to the nations for sympathy. She is the best judge of the sufferings she endures—their extent—their intensity; and we, as lookers-on, cannot feel indifferent if we would. Ireland feels that she is not an integral portion of the British Empire—every act of the

* By referring to page 211 of this number of the Democratic Guide, the “famous speech” of Mr. Clay here alluded to will be found.

British Parliament tells her that she is an alien, an outcast, a neglected, an oppressed one. Ireland spurns the oppressor, and stands forward to vindicate and establish her right to self-government. Her struggle is peaceable—it is moral—irresistible—sublime. She does not struggle as we struggled against British power, with the bayonet and the cannon. No! she adopts another and a different force—the force of argument—of moral reasoning—of intellectual electricity. With these forces she hopes to rend asunder the puny manacles of British tyranny, and the cause of general liberty is too dear to American freemen not to wish her complete success. (Cheers.) Some persons may take exceptions to these meetings, and may doubt the prudence of American citizens interfering in the cause of the oppressed. Gentlemen, my opinion is, that the cause of honor and virtue and charity, when honestly followed, will always be found a prudent course. Above all, it is the only course which American freemen can pursue. This is the land of the free and the home of the brave, and we have an undoubted right to sympathize with the oppressed—to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, from wheresoever they may appeal. We have the right, and may we never be wanting in the disposition to aid in the disenfranchisement of oppressed man, whether under an Irish or an Eastern sun. (Loud cheers.) I believe the sentiments I utter find a sincere response in your bosoms, and I believe nine-tenths of the American people would respond to the appeals of the oppressed in the same way.

You have always so responded to the claims of the oppressed in every country, and now, when the call for aid proceeds from Ireland—from that land which has given you so many brave and noble hearts to help you to win your liberties, I mistake your character—I know you not, if your response be not liberal, encouraging, and comprehensive. I have, with some of you, my fellow citizens, fought by the side of the Irishman in the ranks of liberty, under the star spangled banner, against the Christian oppressor, as well as the savage foe. I have fought under the bird of Jove—the abiding Eagle—by the side of the sons of the Emerald Isle. I have seen the Irishman fall in the ranks, and thank his God that he had one life to give to the cause of American freedom, and regret that he had not another life to lose for her sake. (Loud cheers.) I have witnessed many an instance of their bravery in the field, and I know that this country is largely indebted for its liberties to the brave and warm-hearted Irish, who never gave up a post but with their lives*—who

were never in any engagement shot in the back. (Laughter and cheers.) I have great confidence in the Irish people. I have great hopes they will accomplish their freedom, not only because they are brave, but that their cause is just. They are proceeding now in a peaceable discussion and enforcement of their rights. I hope they may never be driven from this course—but even should they be driven to the last resort of freemen, I care not—if lives must fall, I care not. It is the right of man to enjoy self-legislation. Blood is the price that is sometimes paid for liberty; and if blood is to be shed for that sacred cause, there is no man on earth more ready to shed their blood at its sacred shrine than Irishmen. (Cheers.) Yes, we are bound to that country by every obligation of friendship and gratitude. Many of our best citizens are connected by the ties of kindred and blood with Ireland. None of them need be ashamed of that. We are bound to do every thing in our power to restore that country to freedom—and we all shall feel proud of the share we may take in the great cause. We are not called on to shed our blood in this cause—we are not called upon, as the children of Ireland were in the Revolution, to shed their blood for us. You know how Montgomery yielded up his life for us on the walls of Quebec, and how many of his countrymen fell in the same glorious cause.* And though that cause triumphed—and though we may thank our God that these things have passed away, leaving us the peaceable fruits of the triumph to enjoy; yet, should the hour come, when the price of liberty must again be paid in blood, I would have no hesitation to stand again by the side of the Irishman in the field, and risk my life, my liberty, and my country in his hands. (Long continued cheering.) The people of that country are now grievously oppressed. The iron heel of oppression has nearly trodden out the vital spark, and unless some immediate relief be afforded, public liberty will be extinguished there. You are bound to take this matter up. It is not the Irish citizens in the United States that call upon you, but their relatives in the land of their birth, where they are crushed

seen, that "Universal suffrage ought to have been much abridged or not admitted. Should these jealous conservators of public liberty ever possess the power, they will, we may be assured, carry out this their fundamental doctrine. We warn the producing and working classes while danger is yet at a distance, that their chains are forged, and that *power alone* is wanting to rivet them on Freemen.

* The Editors of the Democratic Guide would add, these are the men whom the Federal Whigs stigmatize as worthless and unworthy to vote in our councils until they have been citizens twenty or thirty years. Many of the modern Whigs, who, during the late war, spared no efforts to embarrass the country, while at the same time Irishmen were nobly fighting its battles and shedding their blood in its defence, now have the temerity to declare that Irishmen are only fitted by nature for manual labor. For the truth of these remarks, we refer our readers to the prints daily issuing from the Federal presses, and to the article headed "Friends of equal rights," in our first number, page 18. Agreeable to the Federal Whig doctrine, it will there be

* The remarks of Col. Johnson remind us of a debate in Congress, during the late war, on the subject of enlisting men for the army. Many unfriendly remarks were then made against Irishmen by the Federalists. On that occasion we are informed that Mr. Wright, an old veteran member of Congress from Maryland, thus repelled the foul aspersions: "I love Irishmen; it was by the aid of Irishmen we gained our independence, and by the aid of Irishmen we must preserve it." Col. Johnson, if we mistake not, is of a similar opinion—be that as it may, we have no fears but that in every section of our country, Irishmen will at all times be found ready to meet either a common enemy or a domestic foe—in the language of Ireland's lamented Emmet, "with a sword in one hand and a torch in the other."—EDS. D. GUIDE.

by the Juggernaut of a heartless aristocracy.—Gentlemen, I feel thankful for the patience with which you have listened to the few remarks I felt it my duty to make. I feel a natural desire to aid the cause of public liberty, and whether you place me in a high or a low position, I trust I shall never forget the principles and genius of our Constitution. (Loud cheering.)

Tylerism and Clayism.—It has often been a subject of remark, that there is no hatred so venomous as that which sometimes succeeds to love; that family quarrels are apt to be more rancorous than quarrels of any other description; and that when friends are converted into enemies,—their hostility exceeds any bitterness which can arise between persons never allied; facts which perhaps are to be accounted for on the ground that the parties know each other rather too well, and on the well known principle that familiarity breeds contempt. What is true of individuals in this respect, is likewise true of parties. Allies generally have a suppressed thought full of malignity towards each other, and are only harmonious until the object of their coalition is gained. After that, they hate each other with a fury proportioned to their former apparent affection. This truth is strikingly exemplified in the present attitude of Tylerism and Clayism, and the interchange of compliments is quite edifying to those who seek to obtain the last refinement in manners. The friends of Harry of the West, have of late thrown away the scabbard and proclaimed war to the knife—in the Senate, in the newspapers, and every where else—upon the administration of the father and upon the poetry of his son. Upon the Clay side, several journals are rendering themselves conspicuous in this work. The *Courier and Enquirer* of New York, however, occasionally surpasses even the sublime rabidity of the *Washington Independent*, as may be seen by the subjoined beautiful extract:

"If there be any one clearly settled fact in regard to public feeling, it is that among all parties, classes, and conditions of men in the United States, John Tyler is admitted to have been as unscrupulous and abandoned a traitor to his party, his friends, and his avowed principles, as was Benedict Arnold to the liberties of his country during our revolutionary struggle. Office holders, office expectants, and presses seduced into his support by executive patronage, are, it is true, willing to raise a faint cry in support of his wanton and deliberate treachery to a great and confiding party; but even these are over awed by the feelings of the people at large. It follows then, that the great battle between the Whigs and Loco Focos is to be fought over again;* and as nine tenths of the whigs are resolved to wage that contest under the rallying cry of "Justice to Harry of the West," his friends should do nothing to alienate honest

whigs, but friends of the great eastern statesman, from the great cause of the constitution which they can only do battle for in our ranks."

This is pretty enough, (while the bait to Webster's friends is adroitly thrown out,) and no doubt should be regarded as the outbreak of long smothered feelings, from the time Henry Clay was so unceremoniously shelved by the Harrisburgh Convention up to the date of Tyler's patriotic vetoes. But the *Madisonian*, the organ of the administration, is quite as lively as any of its assailants; in proof whereof we copy the subjoined interesting passage from a recent number of that paper:

"But how are we to deal with false friends—treacherous, pusillanimous, and contemptible; with smiles for the face, and curses and stabs for the back; now seeking patronage or office, with honeyed professions of a unity of sentiment, and then hastening to the camp of the enemy to promulgate base slanders and concoct fresh fabrications? How are we to deal with these? This is the difficulty. But there is a remedy! These false friends are not only encountered in the persons of office-seekers, thousands of them are found among office-holders.

"It is our deliberate conviction, that while the President is tasking his energies by the light of the early dawn, and the fitful ray of the midnight taper, to devise remedies for the ills of a suffering community, and measures to restore the wonted prosperity of the country, it is a duty due to himself, to the country, whose destinies, in a great measure are confided to his keeping by the Constitution—to hurl from office without delay those miscreants who desecrate their places to exercise a counteracting influence against the means adopted by him to ensure the welfare and peace of the nation. He has open enemies enough, we all know. But it is too much to see around him in the Capitol, nay almost of his household, a band of insidious foes, who under the guise of friendship, omit no opportunity (when the least concealment favors them to thwart, distract, and oppose his best designs."

No wonder we have had so warm a winter with so many whig volcanoes spouting fire. What a change from the days when our antagonizing brethren, having "no principles for the public eye," stood at the corners of the streets in loving embrace, chanting the praises not only of hard cider, but of Tyler too; when they trundled big balls over the causeway, and voted "without a why or a wherefore." Who could then have believed that their log cabin cancs would so soon be employed in knocking each other over the muzzard?"—*Pennsylvanian*.

The signs of Political Affairs indicate that there will be three Candidates in the field for the next Presidency of the United States.—We are not idle lookers on the political movements going on in various sections of our country in relation to the next Presidency, but have watched the several manœuvres and double dealing of politicians by trade closely. We plainly see that it is the scheme of the Clay and Tyler Parties, so to divide the great Democratic Party as in a great measure to leave the battle to be fought between those two

* The tricks and promises of the pipe laying tribe being now so well understood—that should the "Great Battle have to be fought over again," we have no fears as to the result, on the contrary, there can be no doubt but that the *National Bank*—Distribution of the Public Lands—Home League Men, &c. will be routed Horse, Foot and Dragons. Therefore we say pipe layers, come on and let us settle the question, "that Harry of the West," may in reality retire in peace to his farm. This is all the ill we wish the late distinguished Senator.—*Er's D. Guide*.

leaders, and that we have even now within our own ranks those who favor the schemes of Harry of the West on one side and Tyler on the other, to carry one of them into the Presidential chair in 1844. Both of these aspirants and their friends are confident of success, and each expects it by seducing a portion of the Democratic Party.

The most dangerous because the most subtle and dishonest of these schemes, is that of the friends of Clay, operating under the specious pretence of protecting *home industry* in what they style the *Home League*. The limits of this article will not allow us to expose at length the folly and absurdity of their views, when even honestly entertained, as it is our present purpose only to bring to light the designs of the "*wire pullers*," the Leaders who make politics a trade, and are making use of this League for their own selfish purposes. These Leaders are, if an examination be made into their past political history, found to be those who have ever been most under British influence, and remarkable for their British associations. They are the advocates of National debt, of moneyed power, of a fifty million United States Bank, and of all other schemes which may make us more British in our character and our institutions. They are those who have ever advocated measures anti-democratic, and adverse to the interests of our home producing classes. They expect on the hobby of the Home League to carry through all their anti-republican doctrines; to place us again under those pernicious influences from which we have but just escaped; to secure to England a payment by the Federal Government of all the State debts, and through them to establish a consolidated Government, more akin to that of Great Britain in its character, and expect great assistance from that source for its accomplishment. Already are they boasting that they will take one-third of our party from us, but we trust that Democrats will discover their motives, and that they will not succeed. In one instance, we heard a prominent Democrat say that he doubted the propriety of circulating the Democratic Guide, as it seemed to be anti-tariff. This gentleman had imbibed the Home League fever, but we are pleased to say that after reading the speech of the Hon. F. Wood, and other papers published in this Journal, on the Tariff, he became convinced of his error in putting faith in the *Home League humbug*, and is now a warm supporter of the Democratic Guide, and of the political doctrines it promulgates. Mr. Clay relies on being carried into power on this humbug, and by secessions from our ranks.

On the other hand, Mr. Tyler and his friends rely on the removal of all Clay men from office,

and on appointing in their place a mixture of Tyler Federal Whigs, Conservatives, and men now in the Democratic ranks, some of whom are now office-holders, and will be retained with a view to influence as many of their friends as possible. In this way the Tyler men calculate also on taking one-third of our Party. But as all true Democrats are governed in their politics only by principles, their success may be deemed very doubtful.

We have now given a brief view of the movements of the Clay and Tyler Parties, and it has not been drawn from idle speculation nor hearsay, but from personal observation. For ourselves, we fear not the success of either in their attempts to humbug and cheat the American People out of their votes. Yet we deem it proper to warn them of the gull traps set to enslave them; and at the same time to point out such measures as we may deem advisable to keep the Democracy of our country firm and together. The course we shall point out to avoid these threatened dangers will depend in a great measure upon the people themselves; but were we to suggest a course, we would say, let the great Democratic Party select for their candidates for President and Vice President men of sterling worth and strong in the undoubted creed of Jefferson and Jackson Democracy, of "Free Trade and Equal Rights." We by no means wish to forestall public opinion, but in common with the rights of Journalists generally, we consider that we may express our views on the subject. Under this right, we will venture to say that we confidently believe that if Martin Van Buren were to be our candidate for President, and John C. Calhoun for Vice President, we should have such a "*strong team*" that it would effectually defeat the machinations of both Clay and Tyler men, and thus prevent the election of President from going into the House, which is undoubtedly the present calculation of our opponents of all sorts. Then would come the tug of war, or, in other words, bribery and corruption would be rife; and we would see British gold and influence, hand in hand with Home Leaguers, attempting to make a President who would sanction an United States Bank, a distribution of the public Lands, and all other schemes of Federal Whiggery.

In the third number of this Journal we republished General Scott's *famous* electioneering circular, prefaced with observations. At that time we had good and cogent reasons for believing that it was well understood by the Federal Whig Party that General Scott should be their next candidate for President—and that such was the case at that time there is no doubt. But the signs of the times have changed, and now that portion of the Federal Whig Party known as National Bank, Home

League men, &c., are determined to use all means in their power, such as improvements in the art of pipe laying, yarn spinning, and other devices, to cheat and gull the people out of their votes at the ballot box for Henry Clay. Although the Federal Home League Whigs have now fixed on Harry of the West as their next candidate for President, yet, depend upon it, unless they can make a "bargain" with the Abolitionists and Anti-Masons to cast their votes for Mr. Clay, he will most assuredly be abandoned, as he was at the famous Harrisburgh Federal Whig Convention,* and Gen. Scott substituted in his place; so these Home Leaguers have two strings to their bow; and if it is found that Harry cannot *toe the mark*, Gen. Scott will answer their purpose—for he says in his famous electioneering circular, that he is in favor of a change in the Constitution—in favor of a distribution of the public Lands—of course to pay State debts—in favor of a National Bank—in short, in favor of all the schemes of Harry of the West.

The Madisonian, the Tyler Party organ at Washington, publishes the following:

"The leading measures of the Administration will be the Exchequer, a Tariff for revenue, and proceeds of the public Land sales pledged to discharge the public debt. Those of the opposition will be a National Bank, high Protective Tariff, and unconditional distribution."

Quere: What are the people to understand by the above quotation? For ourselves, it means nothing less than that the Tyler Party, with the God-like Daniel at its head, claim the whole Democratic Party; that is, if we are to believe that *Vicar of Bray* print, the Madisonian. It is not our intention to go into detail of this affair at this time, but we will, for the gratification of the Madisonian, say, that the course Capt. Tyler pursued at the Extra Session of Congress, in carrying out all the measures of Harry of the West, *except one*, with other circumstances connected with his Administration, must and will prevent the Democratic Party supporting him for the Presidency in 1844, even should he fall back to his "old principles." That our views of John Tyler may be the better understood, we refer the reader to the analysis of a letter addressed to him published in our March number, page 144.

WILLIAM C. BOUCK.

This gentleman, it is well known, was the Democratic candidate for Governor at the last gubernatorial election; he received a very flattering vote, run far ahead of his ticket, and although defeated in the general overthrow produced by the "eider" excitement, yet it is generally admitted that if he had run singly against Seward, he

would have beaten him handsomely. Under such circumstances, it can hardly be doubted that next fall will find him again the chosen candidate of the Democracy. Justice, as well as usage, will require it. It would be unfair to use a man when there was little chance of electing him, and then lay him aside when success was morally certain; and such has never been the practice of the Democratic party. It always, as a general rule, takes up its defeated candidates. We presume, therefore, that we shall perform an acceptable service for our readers, by saying a few words in reference to one who is, in all probability, destined to be their next Governor, and whom we consider among the most valuable citizens of our State.

This is the more necessary from the fact that Mr. Bouck's position has been such as to prevent his making himself known as a public speaker, and proclaiming his opinions to the world through the usual medium of legislative debates or executive messages. He is emphatically a working man; his character is exhibited in deeds, not words; and it may truly be said that no man has *done* more for the good of the State, and *talked* less about it, than William C. Bouck.

As a citizen, he is one of that great, patriotic and valuable class—the farmers of our country. He is also one of those who have done much to elevate the business of agriculture. He has been not only an industrious, but an enlightened practical farmer; and the rewards of his industry, integrity, frugality and intelligence, may be seen in the extensive and well cultivated fields which surround his mansion in the rich old county of Schoharie.

But what, it will be asked, are his political principles? And this, after all, is the important question. We answer, that through a long and blameless life, both public and private, he has been a stern, consistent and unwavering Democrat of the Jefferson school. In the darkest hours of political trial, as well as in the light of triumph, he has never flinched in the support of those great political truths to which the mass of agriculturists throughout the country are so sincerely attached.

Early in life Mr. Bouck was repeatedly elected by the Democracy of Schoharie to represent them in the Legislature. His business habits, his enlightened views, his sound judgment, and his irreproachable probity, subsequently pointed him out as the most proper person to fill the important and responsible office of Canal Commissioner. For more than twenty years he held that office, and neither friend or foe has ventured to breathe a syllable against the wisdom or the integrity with which he discharged its arduous duties through that long period. He was the leading and most active member of the board, and many millions of dollars passed through his hands without the loss of a single cent. This must be considered high praise, especially when it is recollected that the management of the canals involves, in effect, the administration of nearly all the financial affairs of the State.

The Federal Whigs have asserted that Mr. Bouck was in favor of a reckless scheme of internal improvement, like their own. Never was a charge so utterly groundless. He recommended the gradual enlargement of the Erie Canal, not by means of debts and taxes; but he proposed that the work should be carried on so fast as, and no faster, than the surplus earnings of the canals would safely war-

* For a correct history of the Harrisburgh Federal Whig Convention, see second number of this Journal, page 46.

rant. And had this wise, honest and judicious policy been pursued, the work would now be steadily progressing without any additional burthens upon the people, instead of being stopped and a direct tax inflicted upon the industry of the country to pay the penalty of Federal Whig profligacy. What a mighty contrast between the sound and wholesome recommendations of Mr. Bouck, and the rotten and reckless practices of the Federal Whigs.

In regard to the question of banks and the currency, we are enabled to say that we know the views of Mr. Bouck to be sound and right. They are in strict accordance with those so often expressed by the venerable hero of “the Hermitage,” and so ardently cherished by the Democracy of the country. He is opposed to all the paper money devices for taking from the mouth of industry the bread which it has earned, and transferring it to unprincipled speculators, either foreign or domestic.

Our knowledge of Mr. Bouck's views has been derived not only from his public acts and declarations, but from personal intercourse with the many hundreds, we may say thousands, of his intimate friends whom we have met. Although his position, as we have before remarked, has prevented him from becoming universally known as a more public man, yet we venture to assert that there is not an individual in the whole State who has so many personal acquaintances and friends. As Canal Commissioner for twenty years, he was constantly brought in contact with all classes of persons; and along those magnificent highways, the New York Canals, he is universally known and as universally respected. He is perhaps less known in this city than in any other county of the State; we have therefore deemed this brief notice proper, and trust that it will be acceptable to our readers.

In all that we have said in the foregoing remarks in reference to the renomination of Farmer Bouck, we wish it to be distinctly understood, that we seek not to forestall public opinion, or to interfere in any manner with the usages and principles of the Democratic party. We are the devoted friends of regular nominations. We have taken it for granted that Mr. Bouck would be renominated, because justice seems to demand it. But should any other course be deemed advisable, whoever may be selected at the Syracuse convention, be it he or any other good man, will receive our faithful and energetic support.

While on the subject of regular nominations, we would respectfully suggest to our Democratic friends throughout the State, to follow the example of noble old Herkimer, and, we believe, several other counties: That is, when any disorganizers or office seekers refuse to adhere to and support the regular nominations, fairly made by a majority of the chosen delegates of the people, to consider all such dissenters as placed at the bottom of the list for future promotion in the Democratic ranks, to any offices of honor or profit. Would not a similar regulation in the several wards of this city operate as a salutary check upon certain disorganizers, who seem willing to sacrifice their professed principles, to disregard the voice of the majority, and to destroy the Democratic ascendancy, for the hope of obtaining a few “loaves and fishes?” Had this course prevailed at the recent charter election, we might have escaped the mortification of seeing our ascendancy greatly endangered if not overthrown in the Common Council, when we have

clear and decided majorities in 12 of the 17 wards, and an aggregate majority of 2000 in the city. Indeed, but for the blighting influence of these disorganizers, we should have exhibited a larger majority than this; and if freed from such influence, the November election will show our majority of legal votes to be more than 2000.

Impeachment.—A memorial is now circulating in New York to impeach John Tyler, for the course he has pursued in reference to the Rhode Island difficulties. Among other things, the memorial sets forth that the acting President has virtually declared war against the people of Rhode Island, in behalf of a usurped government—a government which is not “Republican,” in the American acceptation of the term, either in its origin and tendencies; and that he has sought to overawe and terrify the people of Rhode Island from the only righteous, proper and peaceable mode they could adopt to govern themselves, and to establish a constitutional government similar to those of the other States of the Union, inasmuch as the charter granted by King Charles the Second, does not authorize the Legislature of that State to alter said charter, or to institute any measures for the formation of a constitution or change of government.

The “acting President” has rendered himself more unpopular by this one act, than any other act of his political life. He has taken the black-hearted counsel of “Black Dan,” to his own serious injury in the estimation of a free people.—*Philadelphia Spirit of the Times.*

“*Home Leagues*”—“*Clay Clubs*.”—There has been a wonderful parade of public notices for “Home League” meeting at this place for some weeks and months past; and the latest was for a great county meeting to assemble in the Court House, in Danville, on Wednesday evening last. Curiosity led us to look into the meeting for a few moments, when we found that it was composed of about a bakers dozen, and the speakers were grumbling at the slowness of their county bantling, denouncing those who had exposed their “cloven” object, and proposing to “tar the tails” and “brand” all who would not join in their farce. That would be an arduous and extensive job of work, offensive to modesty, and will no doubt be abandoned by its great inflated projector; as in a game of that kind he would soon get more than his “tail tarred with a mixture of feathers, and a ride on a rail;—therefore we are sure there will be no “branding” or tarring of “tails,”—even should the next humbug industry meeting, be more galling to its prime movers than was the recent one, which adjourned *sine die*, without adopting any Constitution; and also without taking up a collection to pay the *balance due* on their “log cabin” spree of 1840! The expense of that “humbug” for *political design* must all be paid, before another will take in this region. We are pleased to see that the Democrats, while they are unanimously in favor of a tariff, *adequate to the wants of the Government*, they are also unanimously resolved to *KEEP ALOOF* from all schemes and combinations to urge Henry Clay upon the country for the next Presidency.—*Danville Intelligencer.*

The Tariff.—There appears to be some who wish to be considered exclusives, and who denominate themselves "Home Leaguers," and who are principally, if not all, ancient federalists or MODERN WHIGS, but whose particular designs, as regards the tariff, like unto their operations immediately preceding the last Presidential election, are not altogether definable, and not for public inspection just now.

A cotemporary asks, and with much propriety too, "If the whigs are sincere in their call for a tariff, why in common sense, with a majority of fifty in Congress, and a whig President, they don't arrange it to suit themselves."

The federal party, it is well known, is much distracted at present, but not in regard to principles, for we find them in every part of our country, and under every contingency, the same adherents to the Hamiltonian policy, the original landmarks of ancient federalism, as were their predecessors forty years since. The differences existing among them now, if closely investigated, will be found to proceed almost wholly from matter of expediency merely; and hence their quibbling and delays; "they would and they would not."—*Norristown Register.*

New York's Political History.—The reading public are not unaware that Judge HAMMOND, well known in political circles, has for some time had in hand and recently brought out the first volume, of a POLITICAL HISTORY of this State from its earliest organization, down to the fall of 1840. The first volume of this history has just fallen under our notice, and although we have had time to give it only a cursory examination, we feel fully prepared to pronounce it a valuable and meritorious work. But without that knowledge of the particular character of its contents, which would enable us to give the work such a review as its pretensions merit, we do not hesitate on the strength of the author's reputation, to commend it to the public as a book worthy of their confidence and patronage. It supplies a deficiency which has not been without great disadvantage to the younger class of citizens, and the rising generation of the State, and must therefore be hailed by them with peculiar satisfaction. The price at which the book is afforded, moreover, is so low, (the extent and value of the work considered,) that few can deny themselves the privilege of its purchase.—*Troy Budget.*

THE MASK OFF—Federalism in favor of Hanging the friends of Free Suffrage!—Many of the federal editors are stigmatizing the People of Rhode Island, who insist on their right to vote for their rulers, as "usurpers," "demagogues," "rebels," "conspirators," and other hard names. Their sympathies are with the Royalists, and they seem to gloat over the prospect of the friends of the People's Constitution being shot down by soldiers of the United States, or arrested under the "Algerine Law," and sentenced by a federal judge to imprisonment for life.

But the most brutal and ferocious article we have met with is taken from the *Ohio State Journal*, the leading federal organ in Ohio, published at Columbia, from which the following is an extract:

"It would be good policy to HANG about a dozen of the most officious and hardened of the offenders, as a warning to rogues of their stamp, throughout the country."!!

A paragraph containing such an infamous sentiment as the above requires no comment. It proves what the Democrats have always charged upon the "Whigs," that despite their professions, they entertain the same deadly and unquenchable hatred of the People, of political equality, and popular rights, as did the old federalists in the time of the alien and sedition laws. And we hope the reader will not forget, when he hears a whig professing friendship for the people, that one of the most prominent "whig" papers in the United States has boldly declared that the advocates of free suffrage ought to be HUNG!—*Wayne Sentinel.*

The Blessings of Whiggery!—In consequence of the State having been brought to the verge of bankruptcy and repudiation by the three years misrule of the whig party, the Comptroller, to meet the present demands upon the treasury, has been compelled to call for the immediate payment of 25 per cent. of the principal of all outstanding loans on bond and mortgage; and also for the payment of one-fourth of the moneys borrowed from the United States Deposit Fund, on the 1st of June, 1843. What would have been the condition of the State in three years more, if the people had not repudiated federal whiggery?—*ib.*

A Suggestion to the Home Leaguers.—The Charleston Mercury has the following hit at our Philadelphia Home Leaguers: "The world is only astonished that the modesty of true genius has so far overshadowed the ambition of the Philadelphia Whigs as to prevent them from petitioning Congress to lay a prohibitory duty on all foreign rascality, for the protection of the genuine Philadelphia article; and their enemies say that the only reason that they have not done so is, that they have risen far above the fear of foreign competition."—*Ulster Republican.*

Price of a Log Cabin.—A log cabin suit has been decided in the New York Superior Court. The plaintiff during the Harrison campaign had expended \$1,800 on a log cabin, erected for the purpose of furnishing the Whigs with a meeting place. It did not prove profitable to the proprietor, and he was about to pull it down, when one of the Whig party promised to raise and pay him \$1000 if he kept it open until after election. He did so, but after election he found the promise was "all talk and no cider," he could not get the money, and so brought an action. The Court decided that it was a regular, and legal contract between the parties, and the jury gave a verdict \$1000.

The Washington correspondent of the New York Post says—

We have no positive information of the progress of negotiation with Lord Ashburton. Many rumors are in circulation, as might be expected. The impression gains ground, that our difficulties with Great Britain will all be amicably settled, and the war fever has very much abated within a week or two.

THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC GUIDE



THE blessings of Government, like the dews of Heaven, should be dispensed alike on high and low, the rich and the poor.

The privilege of self-government is one which the people will never be permitted to enjoy unmolested. Power and wealth are continually stealing from the many to the few.

JACKSON.

WILLIAM LEGGETT.

VOL. I.

JUNE, 1842.

No. VIII.

THE TIMES.

It will not be long before returning prosperity will begin to flow in upon our people. Already brows which for the last two or three years have been clouded and overcast, begin to brighten with the prospects of the future. There can be no doubt but that the "rubicon is passed," and better days are in store for us. In commercial parlance, "brisk times" are nigh at hand. We think we see the smile of approbation upon the countenance of our reader as his eyes glance at these pleasing prognostications. Would that we could join him in hearty congratulations. But we cannot. We do not feel perfectly happy in contemplating a picture that should impart gladness to every breast. We are afraid of it. There are dark spots upon it. We cannot, in our imaginings of its blessings, cease to forget the past. We have had good times before, and dreadfully have we paid for them. We fear the approaching brightness will make the after darkness terribly hideous. As an old fashioned, honest neighbor of ours told us the other day, "the American folks get crazy too easily;" and it is for that reason, that we look with suspicion, akin to fear, on the advancing prosperity of the times. The indomitable perseverance and buoyant energies so conspicuous in the American character, will, we predict, soon drown all recollection of the recent troubles, and we will hear of nothing but the coinings of thousands and millions—the landed estates—the valuable lots—stock investments—carriages and establishments,

and the innumerable other instruments which men employ in sending themselves and families to destruction.

Reader, if a Mechanic, take warning. An old man of over three score years cautions you. If the good times increase your wages, do not proportionably increase your expenses; do not think that because your income is greater, that you can afford to live in a whole house instead of a half—or that you can't do without the luxuries of life. Don't make luxuries necessities; for if you do, ten chances to one necessities will soon be to you luxuries. Lay up an honest penny for a rainy day. Be active, industrious, frugal, and temperate, and a few years will find you employers instead of *employees*.

Reader, if a Farmer, the principles of domestic economy set down for the Mechanic are also applicable to your occupation. Do not increase the size of your farm, or make large additions to your stock. Produce every thing that your present means will admit, and never forget that in the hey-day of prosperity it is the true policy to buy as little as possible and sell as much as possible.

Reader, if a Merchant, or a professional man, take lessons from the Mechanic and Farmer. The government set down for them is good for you. Avoid pomp and splendor; teach your families by your own example, precepts of moderation and economy. Look upon your fellow man, no matter what his calling, as a *fellow man*. Turn your faces to the beautiful heavens, and look abroad

upon the expanse of this glorious earth, and remember it was made for *man*, *without distinction*—for a democracy of men—each free and equal.

ELY MOORE AND THE STATE'S PRISON MONOPOLY.

No greater evidence of a great and powerful mind can be furnished to the world than an unshaken and firm adherence, amidst repudiation, reproach, and obloquy, to its own principles. Their eventual and ultimate success and adoption is the sure and invariable test of their truth and soundness, and the proudest triumph of the wisdom which devised them, and the indomitable perseverance which secured their practical adoption. Many instances are to be found in our political history, wherein the community, after having for years been misled by artful misrepresentations and rash conclusions, have been induced by the sober second thought to sift the true merits of a disputed question, to acknowledge their errors, and yield a cheerful, though late, sanction to measures and to men identified with their vital interests, and with the great cause of humanity. A striking instance is afforded in the subject, and the man whose name appears in the heading of this article.

A discussion of the subject is not intended in this place. Its details, and the numerous and trying obstructions to which it has been exposed before the final consummation of the wishes of the mechanics and working-men, are too familiar to need repetition. Nor is an eulogy on Ely Moore required. Long distinguished as an orator and political writer of commanding talents, self-directed genius, and as an unwavering, bold advocate, in public and in private life, of democratic doctrines—of the eternal rights of man,—his praise is in the mouth of every freeman, and his success in the heart of every true American. It is in reference to the part which Mr. Moore took, at the very earliest period, in relation to the state's prison question, that we shall now confine ourselves. We would direct attention to the sagacity, firmness, and integrity which he displayed in 1835, and which have been subjected to more severe tests than have often assailed other politicians and statesmen. But never did any one emerge from such a bitter and unequal contest, and go through such an ordeal, with more honor to himself, coupled with the actual triumph of the cause in which he labored, than has Mr. Moore. This success has been, altogether, more due to the correct views he advanced and maintained against all opposition, whether of political enemies or treacherous insidious friends, than even

his talents, powerful and prompt as they are allowed to be. At the time that a fierce and unrighteous war was waging against him, we confess we were among those who condemned him, and believed that the hour of his political destruction was at hand. In fact, the few who stood by him in that crisis, and sought to vindicate his course as State Prison Commissioner, did not believe for a moment that it was possible for him to ride out the storm which was gathering around him rapidly and fearfully. Nothing daunted, however, *he* stood firm in the position which he had taken, defied the power of his opponents, and beat back their assaults with resistless energy. Powerful were the odds against him at the outset. Not only the leaders of the mechanics, almost to a man, of both political parties, were arrayed against him, but more than nine tenths of the rank and file. Public meetings were called in the different wards for the purpose of condemning his conduct, and one of the largest ever held in Tammany Hall, denounced him in unqualified and unmeasured terms. The whole newspaper press of the city, we believe without an exception, assailed him from day to day without stint or mercy. Even "the General Trades Union" of this city, of which he was at the time the presiding officer, was called together to impeach and disgrace him. Yet he did not shrink nor waver. Far from it. As the difficulties around him multiplied, so did his energies rise in proportion.

The report and resolutions claiming to be from "the Executive Committee of the State's Prison Monopoly," and adopted at the great Meeting at Tammany Hall already alluded to, afforded Mr. Moore the first fair opportunity for standing forth in his own defence. He seized it with avidity, and in the columns of "the National Trades Union" replied at great length, with matchless skill and irresistible effect. The report and resolutions of the Executive Committee were taken up *seriatim*, and every position assumed by them was shown to be false, and every argument they advanced was demolished by the lightning of his pen. Shortly after this, Mr. Moore left Albany in order to attend the Trades Union Convention in this City, held with the express view of impeaching him. There he defended his course with his characteristic ability and eloquence, and, as appeared by the result, with the most astonishing success. A majority of those who had assembled to censure and castigate him, returned to their homes convinced of the rectitude and integrity of his conduct, and satisfied with the correctness of his views and policy. Yet we must confess that, as regards ourselves, we were not reconciled to his course until we read his Address

to the Mechanics of the State of New-York, published in July, 1835. Then, and not till then, we became fully convinced that his course was not only patriotic and wise, but the *only* one which, under the circumstances, could possibly afford relief to the mechanics, then and thereafter.

It is proper to remark here, that at the time the mechanics of New-York, honestly but erringly, were prosecuting the war against Mr. Moore, he was at Albany, laboring with untiring industry to promote their interests. Nor did their unjust attacks abate a jot of his zeal, or divert him for a moment from his fixed resolve to serve them. His uniform reply, when assailed, was, as we have been repeatedly informed, "I mean to be true to the mechanics, whether they choose to be true to themselves or not. I will not abandon their interests, even though they should immolate me to-morrow."

On one occasion, when several of his friends called at his rooms, at the American Hotel, to advise him to bring in a counter or minority report, and to abandon the ground he had taken, that he might save himself politically, he replied, with much warmth and energy, "Never, while I live; I cannot, I will not sacrifice the interests of the mechanics for the poor purpose of saving my own popularity. No; as a public man, I have no right to consult my own interest in my public acts,—no right to ask myself the question whether this or that course would make me popular or unpopular; and so long as I am satisfied that a measure is right in itself, I am bound to stand by it, regardless of the consequences that may chance to befall either me or mine; for, as God liveth, I would sooner go down to my grave loaded with the imprecations of all mankind, conscious that I were in the right, than to pass through life amidst the plaudits and hosannas of the assembled world, conscious that I were in the wrong." "Never," said a friend who was present at the time, "never had the language and look of man made such an impression on me before. The sentiments uttered were so noble and generous, so self-sacrificing,—the words so cogent and inspiring, and the manner so solemn and sincere,—that I was struck with awe and admiration; and from that moment I became convinced that Mr. Moore was in the right, and that Time, the great arbiter of human affairs, would establish the soundness and propriety of his position."

This has now been accomplished. Mr. Moore's conduct, originally so loudly condemned in city and state, is now universally admitted to have been honest and politic. No one now doubts, that had the law of 1835, passed through the in-

fluence of Mr. Moore, been carried out, the evils of which the mechanics complained would have, long before this, been remedied. And so well satisfied have the mechanics of the state been of this fact, that at the State Convention held in Albany last fall, they passed resolutions justifying his course in full. And the Legislature, at its last session, after bestowing much time and attention upon the subject, fell back upon the law of 1835, providing in the mean time such additional guards as were necessary to enforce the faithful execution of its provisions. Thus is a proud and perfect triumph achieved by Mr. Moore, and another proof afforded that, in the course of events, right and justice will prevail over wrong and injustice. It cannot be disguised, however, that, notwithstanding his uprightness and sagacity, Mr. Moore could never have sustained himself, or have accomplished his object, had he not combined in his very constitution a firm and dauntless heart with a clear and sound head—the two indispensable qualifications of a great statesman. It is also very doubtful whether there was another man in the state of New-York who *could*, even if he *would*, have attempted such an undertaking, or carried it successfully through, surrounded by such imposing difficulties. For more than six weeks after he had been burnt in effigy and proclaimed a "traitor," he continued at his post, at his own expense, urging, and successfully too, upon the Legislature the passage of the law to abrogate an odious monopoly. Now that law, thus pushed by his sole influence, is the supreme law of the state—a salutary example to public men! Firmness, boldness, honesty, the leading traits of great minds, ever must and will prevail. It matters little how wise and good a man may be,—if he lacks consistency and firmness, he cannot succeed. Moral cowardice is ever apt to darken the counsels of his mind, unhinge his judgment, and lead him, blindfolded, to folly and error. Timid and unstable minds produce unsafe and imbecile statesmen, equally unfit for the cabinet or the field,—while conscious rectitude, manly unyielding courage, and native wisdom, are ever sure to be crowned with the laurels of success.

Observations respecting the course pursued by both Political Parties in relation to State Prison Labor, &c.

The State Prison Labor having for several years past considerably agitated the minds of our mechanics, and endeavors on the part of the Federal Whigs to make political capital out of the affair, pretending that they were the real friends of mechanics, and opposed to state prison labor monopolies,—that mechanics may fully understand the course pursued by the two political parties in re-

lation to doing away State Prison labor and its monopolizing beatings, to the injury of mechanics,—we give a synopsis of the proceedings of both parties in relation to State Prison labor, &c.

It will be recollected that last fall the Federal Whigs, with their usual *sagacity to deceive mechanics*, got up an “Appeal of the Whig Mechanics” of this State to aid them in putting down State Prison labor, alleging that the Democratic Party were the defenders and supporters of State Prison monopolies. What must the public think of the “Appeal of the Whig Mechanics,” when, at the very time, and for four years previous, their party had the Government of this State in their own hands, with a majority of the members of the Legislature. These pretended friends of mechanics did not only decline to do away State Prison labor and monopolies when they had the power, but did actually aid that abominable monopoly concern, by not *enforcing the rigid penal enactments of the law* which passed the Legislature in 1835, for which law our mechanics are indebted to the perseverance of their brother mechanic Ely Moore, as stated in the article preceding this. That the reader may compare the law that passed in 1835 with the one recently passed by the Legislature. We publish the following copy of it:—

STATE PRISON MONOPOLY.—REPORTED BY MR. SWACKHAMER, AND ORDERED ENGROSSED.

An Act in Relation to Convict Labor in the State Prisons.

The People of the State of New-York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the court in which any person shall be convicted of an offence punishable in a State Prison, before passing sentence, to ascertain by the examination of such convict on oath, or by satisfactory evidence, if practicable, whether such convict had learned any mechanical trade; and the clerk of such court shall enter the fact so ascertained upon the minutes of the court, and deliver a certificate thereof to the sheriff of the county, who shall cause the same to be delivered to the keeper of the proper prison at the same time that such convict is delivered to him pursuant to the sentence of such court.

2. No convict who shall hereafter be sentenced to imprisonment in either of the State Prisons of this State shall, in such prison, be permitted to work, except as hereinafter provided, at any other mechanical trade than that which, as shall appear by the certificate of the clerk of the court in which he was convicted, such convict had learned previous to his conviction; or in making or manufacture of articles for which the chief supply for the consumption of the country is imported from without the United States.

3. No contract for the services of any number of prison convicts, for a longer period than six

months, shall hereafter be made by the agent of either of the persons, without the consent and direction of the inspectors at a regular or special meeting of the board of inspectors, and an entry whereof shall be made in the minutes of their proceedings. At least two months' notice of the time and place of letting every contract for the labor of convicts, by direction of the inspectors, shall be given in the State paper, and in one newspaper printed in each city in this State, which notice shall specify the particular branch of business in which the convicts are to be employed, the length of time for which their services are to be let, not exceeding five years, and the number of convicts to which the contracts are to be limited; and all these branches of business of which the consumption of the country is chiefly supplied without foreign importation, the number of convicts to be employed or let, shall be limited by the number who had learned the trade specified in the proposed contract.

4. Nothing in this act contained shall prevent the employment of convicts at any mechanical business in the said prisons, so far as may be necessary to fulfil the obligations of the State in such existing contracts as have been lawfully made for convict labor.

5. The inspectors of each of the prisons in this State shall, on or before the first day of June next, transmit to the Attorney General a copy of every contract for convict labor in their possession, certified by a majority of them to be correct; and shall also, within reasonable time, communicate to him any information in their power, which he shall require. If, on examination, the Attorney General shall be of opinion that any of such contracts are in violation of existing laws, he shall certify such opinion, in writing, to the inspectors having charge of the same; and the inspectors shall cause every such contract, which in the opinion of the Attorney General is illegal, to be annulled or rescinded on or before the first day of May, 1843.

6. Any inspector or agent of either of the said prisons, who shall knowingly let or hire, or consent to the letting or hiring of the labor or services of a convict contrary to law; and any officer of either prison who shall knowingly and wilfully cause a convict to be employed at work prohibited by law, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, on conviction, be punished by fine in a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars, or by imprisonment in a county jail for a term not exceeding one year, and shall forfeit his office.

7. Whenever complaint shall be made to the Attorney General, accompanied by satisfactory information, that any of the provisions of this act have been violated by an officer of either of the said prisons, it shall be his duty to cause such offender to be prosecuted; and any indictment for an offence against the provisions of this act may be found or tried in any county in which the offence was committed, or any adjoining county.*

8. A committee of two from the Assembly and one from the Senate, shall be elected by ballot, on the first Friday after the passage of this act,

* This section was so amended as to authorize the appointment of a Commissioner by the Governor, Comptroller, and Secretary of State, instead of the election of a Committee by the Senate and Assembly.

whose duty it shall be to ascertain whether mining and smelting operations can be profitably carried on upon any of the lands owned by the State; and if no such place can be found upon the State land, to ascertain the most reasonable terms upon which the State can purchase a small tract of mineral land for such purposes, properly located. It shall also be the duty of the committee to ascertain what would be the probable expense, over and above the surplus earnings of all the State Prison convicts for two years, to remove to said tract not to exceed five hundred of the prisoners confined in the prisons of the State, and the probable expense of building a prison for their safe keeping and accommodation, and generally the expediency of employing such convicts in such operations of mining and smelting. Said committee to report to the Legislature at its next regular session, upon the matters herein before named, and such other information as they may deem useful. The members of the committee shall be entitled to three dollars each per day for every day actually engaged, and the same mileage as the members of the Legislature; but no member of said committee shall receive pay for more than one month's services.

9. Sections thirty-nine and forty of chapter three, title two, article one, part four, of the Revised Statutes, and all other laws inconsistent with the provisions of this act, are hereby repealed.

10. This act shall take effect immediately.

We continue our narrative of the Federal Whig consistency regarding this pretended friendship for mechanics, and putting down State Prison labor. During the late session of the Legislature, business called us to Albany, and during our leisure hours, we took occasion to visit the Legislative Halls, and heard speeches on the State Prison monopoly bill. Did we feel so disposed, we could name, among other instances of dereliction of duty by prominent men of the Federal Whig party, connected with the passage of the State Prison bill,—especially the vulgar abuse of mechanics as a body, and of all who had any thing to do with getting up the bill. Indeed, it is evident to us that no mechanic, who feels desirous of carrying out reforms—at least where their vital interest and the welfare of themselves and families are considered—will hereafter give his influence to elevate men who misrepresent their true character and interest. We are satisfied, from what we saw and heard during our sojourn at Albany the past session of the Legislature, that mechanics have nothing to hope, to better their condition, but from the real Democracy of the State. We have given a greater space to this subject than we intended, therefore will close it, by relating one instance that came to our knowledge, that came not only near defeating the bill, but effecting a *repeal* of the law of 1835. One of the Senators, who had promised his support to this bill, suddenly changed, as with

a flaw of wind,—caused, as we understood, by the arrival of an agent of the Auburn Prison, with the *astounding intelligence*, that *most if not all* the State Prison contracts made since 1835 were a violation of the law of that year, and that the passage of the bill then before the Senate would cause a great pecuniary loss to the State. That men could be influenced by considerations of this kind is singular; but we believe there is no other way of accounting for the sudden change that then came over certain members of the Legislature. With respect to the *story* of the State losing by contracts made since 1835, we have our doubts. By probing this subject to its core, if we are not greatly mistaken, it would be found that certain Federal Whig contractors and shavers would come in for the greater portion of a “pecuniary loss,”—which they richly deserve, for undertaking contracts which they knew to be a violation of the State law of 1835.

A brief statement of the Political affairs and events which have, and still continue to agitate the Inhabitants of Rhode Island, &c, caused by said Island being governed and ruled by a certain Company, under a Royal Charter granted by King Charles the Second of England.—That our readers may fully understand the cause of the existing difficulties in Rhode Island, between the King Charles Company and the Free Suffrage Party, we have deemed it advisable to republish the charter granted by King Charles entire,* under which the inhabitants of Rhode Island are ruled by a company forming a *small portion* of the population of said Island. How different is this from the memorable words of Andrew Jackson! That venerable Patriot and defender of the People's *Equal Rights*, says: “The blessings of government, like the dews of Heaven, should be dispensed alike on high and low, the rich and the poor.” Had John Tyler been governed by this Christian principle, and that of the

* That the attention of our readers, may be particularly drawn to the several *singular sentences*, &c., contained in the King Charles Charter, we have printed most of them in *italics*, by which it will be seen that the charter under which Rhode Island is governed, was granted by King Charles to Benedict Arnold and others, “trusty and well beloved subjects,” of the said King Charles, his “heirs and successors.” This said charter of King Charles, not having been annulled, of course it remains in full force in Rhode Island, under the direction of Messrs. King and company, successors to Messrs. Benedict Arnold and company, aided by a few *Royal Presses*. In this state of affairs in Rhode Island, should John Tyler and the “God like Daniel,” have the least wish or disposition to see a *Republican Constitution*, established in Rhode Island. *Quere?* would it not be advisable for them, to solicit Lord Ashburton to use his influence with his government to cancel the Charter granted to the Rhode Island Company, by the aforesaid King Charles for himself, his “heirs and successors,” now *Queen Victoria*.

article in the Constitution of the United States which declares that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of government," he certainly would not have so readily lent his aid to put down the vast majority of the people of Rhode Island. We regret that a son of old Virginia—the cradle of Patrick Henry, and of Thomas Jefferson, should have thrown aside the *emblems of liberty*, and sustained that of *royalty*, by *defending a kingly Charter*. A friend at our elbow says, Mr. Tyler must have been governed in this affair with the expectation of obtaining the *votes* of the *Aristocracy* of Rhode Island at the next *Presidential Election*. Be that as it may, had John Tyler pursued the course that Martin Van Buren did in the case of the Federal Whig *Insurrection* in Pennsylvania we have no doubt but at this very time Rhode Island would have been a free State, and the *Equal Rights and Privileges* of the people would have been guaranteed in a new constitution in conformity to the constitution of the United States, and that too, without spilling one drop of blood or excesses of any kind being committed. That we may be fully understood in relation to the federal whig insurrection in Pennsylvania, the following is a brief outline of that affair. In the fall of 1839, an election was held in Pennsylvania, for a Governor and Members of the Legislature. The federal whigs then held the power of governing the State,—at that time the *bribery* and *corruption* of the *Bank of the United States*, had become so *manifest* to many of the thinking portion of the community in the state, that it was evident Governor Ritner and his party must be removed. The election took place, and resulted as the Democratic party had anticipated, in the election of a Democratic Governor and a majority of members of the Legislature. When the time arrived for the new Governor and Members of the Legislature to take their respective stations, a set of *conspirators* with their *ousted* Governor at their head, *combined*, and sought to *perpetuate their power*, by suppressing the voice of the people by *reversing the decisions* of the *ballot boxes*, and thus treat the election as though they had not been *defeated*, notwithstanding the Democratic Governor had a majority of more than *seven thousand* legal votes and a majority of members of the Legislature, yet the federal whigs backed by the whole *influence* of the now *defunct Bank* of the U. S. of Pennsylvania, *usurped* and held on to a *power* they had no *right* to. The democrats, the real representatives of the people, on their part, nobly resisted the encroachments on their rights. In this state of affairs, the Federal Governor and *commander in chief of the military forces of the*

state, ordered out several *thousand* troops to aid him and his party to hold on to their *usurpation*, but all this did not intimidate the Democrats from maintaining their rights. The federal governor learning that if his troops should be ordered to fire on the defenders of their just rights, not a *soldier* would be found to *pull a trigger*; it threw him and his friends into a dilemma, and to extricate themselves, they resolved to apply (like the Governor of Rhode Island,) to the general government for *troops* to aid them in holding on their ill gotten power. When the then president of the United States, Martin Van Buren, was called on by the Governor of Pennsylvania, for aid to put down the people for *maintaining their just rights*,—the general government prudently and wisely declined either to send troops, or promise to aid the *unholy* cause. Governor Ritner and his federal *pack*, now finding that they had nothing to expect from the general government, and being satisfied that the state troops would not fire on the people if ordered, immediately ordered the troops to return to their respective homes, when the governor and his federal friends retired from the *Battle Field*. We repeat, had John Tyler in the Rhode Island case pursued the course of Martin Van Buren in the Pennsylvania case, there is not a doubt but that Rhode Island would at this moment have been under a Republican State government in conformity to the constitution of the United States, believing as we do, that not a man under the command of Gov. King would have been found hardy enough to have fired a gun upon the people who were contending to extricate themselves from the *yoke of the British crown*. It is not our intention to brand with cowardice or treachery any portion of those persons who lately took an active part with the free suffrage cause in Rhode Island, because we feel persuaded that they were *intimidated* by the *threats of vengeance* held out by John Tyler, and backed by Daniel Webster & Company.

In the present state of affairs in Rhode Island, it will naturally be asked, what will the people do to gain their equal rights and privileges, in common with all other men in Rhode Island. We are aware, that at present, they are *overawed* by the general government, this will retard them from making a movement similar to the late one, and it is probable they have little to expect from the *King Charles Charter Men*. Under these circumstances, we would respectfully suggest to the free suffrage party in Rhode Island, to adopt something like the following, viz:—call meetings in every town and village in the state, for the purpose of getting up a memorial to the Congress of the United States, calling on that body to put in

force that part of the Constitution of the United States, which declares that "the United States shall *guarantee* to every state in the union, a republican form of government." We do not doubt that by proper means and exertions, near two thirds of the inhabitants of Rhode Island, would sign a memorial of the kind, we have suggested. What the result of such memorial would be, we cannot say, but one thing is certain, Congress would be bound to take up the subject, and if we are not greatly mistaken, would adopt such measures as would result in abolishing forever, the *King Charles Charter*, and the establishing a constitution, agreeable to the wishes of a large majority of the people of Rhode Island.

CHARTER OF RHODE ISLAND.

GRANTED BY KING CHARLES II., IN THE FOURTEENTH YEAR OF HIS REIGN.

Quintadecima pars Patentum Anno Regni Regnis Caroli Secundi Quintodecimo.

CHARLES the Second, by the grace of God, &c. to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting: Whereas we have been informed, by the petition of our *trusty and well beloved subjects*, John Clark on the behalf of Benedict Arnold, William Brenton, William Codrington, Nicholas Easton, William Boulston, John Porter, John Smith, Samuel Gorton, John Weeks, Roger Williams, Thomas Oldney, Gregory Dexter, John Cogeshall, Joseph Clarke, Randall Houlden, John Greene, John Roome, Samuel Wildbore, William Field, James Barker, Richard Tew, Thomas Harris, and William Dyre, and the rest of the purchasers and free inhabitants of *our island* called Rhode Island, and the rest of the colony of Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay, in New England, in America,—That they, pursuing with peace and *loyal minds* their sober, serious, and religious intentions, of godly edifying themselves and one another in holy Christian faith and worship, as they were persuaded, together with the gaining over and conversion of the poor ignorant Indian natives, in those parts of America, to the sincere profession and obedience of the same faith and worship, did not only, by the *consent and good encouragement of our royal progenitors*, transport themselves out of this kingdom of England, into America, but also, since their arrival there, after their first settlement amongst other of our subjects in those parts, for the avoiding of discord, and those many evils which were likely to ensue upon those our *subjects*, not being able to bear, in those remote parts, their different apprehensions in religious concerns: and in pursuance of the aforesaid ends, did once again leave their desirable stations and habitations, and, with excessive labor and travail, hazard and charge, did transplant themselves into the midst of the Indian natives, who, as we are informed, are the most potent princes and people of all that country; where, by the good providence of God, (from whom the plantations have taken their name,) upon their labor and industry, they have not only been preserved to admiration, but have increased and prospered, and are seized

and possessed, by purchase and consent of said natives, to their full content, of such lands, islands, rivers, harbors, and roads, as are very convenient both for plantations and also for building of ships, supplying of pipe-staves and other merchandise, which lie very commodious, in many respects, for commerce, and to accommodate our southern plantations, and may much advance the trade of this our realm, and greatly enlarge the territories thereof; they having, by near neighborhood to, and friendly society with the great body of the Narragansett Indians, given them encouragement, of their own accord, to subject themselves, their people and land, unto us; whereby, as is hoped, they may, in time, by the blessings of God upon their endeavors, be laid a sure foundation of happiness to all America.

And whereas, in their humble address, they have freely declared that it is much on their hearts (if they be permitted) to hold forth a lively experiment that a most flourishing civil state may stand, and best be maintained, and that among our *English subjects*, with a full liberty in religious concerns; and that true piety, rightly grounded upon gospel principles, will give the best and greatest security to sovereignty, and will lay in the hearts of men the strongest obligations to true loyalty:—

Now know ye, that we being willing to encourage the hopeful undertaking of our said *loyal and loving subjects*, and to secure them in the free exercise and enjoyment of all the civil and religious rights appertaining to them, as our *loving subjects*: and to preserve unto them that liberty in the true Christian faith and worship of God which they have sought with so much travail, and with peaceable minds and *loyal subjection to our royal progenitors and ourselves*, to enjoy: and because some of the people and inhabitants of the same colony cannot, in their private opinion, conform to the public exercise of religion, according to the liturgy, form, and ceremonies of the church of England, to take or subscribe the oaths and articles made and established in that behalf; and for that the same, by reason of the remote distances of those places, will, as we hope, be no breach of the unity and uniformity established in this nation, have therefore thought fit, and do hereby publish, grant, ordain, and declare, that our royal will and pleasure is:—

That no person within the said colony, at any time hereafter, shall be anywise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinion in matters of religion, who do not actually disturb the civil peace of *our said colony*; but that all and every person and persons may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, freely and fully have and enjoy his own and their judgments and consciences, in matters of religious concerns, throughout the tract of land hereafter mentioned, they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness and profaneness, nor to the civil injury or outward disturbance of others: any law, statute, or clause therein contained, or to be contained, usage, or custom of this realm, to the contrary hereof, in any wise notwithstanding.

And that they may be in the better capacity to defend themselves, in their just rights and liberties, against all the enemies of the Christian faith,

and others, in all respects, we have further thought fit, and at the humble petition of the persons aforesaid, are graciously pleased to declare,

That they shall have and enjoy the benefit of our late act of indemnity and free pardon, as the rest of *our subjects* in our other dominions and territories have; and to create or make them a body politic or corporate, with the powers and privileges hereinafter mentioned. And, accordingly, our will and pleasure is, and of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, we have ordained, constituted, and declared, and, by these presents, *for us, our heirs, and successors*, do ordain, constitute, and declare, that they, the said William Brenton, William Codrington, Nicholas Easton, Benedict Arnold, William Boulston, John Porter, Samuel Gorton, John Smith, John Weekes, Roger Williams, Thomas Olney, Gregory Dexter, John Cogeshall, Joseph Clarke, Randall Houlden, John Greene, John Roomie, William Dyre, Samuel Wildbore, Richard Tew, William Field, Thomas Harris, James Barker, ——— Rainsborough, ——— Williams, and John Nickson, and all such others as are now, or hereafter shall be, admitted free of the company and society of our colony of Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay, in New England, shall be, from time to time, and for ever hereafter, a body corporate and politic, in fact and name, by the name of *The governor and company of the English colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in New-England, in America*; and that by the same name they and their successors shall and may have perpetual succession, and shall and may be persons able and capable in the law to sue and be sued, to plead and be impleaded, to answer and to be answered unto, to defend and to be defended, in all and singular suits, causes, quarrels, matters, actions, and things, of what kind or nature soever; and also to have, take, possess, acquire and purchase lands, tenements, or hereditaments, or any goods or chattels, and the same to lease, grant, demise, alien, bargain, sell, and dispose of, at their own will and pleasure, *as other our liege people of this our realm of England*, or any corporation or body politic within the same, may lawfully do.

And further, that they the said governor and company, and their successors, shall and may, for ever hereafter, have a common seal, to serve and use for all matters, causes, things, and affairs whatsoever, of them and their successors: and the same seal to alter, change, break, and make new, from time to time, at their will and pleasure, as they shall think fit.

And further we will and ordain, and by these presents, *for us, our heirs, and successors*, declare and appoint, that, for the better ordering and managing of the affairs and business of the said company and their successors, there shall be one governor, one deputy-governor, and ten assistants, to be from time to time constituted, elected, and chosen, out of the freemen of the said company, for the time being, in such manner and form as is hereafter in these presents expressed; which said officers shall apply themselves to take care for the best disposing and ordering of the general business and affairs of and concerning the lands and hereditaments hereinafter mentioned to be granted, and the plantation thereof, and the government of the people there.

And for the better execution of *our royal pleasure* therein, we do, for us, *our heirs, and successors*, assign, name, constitute and appoint the aforesaid Benedict Arnold to be the first and present governor of the said company; and the said William Brenton to be the deputy-governor; and the said William Boulston, John Porter, Roger Williams, Thomas Olney, John Smith, John Greene, John Cogeshall, James Barker, William Field, and Joseph Clarke, to be the ten present assistants of the said company, to continue in the said several offices respectively, until the first Wednesday which shall be in the month of May now next coming.

And further, we will, and, by these presents, *for us, our heirs, and successors*, do ordain and grant, that the governor of the said company, for the time being, or, in his absence, by occasion of sickness or otherwise, by his leave or permission, the deputy-governor for the time being shall and may, from time to time, upon all occasions, give orders for the assembling of the said company; and calling them together to consult and advise on the business and affairs of the said company; and that for ever hereafter twice in every year; that is to say, on every first Wednesday in the month of May, and on every last Wednesday in October, or oftener, in case it shall be requisite, the assistants, and such of the *freemen* of the said company, not exceeding six persons for Newport, four persons for each of the respective towns of Providence, Portsmouth, and Warwick, and two persons for each other place, town, or city, who shall be, from time to time, thereunto elected or deputed, by the major part of the freemen of the respective towns or places, for which they shall be so elected or deputed, shall have a general meeting, or assembly, then and there to consult, advise, and determine, in and about the affairs and business of the said company and plantations.

And further, we do, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, give and grant unto the said governor and company of the *English colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*, in New England, in America, and their successors, that the governor, or, in his absence, or by his permission, the deputy-governor of the said company, for the time being, the assistants and such of the *freemen* of the said company, as shall be so aforesaid elected or deputed, or so many of them as shall be present at such meeting or assembly, as aforesaid, shall be called the general assembly; and that they, or the greatest part of them then present (whereof the governor, or deputy-governor, and six of the assistants at least, to be seven) shall have, and have hereby given and granted unto them, full power and authority, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to appoint, alter, and change such days, times, and places of meeting and general assembly, as they shall think fit; and to choose, nominate, and appoint such and so many persons as they shall think fit, and shall be willing to accept the same, to be free of the said company and body politic, and them into the same to admit; and to elect and constitute such offices and officers, and to grant such needful commissions as they shall think fit and requisite, for ordering, managing, and despatching all the affairs of the said governor and company, and their successors: and from

time to time to make, ordain, constitute, and repeal such laws, statutes, orders, and ordinances, forms and ceremonies of government and magistracy, as to them shall seem meet, for the good and welfare of the said company, and for the government and ordering of the lands and hereditaments hereinafter mentioned to be granted; and of the people that do, or at any time hereafter shall, inhabit or be within the same; so as such laws, ordinances, and constitutions, so made, be not contrary and repugnant unto, but (as near as may be) agreeable to the laws of this our realm of England, considering the nature and constitution of the place and people there; and also to appoint, order, and direct, erect and settle such places and courts of jurisdiction, for hearing and determining of all actions, cases, matters, and things, happening within the said colony and plantation, which shall be in dispute, and depending there, as they shall think fit; and also to distinguish and set forth the several names and titles, duties, powers, and limits of each court, office, and officer, superior and inferior; and also to contrive and appoint such forms of oaths and attestations, not repugnant, but (as near as may be) agreeable, as aforesaid, to the laws and statutes of this our realm, as are convenient and requisite, with respect to the due administration of justice, and due execution and discharge of all offices and places of trust, by the persons that shall be therein concerned: and also to regulate and order the way and manner of all elections to offices and places of trust, and to prescribe, limit, and distinguish the number and bounds of all places, towns, and cities within the limits and bounds hereinafter mentioned, and not herein particularly named, that have or shall have the power of electing and sending of freemen to the said general assembly: and also to order, direct, and authorize the imposing of lawful and reasonable fines, mulcts, imprisonments, and executing other punishments, pecuniary and corporal, upon offenders and delinquents, according to the course of other corporations, within this our kingdom of England; and again, to alter, revoke, annul, or pardon, under their common seal, or otherwise, such fines, mulcts, imprisonments, sentences, judgments, and condemnations, as shall be thought fit; and to direct, rule, order, and dispose of all other matters and things, and particularly that which relates to the making of purchases of the native Indians, as to them shall seem meet; whereby our said people and inhabitants in the said plantations, may be so religiously, peaceably, and civilly governed, as that, by their good life, and orderly conversation, they may win and invite the native Indians of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind; willing, commanding, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, ordaining and appointing, that all such laws, statutes, orders, and ordinances, instructions, impositions, and directions, as shall be so made by the governor, deputy, assistant, and freemen, or such number of them as aforesaid, and published in writing, under their common seal, shall be carefully and duly observed, kept, performed, and put in execution, according to the true intent and meaning of the same. And these our letters patent, or the duplicate of exemplification thereof, shall be, to all and every such officers; superior or inferior, from

time to time, for the putting of the same orders, laws, statutes, ordinances, instructions, and directions in due execution, against us, our heirs, and successors, a sufficient warrant and discharge.

And further, our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby, for us, our heirs, and successors, establish and ordain, that, yearly, once in the year for ever hereafter, namely, the aforesaid Wednesday in May, and at the town of Newport, or elsewhere if urgent occasion do require, the governor, deputy-governor, and assistants of the said company, and other officers of the said company, or such of them as the general assembly shall think fit, shall be in the said general court or assembly, to be held from that day or time, newly chosen for the year ensuing, by the greater part of the said company for the time being, as shall be then there present. And if it shall happen that the present governor, deputy-governor, and assistants, by these presents appointed, or any such as shall hereafter be newly chosen into their respective rooms, or any of them, or any other of the officers of the said company shall die, or be removed from his or their several offices or places, before the said general day of election, (whom we do hereby declare for a misdemeanor or default to be removable by the governor, assistants, and company, or such greater part of them, in any of the said public courts to be assembled as aforesaid,) that then, and in every such case, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said governor, deputy-governor, assistants, and company aforesaid, or such greater part of them, so to be assembled as is aforesaid, in any of their assemblies, to proceed to a new election of one or more of their company in the room or place, rooms or places, of such officer or officers, so dying, or removed, according to their directions. And immediately upon and after such election or elections made of such governor, deputy-governor, assistant, or assistants, or any other officer of the said company, in manner and form aforesaid, the authority, office, and power before given to the former governor, deputy-governor, and other officer or officers so removed, in whose stead and place new shall be chosen, shall, as to him and them, and every one of them respectively, cease and determine: *Provided always, and our will and pleasure is*, that as well such as are by these presents appointed to be the present governor, deputy-governor, and assistants of the said company, as those which shall succeed them, and all other officers to be appointed and chosen as aforesaid, shall, before the undertaking the execution of the said offices and places respectively, give their solemn engagement, by oath, or otherwise, for the due and faithful performance of their duties, in their several offices and places, before such person or persons as are by these presents hereafter appointed, to take and receive the same: that is to say, the said Benedict Arnold, who is herein before nominated and appointed the present governor of the said company, shall give the aforesaid engagement before William Brenton, or any two of the said assistants, of the said company, unto whom we do by these presents give full power and authority to require and receive the same: and the said William Brenton, who is hereby before nominated and appointed the present deputy-governor of the said company, shall give the aforesaid engagement before the said Benedict Arnold, or any two of the assistants of

the said company, unto whom we do, by these presents, give full power and authority to require and receive the same: and the said William Boulston, John Porter, Roger Williams, Thomas Olney, John Smith, John Greene, John Cogeshall, James Barker, William Field, and Joseph Clarke, who are herein before nominated and appointed the present assistants of the company, shall give the said engagement to their offices and places respectively belonging, before the said Benedict Arnold and William Brenton, or one of them, to whom respectively we do hereby give full power and authority to require, administer, or receive the same: and further, *our will and pleasure is*, that all and every other future governor, or deputy-governor, to be elected and chosen by virtue of these presents, shall give the said engagement before two or more of the said assistants of the said company, for the time being, unto whom we do, by these presents, give full power and authority to require, administer, or receive the same: and the said assistants, and every of them, and all and every other officer or officers, to be hereafter elected and chosen by virtue of these presents, from time to time, shall give the like engagements to their offices and places respectively belonging, before the governor or deputy-governor, for the time being, unto which said governor, or deputy-governor, we do, by these presents, give full power and authority to require, administer, or receive the same accordingly.

And we do likewise, for us, our heirs, and successors, give and grant unto the said governor and company and their successors, by these presents, that for the most peaceably and orderly government of the said plantations, it shall and may be lawful for the governor, deputy-governor, and assistants, and all other officers and ministers of the said company, in the administration of justice, and exercise of government, and the said plantations, to use, exercise, and put in execution, such methods, orders, rules, and directions (*not being contrary and repugnant to the laws and statutes of this our realm*) as have been heretofore given, used and accustomed in such cases respectively, to be put in practice, until at the next, or some other general assembly, especial provision shall be made in the cases aforesaid.

And we do further, for us, our heirs, and successors, give and grant unto the said governor and company, and their successors, by these presents, that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said governor, or, in his absence, the deputy-governor, and the major part of the said assistants for the time being, at any time, when the said general assembly is not sitting, to nominate, appoint, and constitute such and so many commanders, governors, and military officers, as to them shall seem requisite, for the leading, conducting, and the training up the inhabitants of the said plantations in martial affairs, and for the defence and safeguard of the said plantations; that it shall and may be lawful to and for all and every such commander, governor, and military officer, that shall be so as aforesaid, or by the governor, or, in his absence, the deputy-governor, and six of the assistants, and major part of the *freemen* of said company, present at any general assemblies, nominated, appointed, and constituted, according to the tenor of his and their respective commissions and directions, to assemble, exercise

in arms, marshal, array, and put in warlike posture, the inhabitants of said colony, for their especial defence and safety; and to lead and conduct the said inhabitants, and to encounter, repulse, and resist, by force of arms, as well by sea as by land, to kill, slay, and destroy, by all fitting ways, enterprises, and means whatsoever, all and every such person or persons, as shall at any time hereafter attempt or enterprise the destruction, invasion, detriment, or annoyance of the said inhabitants, or plantations; and to use and exercise the law martial in such cases only as occasion shall necessarily require; and to take and surprise, by all ways and means whatsoever, all and every such person or persons, with their ship, or ships, armor, ammunition, or other goods of such persons, as shall in hostile manner invade, or attempt the defeating of the said plantation, or the hurt of the said company and inhabitants; and upon just cause to invade and destroy the native Indians, or other enemies, of the said colonies.

Nevertheless, our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby declare to the rest of our colonies in New England, that it shall not be lawful for this our said colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in America, in New England, to invade the natives inhabiting within the bounds and limits of the said colonies, without the knowledge and consent of the said other colonies. And it is hereby declared, that it shall not be lawful to or for the rest of the colonies to invade or molest the native Indians, or any other inhabitants, inhabiting within the bounds or limits hereafter mentioned, (they having subjected themselves unto us, and being by us taken into our special protection,) without the knowledge and consent of the governor and company of our colony at Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

Also, our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby declare unto all Christian kings, princes, and states, that, if any person, who shall hereafter be of the said company or plantation, or any other, by appointment of the said governor and company, for the time being, shall, at any time or times hereafter, rob or spoil, by sea or land, or do any hurt, or unlawful hostilities, to any of the *subjects of us, our heirs, and successors*, or to any of the subjects of any prince or state, being then in league with us, our heirs, and successors, upon complaint of such injury done to any such prince or state, or their subjects, *we, our heirs, and successors*, will make open proclamation, within any part of *our realm of England*, fit for that purpose, that the person or persons committing any such robbery or spoil shall, within the time limited by such proclamation, make full restitution or satisfaction of all such injuries done or committed, so as the said prince, or others, so complaining, may be fully satisfied and contented; and if the said person or persons, who shall commit any such robbery or spoil, shall not make satisfaction accordingly, within such time so to be limited, that then *we, our heirs, and successors* will put such person or persons out of our allegiance and protection; and that then it shall and may be lawful and free for all princes or others to prosecute with hostility such offenders, and every of them, their and every of their procurers, aiders, abettors, and counsellors, in that behalf.

Provided, also, and our express will and pleasure is, and we do, by these presents, for us, *our*

heirs, and successors, ordain and appoint, that these presents shall not in any manner hinder any of our loving subjects whatsoever from using and exercising the trade of fishing upon the coast of New England in America; but that they, and every or any of them, shall have full and free power and liberty to continue and use the trade of fishing upon the said coast; in any of the seas thereunto adjoining, or any arms of the sea, or salt water rivers and creeks, where they have been accustomed to fish; and to build and set upon the waste land, belonging to the said colony and plantations, such wharves, stages, and work-houses, as shall be necessary for the salting, drying, and keeping of their fish, to be taken or gotten upon that coast.

And further, for the encouragement of the inhabitants of our said colony and Providence Plantations to set upon the business of taking whales, it shall be lawful for them, or any of them, having struck a whale, dubertus, or other great fish, it or them to pursue unto that coast, or into any bay, river, cove, creek, or shore, belonging thereto, and it or them upon the said coast, or in the said bay, river, cove, creek, or shore, belonging thereto, to kill and order for the best advantage, without molestation, they making no wilful waste or spoil; any thing in these presents contained, or any other matter or thing, to the contrary notwithstanding.

And further, also, we are graciously pleased, and do hereby declare, that if any of the inhabitants of our said colony do set upon the planting of vineyards, (the soil and climate both seeming naturally to concur to the production of vines,) or be industrious in the discovery of fishing banks, in or about the said colony, we will, from time to time, give and allow all due and fitting encouragement therein, as to others in cases of a like nature.

And further, of our more ample grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, we have given and granted, and by these presents, *for us, our heirs, and successors*, do give and grant unto the said governor and company of the English colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay, in New England, in America, and to every inhabitant there, and to every person and persons trading thither, and to every such person or persons as are or shall be free of the said colony, full power and authority, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to take, ship, transport, and carry away out of any of our realms and dominions, for and towards the plantation and defence of the said colony, such and so many of our loving subjects and strangers, as shall or will, willingly, accompany them in and to their said colony and plantations, except such person or persons as are or shall be therein restrained by us, *our heirs, and successors*, or any law or statute of this realm: and also to ship and transport all and all manner of goods, chattels, merchandises, and other things whatsoever, that are or shall be useful or necessary for the said plantations, and defence thereof, and usually transported, and not prohibited by any law or statute of this our realm; yielding and paying unto us, *our heirs, and successors*, such duties, customs, and subsidies as are or ought to be paid or payable for the same.

And further, *our will and pleasure is, and we do, for us, our heirs, and successors*, ordain, de-

clare, and grant unto the said governor and company, and their successors, that all and every the subjects of us, our heirs, and successors, which are already planted and settled within our said colony of Providence Plantations, or which shall hereafter go to inhabit within the said colony, and all and every of their children which have been born there, or which shall happen hereafter to be born there, or on the sea going thither, or returning from thence, shall have and enjoy all liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects, within any of the dominions of us, *our heirs, and successors*, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever, as if they and every of them were born within the realm of England.

And further, know ye, *that we, of our more abundant grace*, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have given, granted, and confirmed, and by these presents, *for us, our heirs, and successors*, do give, grant, and confirm unto the said governor and company, and their successors, all that part of our dominions, in New England, in America, containing the Nahantiek and Nanhiganset alias Narragansett bay, and countries and parts adjaent, bounded on the west or westerly, to the middle or channel of a river there, commonly called and known by the name of Pawcatuck alias Pawcawtuk river; and so, along the said river, as the greater or middle stream thereof stretcheth or lies up into the north country, northward unto the head thereof, and from thence, by a straight line drawn due north, until it meet with the south line of the Massachusetts colony; and on the north or northerly by the aforesaid south or southerly line of the Massachusetts colony or plantation, and extending towards the east or eastwardly three English miles, to the east and north-east of the most eastern and north-eastern parts of the aforesaid Narragansett bay, as the said bay lieth or extendeth itself from the ocean on the south or southwardly, unto the mouth of the river which runneth towards the town of Providence; and from thence along the eastwardly side or bank of the said river (higher called by the name of Seacunck,) up to the falls called Patucket Falls, being the most westwardly line of Plymouth colony; and so, from the said falls, in a straight line, due north, until it meet with the aforesaid line of the Massachusetts colony, and bounded on the south of the ocean, and in particular the lands belonging to the town of Providence, Patuxit, Warwick, Misquammacock, alias Paweatuck, and the rest upon the main land, in the tract aforesaid, together with Rhode Island, Block Island, and all the rest of the islands and banks in Narragansett bay, and bordering upon the coast of the tract aforesaid, (Fisher's Island only excepted,) together with all firm lands, soils, grounds, havens, ports, rivers, waters, fishing, *mines royal*, and all other mines, minerals, precious stones, quarries, woods, wood grounds, rocks, slates, and all and singular other commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, franchises, pre-eminences, and hereditaments whatsoever within the said tract, bounds, lands, and islands aforesaid, to them or any of them belonging, or in any wise appertaining: to have and to hold the same, unto the said governor and company, and their successors for ever, upon trust, for the use and benefit of themselves and their associates, freemen of the said colony, their heirs and as-

signs;—to be holden of us, our heirs, and successors, as of the manor of East Greenwich, in our county of Kent, in free and common socage, and not in capite, nor by knight's service;—*yielding and paying therefore to us, our heirs, and successors, only the fifth part of all the ore of gold and silver which, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, shall be there gotten, had, or obtained, in lieu and satisfaction of all services, duties, fines, forfeitures, made or to be made, claims, or demands, whatsoever, to be to us, our heirs, or successors, therefore or thereabout rendered, made, or paid; any grant or clause in a late grant to the governor and company of Connecticut colony, in America, to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding; the aforesaid Pawcatuck river having been yielded, after much debate, for the fixed and certain bounds between these our said colonies, by the agents thereof, who have also agreed, that the said Pawcatuck river shall also be called alias Narragansett or Narragansett river, and to prevent future disputes that otherwise might arise thereby, for ever hereafter shall be construed, deemed, and taken to be the Narragansett river, in our late grant to Connecticut colony, mentioned as the easterly bounds of that colony.*

And further, our will and pleasure is, that in all matters of public controversies, which may fall out between our colony of Providence Plantations, to make their appeal therein to us, our heirs, and successors, for redress in such cases, within this our realm of England; and that it shall be lawful to and for the inhabitants of the said colony of Providence Plantations, without let or molestation, to pass and repass with freedom into and through the rest of the English colonies, upon their lawful and civil occasions, and to converse and hold commerce and trade with such of the inhabitants of our other English colonies, as shall be willing to admit them thereunto, they behaving themselves peaceably among them; any act, clause, or sentence in any of the said colonies, provided, or that shall be provided, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And lastly, we do, for us, our heirs, and successors, ordain and grant unto the said governor and company, and their successors, by these presents, that these our letters patent shall be firm, good, effectual, and available, in all things in the law, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever, according to our true intent and meaning herein before described, and shall be construed, reputed, and adjudged, in all cases, most favorable on the behalf, and for the best benefit and behoof of the said governor and company, and their successors, although express mention, &c. In witness, &c.

Witness, &c. *Per Ipsum Regum.*

GOVERNOR DORR'S SPEECH,

Delivered before the Constitutional Assembly of Rhode Island.

By the following extracts from Governor Dorr's speech, our readers will find a plain explanatory statement of the causes which compelled the people of Rhode Island to assert and demand their rights, in common with those of other States in the Union. By the extracts we have published,

it will be seen that the people of Rhode Island repeatedly appealed to the *King Charles Chartered Company* for redress of the grievances they labored under, in consequence of being *disfranchised* from taking any part in the *administration* of the government of the State. It will also be seen that as often as the people asked for relief or a change in the government of the State, they were, in every instance, spurned from the *throne*, similar to the several petitions sent by the *Colonists* to the *British Crown*. The people of Rhode Island continued to the last moment urging the *Chartered Company* to do them justice, until the time arrived when nothing less than a *question of Freedom or Slavery* for the people of Rhode Island was left to act on. They did act—with a brave, noble, and patriotic man, Thomas W. Dorr, at their head; and although he has been compelled by adverse circumstances to leave his native soil for a time, yet we do not doubt but the time will arrive when the people of Rhode Island will call him back to resume the prominent station he so lately occupied; and we do not doubt but that he will be backed by a band of Free Suffrage men in Rhode Island, who will *triumphantly* wave the *Star Spangled Banner* over the *King Charles Company* of Rhode Island.

"The people of Rhode Island have, for many years past, complained of manifest defects in their form of government, the most serious of which were the limitation of the right of suffrage, an unequal representation and the absence of all fundamental laws to limit and regulate the powers and functions of the General Assembly. The operation of the suffrage law of this State has for a long time excluded from the right of voting three-fifths of its adult population."

"But if these evils had not existed; if suffrage had been extended, and representation had been equalized; still the want of fundamental laws to regulate the Legislature itself, and to protect the citizen against legislative tyranny or caprice, which alone have afforded ample justification to the strong impulse among the people in favor of a State Constitution—such a Constitution as should define the rights of the citizen, establish the departments and powers of government, and lay down definite and permanent rules for its administration, to which all might appeal.

The Charter government of this State had no counterpart in any State of the Union. We have never had a Constitution in the American sense of the term. The substitutes for it were a Charter granted by Charles II. of England; various statutes to explain, define, and alter the Charter, and to supply its deficiencies, and certain usages; all which, taken together, composed our form of government, and were all subject to the will and pleasure of the General Assembly."

"It is the action of the General Assembly under this Charter, and since the Revolution of 1776, which has occasioned all our difficulties. It has been in the power of the General Assembly, at any moment, by their entire control over the right

of suffrage, and by extending it, to remove every existing cause of complaint among the people; inasmuch as a liberal extension would have led to the adoption of a liberal Constitution. The Charter empowers to admit persons free of the Company, and prescribes no terms or qualifications whatever. Before this Charter, and under that of 1613, the rule of admission was, "being found meet for the service of the body politic."

After the Charter of 1663, the laws make mention of "competent estates," without defining their nature or amount; and in 1666 the admission of the freemen was transferred, for greater convenience to the several towns, who were authorized to make admission of those who were "deserving thereof." It was not until the year 1724, 88 years after the settlement of the State, that a definite property qualification was established, by a law of that year, which enacted, that no man should be admitted a freeman unless possessed of a freehold estate of the value of one hundred pounds, of 40 shillings a year, or unless he were the oldest son of such freeholder. The amount of the qualification was afterwards raised to two hundred, then to four hundred pounds; and in the year 1762 it was diminished to forty pounds, equivalent, in our present currency, to one hundred and thirty-four dollars, at which point it has ever since remained."

"As population increased, and the inhabitants became more and more diverted from agriculture to other pursuits, the evil of this system became more manifest, the number of voters bearing a constantly decreasing proportion to the whole number of adult male citizens. The vote polled fifty years ago, at ordinary elections, was not, as has been stated, two thousand less than the average vote at our elections at the present day, in a population nearly double in numbers.

A political injustice so marked as this did not fail to suggest the proper remedy by an extension of suffrage. In the course of time the apportionment of representatives, which was fairly made in the Charter, according to population, had become extremely unequal. A movement in favor of a Constitution was made near the close of the last century, but without any practical results. In the year 1811 a bill to extend suffrage to all citizens, who paid taxes and performed military duty, was passed in the Senate, but was lost in the House of Representatives. In the year 1819, and the three following years, the subject of a State Constitution was again agitated, and the oppressive inequality of our present system was clearly demonstrated, but with the usual want of success. In 1824 a Convention of the freemen was called by the General Assembly to form a Constitution. This Convention proposed to the freemen a Constitution, which redressed in part the inequalities of our representation; but a resolution to extend suffrage to others beside landholders, received only three votes. This Constitution was voted down by a large majority.

In 1829 a renewed interest upon the question of their rights was awakened among the disfranchised inhabitants, especially in the city of Providence. Frequent meetings were held, and a petition, numerous signed, was addressed to the General Assembly. It was so far deemed worthy of notice as to be referred to a committee, and to be made the subject of a report, drawn up by a

very distinguished member of the House of Representatives. This committee treated the application of the petitioners with scorn and contumely, described them as a low and degraded portion of the community; and reminded them, that if they were dissatisfied with the institutions of the State, they were at liberty to leave it.

"In 1832 an attempt to obtain a participation in the elective right, shared a similar fate.

"In 1834 a party was organized for the express purpose of accomplishing the same object, by direct political action on the electors of the State. After a resolute struggle of four years, this party became extinct, without having apparently created much impression upon the freemen, or having tended in any perceptible degree to change their fixed determination never to abandon the existing suffrage laws.

But the movement of this party gave occasion for some alarm, and the General Assembly forthwith called a Convention of freemen, who met at Providence in September, 1834, to propose amendments to the existing institutions of the State, or to form a Constitution, as they might deem expedient. A motion to extend suffrage beyond the landed qualification was decisively negatived, only seven members voting in its favor.

"The Legislature had been repeatedly approached in terms of respectful petition, and the applicants had been driven away, as intruders upon the vested rights of the ruling political class. The General Assembly, which was invested with as full power to alter the law of suffrage in favor of the people, as to establish the law originally, without any prescription in the Charter, had turned a deaf ear to the reiterated and most earnest remonstrances of a long-injured and oppressed majority.

The Conventions of the freemen had manifested, if possible, a still greater hostility to the claims of the majority. The anxious inquiry of the people began to be raised—is there no remedy for these manifest grievances? Must we submit forever to be trodden under foot by men no better than ourselves? Is the law of a minority, who happen to possess the control of a State, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, to be the immutable standard of right and justice, in despite of all the changes which have been occasioned by time and circumstances in the condition of the State and its inhabitants? Was this designed to be a government of the few, or of the many? Have we gained or lost by the boasted emancipation of our State from colonial subjection? Questions like these were naturally interchanged among those who felt the pressure of a common injustice; and they became bound together in attachment to a common cause, and in a struggle for the same just and equal rights. And who were these men? They were the younger sons of farmers, the great body of the mechanics, and of the working men of the State.

They found among their numbers nearly all the surviving patriots of the Revolution, who felt themselves impelled to assert, in the period of venerable age, the same cause to which they had devoted the freshness and vigor of their youthful days. The men thus hopelessly disfranchised, were those to whom the defence of the country is committed in the time of war, who protect the community against the ravages of conflagration, who sustain their equal amount of the burdens of

the community, and who sustain by indirect taxation the government of the United States. They were sensible of no inferiority of nature or condition which marked them for the subjects rather than the citizens of a nominally republican government. They were the descendants of ancestors who had proclaimed to the world, for the first time in its history, the first principles of a democratic government, or of the men who contributed their substance, their honor, and their lives to the freedom and independence of their country. Could they hesitate in the course which they were bound to pursue? It was idle to tell them they were well governed, and that the existing authorities were better qualified to provide for their interests than they were to take care of themselves. They felt in their inmost hearts the proud response of American freemen, conscious of their rights, and daring to maintain them.

While it is the right of a British subject to be well governed, they believed it to be the right of American citizens to govern themselves; and they determined to remove the badge of servitude fastened upon them by a landed oligarchy.

In the latter part of the year 1840, an association of mechanics, mostly non-freeholders, was organized in this city, for the final attainment of their political rights; and similar associations were soon formed in many other towns of the State. A portion of the members of these associations, still retaining a hope that the General Assembly might lend an ear to the remonstrances of the people, presented once more a petition at the January session, 1841, for a redress of their political grievances. The petition was not acted upon. At the same session, a memorial from the town of Smithfield, praying for an increase in its representation, received the attention of the House, and a committee once more reported a bill for a Freemen's Convention to form a Constitution. The experience of the past had forbidden disfranchised citizens to expect from a Convention so organized, any favorable result; and they soon after proceeded to call a mass Convention of the people to consider the condition and prospects of their cause. This Convention met at Providence on the 17th of April, 1841. A second mass Convention was held at Newport, on the 5th of May; when it was resolved, that a Convention of the people at large should be called for the formation of a Republican Constitution; and a State Committee was appointed to issue the call. The General Assembly met in May, 1841, and passed a law for the more equal apportionment among the towns of the delegates to the Freeholder's Convention in November. At the adjourned session in June, a bill was introduced in the House to admit tax-payers to vote with the freemen in the choice of delegates to the November Convention. This bill was negatived by the same decisive vote that had been given against all propositions for an extension of suffrage.

On the 5th of July, 1841, the Newport Mass Convention held an adjourned meeting at Providence, and having become satisfied that there was no longer any hope from the General Assembly, issued instructions to the State Committee to proceed forthwith in the call of a popular Convention; which instructions were complied with, by issuing to all the towns in the State a request to elect delegates, in the proportion, as nearly as

possible, of one to every thousand inhabitants, to assemble at Providence in October, for the purpose aforesaid. Meetings of the citizens were duly held, pursuant to notice, in nearly all the towns of the State, in the latter part of August; moderators and clerks were appointed, and delegates were elected in the usual form for such occasions. A large majority of the delegates assembled in Convention, at Providence, on the 4th day of October; and, after having formed the plan of a Constitution, adjourned till the next month, in order that their labors might be submitted to the investigation of the public. The Convention reassembled in November, and after making several amendments, finally passed upon the Constitution, and proposed it for adoption or rejection, to the adult male population, who were citizens of the United States, and had their permanent residence or home in the State. The question upon the Constitution was taken, on the days appointed in the same, in the month of December, 1841; and the result was the adoption of the Constitution by a large majority.

The Freeholder's Convention met in November; and, after preparing the plan of a Constitution, in which, however, there were some provisions proposed only, and not acted upon, adjourned to the month of February, 1842. Their adjournment took place prior to the second meeting of the Convention of the People. The Freeholders' Convention, at their first session, extended suffrage beyond the existing freehold qualification to the possessors of personal property of the value of 500 dollars. This Convention met again, according to adjournment, in February, completed their Constitution, and submitted it to those of the People who were qualified to vote under it; by whom, in the month succeeding, it was rejected.

This Constitution was voted against by a large majority of the friends of the People's Constitution, not because it was made by the freemen, and not by themselves, but because its leading provisions were unjust and anti-republican, and tended to prolong, under a different guise, some of the greatest of those evils, which had been the occasion of so much complaint under the old Charter system. It is a fact which challenges contradiction, and familiar to every man in this State, that the friends of political Reform and Equal Rights have ever been desirous, previous to the adoption of their Constitution, that all changes in their form of government should be made through the action of the Assembly, or the body of the freemen. The course adopted by them during a long series of years, their respectful applications to the Assembly, their delay in the call of a popular Convention, until every probability of redress had been cut off, and patience had ceased to be a virtue—will satisfy all candid men that the minority are in the wrong on this point, and that the people have pursued the only course consistent with a proper regard to their rights as citizens of a free country.

Two questions here arise, to which it is our duty to reply—a question of right, and a question of fact. Had the people of this State a right to adopt a Constitution of Government, in the mode they have pursued? and if so, have they adopted this Constitution by a majority of their whole number?

That the sovereignty of this country resides in

the people, is an axiom in the American system of government, too late to be called in question. By the theory of other governments, the sovereign power is vested in the head of the State, or shared with him by the Legislature. The sovereignty of the country from which we derive our origin, and I may add, many of our opinions upon political subjects, inconsistent with our present condition, is in the King and Parliament; and any attempt on the part of the people to change the government of that country, would be deemed an insurrection. There all reform must proceed from the government itself; which calls no conventions of the people, and recognizes no such remedy for political grievances. In this country the case is totally the reverse. When the revolution severed the ties of allegiance, which bound colonies to the parent country, the sovereign power passed from its former possessors, not to the General Government, which was the creation of the States, nor to the State Governments, nor to a portion of the people, but to the whole people of the States, in whom it has ever since remained. This is the doctrine of our fathers, and of the early days of the republic, and should be sacredly guarded as the only safe foundation of our political fabric. The idea that government is in any proper sense the source of power in this country is of foreign origin, and at war with the letter and spirit of our institutions.

The moment we admit the principle, that no change in government can take place without permission of the existing authorities, we revert to the worn-out theory of the monarchies of Europe; and whether we are the subjects of the Czar of Russia, or of the monarch of Great Britain, or of a landed oligarchy, the difference to us is only in degree, and we have lost the reality, though we may retain the forms of a Democratic Republic. If the people of Rhode Island are wrong in the course they have pursued, they will nevertheless have conferred one benefit upon their countrymen by the agitation of this question, in dissipating the notion that the people are the sovereigns of the country, and in consigning to the department of rhetorical declamation those solemn declarations of 1776, which are repeated in so many of the State Constitutions, and which are so clearly and confidently asserted by the most eminent jurists and statesmen of our country.

"If time permitted, I should take great satisfaction in laying before you the most abundant evidence, that these are the well recognized principles of our republican system; and are not to be regarded as revolutionaiy.

The Declaration of American Independence asserts that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; and that it is the right of the people, meaning the whole people, the governed, to alter or abolish their government whenever they deem it expedient, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. This Declaration was expressly adopted by the General Assembly of this State in July, 1776.

The Constitutions of many of the States, while they contain specific provisions for the mode of their amendment, set forth, in the strongest terms, the right of the people to change them as they

may deem expedient. Any other construction would render a portion of the declarations of rights in these Constitutions entirely nugatory.

The Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, acted as the Representatives of the sovereignty of the people of the States, without regard to the limitation attempted to be imposed by the Congress of the Confederation. That the whole people, by an explicit and authentic act—the great body of society, have a right to make and alter their Constitutions of government, we find ours is a principle which has been laid down by the fathers of the Constitution, and the ablest expounders of our political institutions—by Washington, Hamilton and Madison. The strong opinions of Jefferson on this point are too well known to need a particular repetition.

"But whatever opinions may be entertained respecting the right of the whole people to change a Constitution in any other than the prescribed mode, where such a mode exists, there is a point in our case to which the attention of every one should be closely invited. Until the adoption of the present Constitution, there has been no mode prescribed in this State, either by the Charter, or by any law, or usage, for amending our form of government. The Charter contains no such direction; being a royal grant, the power to amend by a supplement of Charter remained in the grantor, and needed no specification. The Charter contains a very general authority to make all necessary laws; but they must be consistent with the royal prerogative, and with the rights of Parliament. The power of amending the Charter passed over to the People of the State as an incident to their sovereignty, at the Revolution.

In the absence of any such provision, it is a totally unfounded assumption in the Charter Assembly to pretend that the proceedings of the people are null and void for want of a compliance with law, when no legal or other provision exists upon the subject. All that the General Assembly have ever done has been to request, in their own form. The freemen, if they saw fit, might at any time have chosen such delegates, without such a request, in their own form, and with an equally valid effect. Is it not apparent that the people at large have a still greater right to do the same thing in this State? They have demanded in vain that any valid legal objections to their proceedings should be produced. It is to the last degree ungenerous and unjust that the freemen should set up their own neglect in years past to provide a Constitutional mode of amendments as a bar to the action of the people, in the only mode in which they can act at all. When any disposition is manifested to amend our Constitution in a different mode from that prescribed in it, it will be time for alarmists to suggest the danger and instability that may possibly occur from any irregular action of the people.

But was this sovereign power of the people exercised, in fact, by a majority of the whole people of the State? We assert with entire confidence that it was. The voting was conducted as fairly as at any election ever held in this State. All challenges of voters were received and entertained. The moderators of the meetings, who received the votes, were not under oath, neither are those of the freemen's meetings. The town clerks, and wardens, and ward clerks in the city of Provi-

dence, act under an engagement; and this is the only difference between the meetings of the freemen and those of the people. This difference will create no serious objection, when it is stated, that the name of every man who voted for the people's Constitution was written on his ticket; and that the ticket of every man who did not attend the polls, on the three last of the six days of voting, in addition to his signature, was attested by that of some person who voted at the polls on the three first days. These proxy votes were but a small portion of the whole. Still further, the name of every man who voted was registered; and a copy of the register in every town and ward was duly certified with the votes. All the votes have been preserved in their envelopes for any subsequent reference. The votes were duly returned to the People's Convention, and were examined and counted by a large committee. The committee reported that, as nearly as could be ascertained, the number of males in this State over the age of twenty-one years, citizens of the United States, and permanently resident, deducting persons under guardianship, insane and convict, was 23,142, of whom a majority is 11,572; and that the People's Constitution received 13,944 votes, being a majority of 4,747. After making every reasonable allowance for questionable votes, from which no election can be entirely free, it is impossible to entertain a reasonable doubt that a large majority of the whole people fairly voted for this Constitution. The report of the Counting Committee was transmitted to the General Assembly, at the January session, 1842; and a motion was made to inquire into the return of the votes polled; but it was negatived, as usual, by a large majority.

"When the Constitution of the people is examined, without reference to its origin, it is found that there are few objections made against it. It guards with great care all civil and political rights; it establishes as equal a representation as the circumstances of the State will permit, and a Senate to be chosen in districts, under such an apportionment as to secure to a majority of the population a majority of its members. The Freeholders' Constitution, on the other hand, was rejected for many reasons,—one of which was, its defective provisions relating to suffrage, and its exclusion of the vote by ballot. The main objection was, that it entirely abolished the majority principle in our government. Under it both the House of Representatives and the Senate were to be elected by towns and districts containing less than one-third of the inhabitants of the State. The Senators were also assigned to the districts without scarcely any reference to their population.

By the nature of the provisions relative to amendments any subsequent improvement of this instrument was rendered nearly impracticable.

At the session of the Assembly in March, 1842, the People's Constitution came under the consideration of that body twice ratified; directly by the votes of the people in its favor, and indirectly by the rejection of another instrument. But these repeated manifestations of the popular will were totally disregarded. A bill to conform the general election to the provisions of this Constitution, and another to submit it to those who were qualified to vote under the Constitution of the Freeholders, were promptly rejected. A proposition

was offered at the adjourned session in April, for the call of another Convention to form a Constitution, the delegates to which Convention were to be voted for by a constituency not much extended beyond the present freemen. Both propositions shared the fate of the preceding.

Your attention will be required to the force-law and resolutions recently adopted by the General Assembly for the suppression of the Constitution. Laws like these, which violate in some of their provisions the well-known privileges enjoyed by the subjects of the British monarchy, could hardly find favor in the land of Roger Williams. These enactments have been regarded by the considerate men among our opponents as most impolitic and unjust, and by the people as null and void, because conflicting with paramount provisions of the Constitution.

"Our fellow citizens in other States will perceive, from the exposition which has been made, without further comment, that the people of this State are engaged in a just and honorable cause; and that they have taken the only course for the attainment and security of their just rights.

"I cannot more appropriately conclude this communication, than in the words of the constitution, which declares, that 'No favor or disfavor ought to be shown in legislation toward any man, or party, or society, or religious denomination. The laws should be made not for the good of the few, but of the many; and the burdens of the State ought to be fairly distributed among its citizens.'

THOMAS W. DORR.

Providence, R. I., May 3d, 1842.

The following is a list of Members of the Legislature of Rhode Island, returned under the free Constitution. They are recorded here that the public may judge of the course these gentlemen may hereafter pursue regarding the struggle in Rhode Island for free suffrage:

Newport.

Dutée J. Pearce,	Gilbert Chace;
Robert R. Carr,	Henry Oman,
	Daniel Brown.

Providence.

William M. Webster,	J. F. B. Flagg,
Samuel H. Wales,	William Coleman,
John A. Howland,	Perez Simmons,
Frederick L. Beekford,	Benj. Arnold, jr.
Franklin Cooley,	John S. Parkis,
	Wm. L. Thornton.

Wartwick.

John G. Mowney,	Sylvanus C. Newman,
Isbon Shearman,	Alanson Holley.

Portsmouth.

Thomas Cory;	Parker Hall, 2d.
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New Shoreham.

Simeon Babcock, jr.	George E. Ely.
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Westerly.

William P. Arnold,	Thomas G. Hazard.
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Charlertown.

Joseph Gavit,	Job Taylor.
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Scituate.

Simon Matheron,	David Phillips, 3d.
	James Yeaw.

Smithfield.

Elisha Smith,	Nath'l Moury,
Wm. B. Taber,	Welcome B. Sayles.

North Providence.

Stephen Whipple,	Robert G. Lewis,
	Alfred Anthony.

Richmond.
 Wells Reynolds, George Niles.
South Kingstown.
 Sylvester Hines, Samuel C. Cottrell.
Exeter.
 George R. Sprague, Cranston Blevin.
Tiverton.
 Charles F. Townsend.
Bristol.
 William Munro, Jeremiah Bosworth.
Warren.
 Elisha G. Smith, J. Woodmaney.
Barrington.
 Nathaniel C. Smith.
Gloucester.
 Jeremiah Shetdon, George H. Brown.
Burrillville.
 Alfred L. Comstock, Esten Angell.
Cranston.
 Ebenezer Burney, Albion N. Olney.
Johnston.
 Ephraim Winsor, Edwin C. Kelly.
Cumberland.
 Nelson Jincks, Columbia Tingley,
 Barton Whipple.
East Greenwich.
 Peleg R. Bennett, Sidney Tillingpast.
West Greenwich.
 Nathan Car, Peter T. Brown.
Coventry.
 George Fairbanks, Israel Johnson.
Foster.
 Obadiah Fenne, Anan Aldrich.

MR. TYLER'S LETTER TO GOVERNOR KING.

WASHINGTON CITY, May 7, 1842.

SIR,—Your letter of the 4th inst., transmitting resolutions of the Legislature of Rhode Island, informing me that there existed in that State "certain lawless assemblages of a portion of the people," for the purpose of subverting the laws and overthrowing the existing government, and calling upon the Executive "forthwith to interpose the power and authority of the United States to suppress such insurrectionary and lawless assemblages, and support the existing government and laws, and protect the State from domestic violence," was handed me yesterday, by Messrs. Randolph and Potter.

I have to inform your Excellency, in reply, that my opinions as to the duties of this Government to protect the State of Rhode Island against domestic violence, remain unchanged. Yet, from information received by the Executive, since your despatches came to hand, I am led to believe that the lawless assemblages to which reference is made, have already dispersed, and that the danger of domestic violence is hourly diminishing, if it has not wholly disappeared. I have with difficulty brought myself at any time to believe, that violence would be resorted to, or an exigency arise, which the unaided power of the State could not meet; especially as I have, from the first, felt persuaded, that your Excellency, as well as others associated with yourself in the administration of

the government, would exhibit a temper of conciliation, as well as of energy and decision. To the insurgents themselves, it ought to be obvious, when the excitement of the moment shall have passed away, that changes achieved by regular, and, if necessary, repeated appeals to the constituted authorities, in a country so much under the influence of public opinion, and by recourse to argument and remonstrance, are more likely to ensure lasting blessings, than those accomplished by violence and bloodshed on one day, and liable to overthrow by similar agents on another.

I freely confess that I should experience great reluctance in employing the military power of this Government against any portion of the people; but, however painful the duty, I have to assure your Excellency, that if resistance is made to the execution of the laws of Rhode Island, by such force as the civil posse shall be unable to overcome, it will be the duty of this Government to enforce the constitutional guarantee—a guarantee given and adopted mutually by all the original States, of which Rhode Island was one, and which, in the same way, has been given and adopted by each of the States since admitted into the Union. And if an exigency of lawless violence shall actually arise, the Executive Government of the United States, on the application of your Excellency, under the authority of the Resolutions of the Legislature already submitted, will stand ready to succour the authorities of the State in their efforts to maintain a due respect for the laws. I sincerely hope, however, that no such exigency may occur, and that every citizen of Rhode Island will manifest his love of peace and good order, by submitting to the laws, and seeking a redress of grievances by other means than intestine commotions.

I tender to your Excellency assurances of my distinguished consideration.

JOHN TYLER.

To the Governor of the State of Rhode Island.

Remarks on the foregoing Letter of John Tyler.

SIR,—Did we not know that you are a man of very general reading, we should suppose that you had never read the Charter granted to a certain Company in Rhode Island by King Charles, under which Charter the people of Rhode Island are governed. It really appears to us, that you have acted in this affair as if Rhode Island was governed under a Constitution in conformity to that of the United States; for you say, "that if resistance is made," &c. "it will be the duty of this Government to enforce the constitutional guarantee." Permit us to ask, do you mean that, by the Constitution of the United States, you, as President, are bound to enforce, at the point of the bayonet, laws made by a chartered Company, and that Charter granted by a foreign Prince?

Allow us to call your attention to that portion of the Constitution of the United States which declares that "The United States shall guarantee

to every State in this Union a Republican form of government." Now, Sir, had Rhode Island been under a Republican government, and there had been a *revolt* against the said government, composed of men *legally elected* agreeably to a written Constitution, no man in his common senses would have doubted your right to *employ the military power to sustain a constitutional State Government*. We would respectfully advise you, Sir, before you again interfere in the internal affairs of Rhode Island, to use the power you possess to "enforce the constitutional guarantee," to give to Rhode Island a Constitution in conformity to that of the United States. When this is done, should the people of said Island *revolt*, and oppose the laws, it will be quite time enough to call them *lawless insurgents*, &c. Whatever views you, Sir, may have entertained, in the course you have recently pursued in relation to Rhode Island, one thing is certain, that you have *overawed* and *defeated* (at least for a time) the people, from adopting a written constitution, agreeable to the wishes of a large majority of the inhabitants of the said State; and that too, in conformity to the one the United States have guarantied to give.

We do not pretend to be prophets, but, if we are not greatly mistaken, should your name be presented again to the American People for their suffrage at the ballot box, they will say, John Tyler, we

REMEMBER RHODE ISLAND!

BURRINGTON ANTHONY'S ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF RHODE ISLAND.

[From the Providence Express.]

To the Public.

The part that I have taken in regard to the suffrage movement, and the relation in which that cause has placed me by its friends, requires from me at this time a brief detail of the late movement of myself. In the first place, I will begin with my mission to Washington with Mr. Pearce, by the appointment of Gov. Dorr. There a great anxiety was expressed by the President and Mr. Webster, that the Rhode Island controversy should be amicably settled; and in furtherance of this object, President Tyler informed us that he intended to write Gov. King a private letter, advising the Governor that some advances must be made to the people—that they had rights which had been disregarded, and that no more arrests ought to be made under the law in relation to "offences against the sovereign power of the State." Mr. Webster on the same day put into my hands a letter to John Whipple, Esq., expressing the same views, and wished me to deliver the same to him as soon as possible. The letter was read to me, though I

am not at liberty to make its contents known to any one. He talked of having a meeting of the friends of both parties in the city of New York, and this was urged upon Mr. Whipple as one of the friends of the Landholders' Government.

I proceeded to Rhode Island with all speed possible, and found that Mr. Whipple was in New York, where I returned and delivered the letter. Mr. Webster was then in New York, and, with Mr. Whipple, I called on him at the Astor House. Mr. Webster then repeated his anxiety to have the controversy settled, and an arrangement was made for an informal meeting to be had, to see what could be done. Mr. Whipple was to meet Messrs. Pearce, Harris and myself at Howard's Hotel, to see what sort of a compromise could be hit upon. We all met for that purpose, and Mr. Pearce proposed that a case might be made to the Supreme Court of the United States, involving the validity of the People's Constitution; that in the mean time all action by the officers under the People's Constitution should be suspended, the Government, however, to be kept alive—and the "act in relation to offences against the sovereign power of the State" was also to be suspended. Each one of both sides at this interview disclaimed any power or authority to enter into any formal arrangement, but if any thing could be mutually agreed upon, they were to apply to the proper powers of their respective parties, to have it consummated. Suffice it to say, that each person of both parties were to confer with their respective friends, and ascertain whether such an arrangement would be generally satisfactory. With this view, we were all to return to Rhode Island, and Mr. Whipple was to go to the Charter Government and its friends, to see if such an arrangement would be accepted, and myself and friends were to see if they approved of such a step. Accordingly, we all (except Gov. Dorr, who stopped at Stonington,) returned to Providence on Sunday morning, either to complete the arrangement or to hear what else could be done for an honorable adjustment of the difficulties that hung over our State. Matters remained between Mr. Whipple and myself as they were then left, until Tuesday afternoon, when I received a note from a friend* that Mr. Whipple wanted to see me at his house as soon as I could come, as he would be at home in half an hour. I started immediately in a carriage, and on the way saw Mr. Harris in the street, and let him know my business, and he accompanied me.

We went to Mr. Whipple's house, and after waiting some little time, Mr. Whipple came in. We then commenced the business of our arrangement, and after talking about ascertaining the facts in the case some time, Mr. Whipple read and delivered to us a paper in these words:—"Memorandum. An action forthwith to be brought in the U. S. Circuit Court, involving the validity of the People's Constitution, to be tried and de-

* This is the note referred to.

"Mr. John Whipple wishes to see you as soon as you can make it convenient at his house. He will be there about half an hour from this time, and will wait for you. I hope some arrangement can be made satisfactory to all parties.

Yours, &c.

PHILIP ALLEN.

"Tuesday afternoon, May 17, 1842.
"To Burrington Anthony, Esq."

cided as soon as possible. *The facts to be first ascertained by a suitable committee chosen by agreement of the parties."*

"Until the final decision of such case, proceedings under the 'act in relation to offences against the sovereign power of the State' to be suspended, exactly in the present state."

"Until such decision, the present government of the State (of which Gov. King is head) to remain in the full exercise of their authority, and the persons claiming to exercise authority under the People's Constitution to omit such exercise altogether."

"Providence, May 17, 1842."

The words in this paper italicised are in the hand writing of Mr. Whipple, and Mr. Whipple told Mr. Harris and myself, that the Governor and his Council would, on the next day, have a meeting of the whole board, when he had no doubt that they would agree to the agreement, and that all arming, &c. ought to cease.

The next morning early, I called on Philip Allen, Esq., and after a brief conversation, he advised me to see Mr. Crawford Allen, which I did accordingly.

In the conversation with Mr. C. Allen, he appeared very anxious that hostilities should cease on both sides. I asked him whether, in that case, there could be any assurances given that Governor Dorr would not be arrested. Mr. Allen replied that he would go and see Mr. Moses B. Ives, and then give me an answer. He accordingly went, and soon returned, and told me that if Governor Dorr would go out of town for a few days, he would not be arrested, and that probably this course, if adopted by Gov. Dorr, would lead to an honorable compromise of the whole matter. This whole interview with both these gentlemen, was owing to what took place the evening before in an interview between them and other gentlemen and Gov. Dorr at my house.

I returned immediately to my house, and soon after Mr. Crawford Allen came. He had a talk with Gov. Dorr, in which he assured him, that if he would leave the State, all difficulties would be amicably adjusted in his opinion. To this Gov. Dorr consented, and he and Mr. C. Allen immediately rode away in a carriage, without saying one word of his intention to any other person in or about the house.

About the time that Mr. C. Allen called on Gov. Dorr, on Wednesday morning, a letter was handed to Gov. Dorr, signed by nearly all the Senators and Representatives in this city, advising him to go out of town, and stating to him that they were about to resign.

Upon these negotiations, understanding and assurance, I went to the entry window up stairs, and addressed the people upon this subject, and upon these grounds, I thought I had a good right to assure them that an honorable compromise would take place—such a one as would preserve their principles.

BURRINGTON ANTHONY.

Having read the statement of facts signed by B. Anthony, Esq., and from my long acquaintance with him, and his character as a gentleman of honor and probity, I have not the least doubt they are correct. I was personally knowing to the fact, that Mr. Dorr was advised to leave the city, for a

few days, on the morning of the 18th inst., and that I believe he left under the assurance that the difficulty would be settled in a way honorable to both parties, and also to prevent a conflict of the parties, which must end in the effusion of blood. As to any of his intentions or movements previous to that time, I have no knowledge.

BENJA. COWELL.

Providence, May 24, 1842.

I have been shown a statement of facts signed by Burrington Anthony, Esq., in explanation of his conduct in the Suffrage movement, and particularly in regard to his conduct on Wednesday last. So far as the statement relates to the part I took in the narrative, he has given the same correctly; and with respect to myself, it will be my duty to the public, as well as myself, to put before them a minute account of what part I acted in those matters.

JOHN S. HARRIS.

Providence, May 24th, 1842.

We, the undersigned, have seen in several newspapers, imputations against the fidelity of B. Anthony, Esq., to the Suffrage cause, and implicating him as treacherous in the proceedings of Wednesday last. It is therefore the duty we owe to him and to the cause to say, that no such charges are, in our opinion, well founded—that his conduct throughout has been true and zealous to the cause; and whatever statements he and Mr. Harris made to the people on that day, were what they honestly believed to be the truth; and that both he and Mr. Harris thought they had good foundation to make such statements, and that those statements in relation to a compromise were in our opinion the main cause of the peaceable dispersion of the armed men who had assembled at the call of Governor Dorr, and thus preventing a sanguinary contest.

JOHN A. HOWLAND,
SAMUEL H. WALES,
FREDERICK L. BECKFORD,
JOHN L. JOHNSON,
WM. H. ALLEN,
WM. J. MILLER.

Providence, May 24, 1842.

THOMAS W. DORR'S ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF RHODE ISLAND.

To the People of Rhode Island :

In presenting to you a brief statement of some of the events of the present week, in which you have felt so deep an interest, I shall perform an act of duty to myself and to the cause of the people of our State.

Upon my return to Providence from the city of New York, on the 16th of May, I was received as the Chief Magistrate elected under the People's Constitution, with the most honorable and gratifying demonstrations of the respect and confidence of my fellow citizens, who assembled in a great concourse to welcome me to the station from which I had been for a few days absent, on a mission to promote their interests in other States, and at the seat of the National Government. Among other demonstrations, not to be mistaken, on this occasion, was the presence of a military force of nearly 400 men, in a respectable state of

discipline, and whose port and spirit indicated to all observers that they were ready, in the last resort, to sustain the People's Constitution, and the Government duly elected under it, by all necessary means. At the close of the ceremonies of the day, the great assemblage of citizens was addressed by me concerning the position of affairs, and the duties which the present exigency might demand. When I repeated the well known declaration under which we had so long acted—"The People are sovereign—their Constitution is adopted and shall be maintained"—the universal enthusiastic response, with one heart and voice, that it shall be maintained, seemed to be the pledge of final success to the People's cause.

When the military were dismissed, thirty men remained at the house of B. Anthony, my head quarters, as a guard against any inroad on the part of our opponents, which might be directed by the Charter government, and to communicate the necessary summons for further aid, as occasion should require.

The omission to occupy the State House in Providence, and other State property, on the day of the first session of the General Assembly, was regarded by many, both at home and abroad, in a very different light from an act of moderation, as it was, prompted by a desire to avoid unnecessary collision; and it seemed to them to indicate, on the part of the Constitutionalists, a want of the confidence necessary to carry into operation the government which they had established. It is well known to many of you, that a difference of opinion occurred at the inauguration of the government, on the 3d of May, as to the propriety of immediately taking possession of the public property. I expressed the opinion that the time had arrived to do so, and that such a step would prevent difficulty, and the use of greater force at a later period. A decisive action like this was deemed premature, and I yielded to the wishes of my associates.* They however passed a resolution, requiring all persons having charge or possession of any public property, to deliver it to the officers severally authorized to receive it. This resolution was proclaimed by me, and it was a part of my obligation to enforce it equally with the other laws of the State.

The point of time seemed now to have arrived, at which the general expectation required, that some action should take place to vindicate the rightful authority of the People's Government. On the 12th day of May, four days previous, one of the largest mass meetings ever held in the city had assembled at Providence, and had resolved, without a dissenting voice, that no farther arrests should be permitted under the law of pains and penalties of the Charter Government. The same determination to repel force by force was expressed in the proclamation issued by me on the 16th inst. The requisition to surrender the public property had not been complied with. The powers vested in me by the Constitution to reclaim

this property had not yet been exercised. Complaints were made at the delay; and farther, the Chief Magistrate of the State was a prisoner in the hands of his friends, requiring a constant military protection for his personal security against the violence of the opposing party. This state of things could not longer continue. Further delay on the part of the government had become incompatible with respect for itself, and I felt myself obliged to appeal to the power of the State, to give to its government an existence in fact as well as in right.

On the 17th of May, a direction was issued to the military of several of the towns in the county of Providence to repair forthwith to the headquarters, and to await further orders. In the evening of that day a council of military officers was held, to whom a plan of operation was submitted, and whose advice was freely asked and received. There was no difference of opinion among them as to the necessity of immediate action; but some question arose as to the point at which it should be commenced. On a view of all circumstances, the arsenal in Providence seemed to be the position to which our attention should first be directed; and I decided accordingly. A delay till past midnight occurred in waiting for the arrival of the military from the country towns; and in this time some of the city volunteers had retired.

It was not until an early hour on Wednesday morning that the force assembled, consisting of 250 men of all arms, was put in motion. At the meeting of officers, I was requested to remain at headquarters; but I deemed it my duty to direct the operations in person; and accompanied our men on foot to the field. On the line of march, and when the lateness of the hour did not admit of any further delay, I was informed that only two of the four pieces of artillery ordered by me for the service, had been brought forward, one of the heaviest pieces having been left behind. On reaching the ground, a demand was made through an officer, for the surrender of the arsenal, which was answered in the negative. Great difficulty and delay occurred in bringing the guns into the positions designated for them, in consequence of a dense fog, in which we were enveloped, and which prevented the discernment of objects beyond a short distance. The arrangement of placing the pieces at distant points from each other, was changed in consequence; and they were brought into position at a point northeast from the building, and within close range of its artillery. In the mean time, the companies composing our force had become separated and partly disorganized. In consequence of the confusion thus occasioned, the transmission of orders was interrupted, and I had to regret the early absence of one or more officers from the field, whose presence was of importance to the execution of the plan proposed. I was under the necessity of traversing the field to endeavor to bring the companies into their position, and to restore them to their proper order, with partial success. An ineffectual attempt was made to fire the pieces of artillery, which were flashed only. They were properly loaded and served for the occasion by men of undoubted bravery and competency. Such a failure was a matter of surprise to all. I have since been informed that the guns, after the return to headquarters, were found to be plugged with wood and

* There was the grand mistake. Had Governor Dorr's advice been taken, no doubt but in less than twenty-four hours after, the arsenal and all the public property belonging to the State would have been under the control of a *Republican form of Government*, and one that neither John Tyler nor the subjects of King Charles would have dared to meddle with.—Ems. D. G.

iron; by whom, it is not known,—certainly not by any one in charge of them.

Daylight was now approaching, to disclose the scattered condition of the men; and, upon the suggestion of the officers, who deemed it improper to press the attempt further at present, an order was given to withdraw the guns, with the understanding that the attempt would be renewed under more favorable circumstances. This was demanded by the officers and men, who were brave and true, but wanted only a more thorough organization. The greater part of the men separated for the present, on leaving the field; the remainder accompanied me to head-quarters.

Information was soon received that an attack upon us was projected, and would be attempted early in the forenoon. No time was lost by me in making all the preparations to meet it effectually. Several gentlemen of known experience accepted appointments for the time to aid in the defence. The officers were directed to place their men in the proper stations to protect the artillery; and six guns, the agreed signal for a rally at head-quarters, were fired at seven o'clock. The failure of the attempt upon the Arsenal was a cause of momentary discouragement; but our men at head-quarters soon recovered from it, and I had no doubt that, upon the re-assembling of their companions by the signal guns, such an attack would be prevented, or that a successful resistance would be made to all the forces that could be brought against our position. But, contrary to my expectations, a few only of our friends, in the course of the hour ensuing, responded to the call which had been made upon them.

A principal cause of their absence, was, as it afterwards appeared, the publication of a handbill, bearing the names of two Senators, and of nine Representatives of the city of Providence, (all who had not before resigned,) in which they resigned their offices, protested against the employment of force by the President against the people, and also condemned my proceedings as "deplorable" and "destructive to the cause in which we have been engaged." This handbill was widely circulated among our friends throughout the city. It was headed "Resignation of *all* the officers under the People's Constitution." The course which the signers had seen fit to adopt was made known to me at 8 o'clock, in a letter written by Col. Samuel H. Wales, dated May 18th, 1842, and signed by him and by Eli Brown, William Coleman, F. L. Beckford, and John A. Howland, all signers of the handbill. They stated that the Senators and Representatives had determined to resign instantly, that they disapproved of my proceedings, and that their men would not act against their own citizens.

The difficulty of my position was also increased by the general circulation of a report, originating as I supposed with our opponents, that all controversies had been settled by a compromise honorable to both parties, for which there was no foundation in fact. Some of the friends of the People's Constitution were deceived by it, and aided in extending it. It is hardly necessary for me to repeat, that I have neither made nor attempted to make a compromise of your Constitution, or of your rights. I had neither the ability, from the power conferred on me, nor the disposition, to make such a compromise. Without claiming for

the People's Constitution any exemption from the defects which belong to all human institutions, I have steadily kept in view the great principle of American Democracy involved in this case—the right of the majority of the whole people to change their form of government, without the permission or consent of existing authorities. If this principle fail now, I am not the author of the sacrifice.

You will readily appreciate the painful responsibility which rested upon me, at the point of time which I have mentioned, of deciding the course which duty required of me.

I had endeavored to bear up with a becoming spirit against all the power and influence of our opponents; but our movements were now paralysed by our friends, most of whom, six days before, had united in the solemn determination of the mass meeting, to which I have alluded, to defend their Chief Magistrate at all events. Some of them disapproved the military operation proposed on Tuesday evening; but the first information of an open opposition and general resignation was received by me, as already stated, on Wednesday morning. To this I must add that, before the receipt of Col. Wales' letter, Mr. Anthony requested me not to make his house the scene of a hostile encounter.

Nearly one hour and a half had now elapsed from the firing of the signal guns, and our ranks had been increased by but few additions from the city or country. About 60 men of all arms, including the artillerists, as nearly as I could ascertain, were now at the head-quarters. That those who remained would have sacrificed their lives to a man for my protection, I did not doubt, and their subsequent conduct fully confirmed their sincerity. I cannot express the feelings of grateful obligation which I entertain towards these brave and noble men. They could not have been mastered by their opponents without great destruction of life; and they would have fallen in the end before a superior force of 500 strong. I deemed it my duty, under all the circumstances, not to ask this sacrifice at their hands. I called to me the Colonel in command, and communicated to him the state of affairs. His reply was, "the men are leaving us." I directed him to fall back with his command, or to give such other order as circumstances might require. At half past 8 o'clock, and with a regret for which there are no words, I withdrew from the head-quarters to the town of Cumberland. Of the subsequent events you are well informed.

To the assurance that I have never compromised your rights, and have returned to friends and opponents a uniform reply, adverse to the abandonment of the principles of popular sovereignty and of equal rights involved in the support of your Constitution, allow me to add, that I have never compromised my own right to serve your cause. Having sincerely devoted to that cause all the abilities I possess, and having in your service sustained the loss of all things but honor, I may safely commit to you, fellow citizens, my vindication from all unjust or ungenerous imputations, either upon my motives or conduct.

I cannot conclude this communication without reminding you, that your Constitution, being founded in right and justice, cannot be overthrown by a *failure* of arms, or by the resignation of those

elected to offices under it; and that the duty to maintain it has not been affected by recent events.

I have addressed to you nothing in the spirit of accusation or of censure; and my sole object has been to place before you the facts which have occurred, that they may receive the impartial judgment of my fellow citizens, and of all who have expressed an interest in the cause and the rights of the people of Rhode Island.

THOMAS W. DORR.

May 21st, 1842.

ADDITIONAL.

Since my communication of May 21, a paper has been handed to me, containing a letter of Burrington Anthony, in which he explains the part he has taken in the affairs of the Constitutionals of Rhode Island. I greatly regret the necessity of entering into a controversy upon these subjects, especially with one to whose kindness I am so much indebted, and who has rendered services to the cause of the people of Rhode Island, which are justly appreciated. But some parts of his letter, relating to proposed compromises, are unjust to me, and require to be noticed.

Messrs. Pearce and Anthony were appointed by me, under the authority of the Legislature, to proceed to Washington, to represent our cause. They were vested with no authority to compromise the Constitution. Their interviews and conversations with different persons during their absence are published as related to me by them. When they left New York, it appeared to me that there was little hope of an amicable adjustment of affairs, except through the friendly mediation of other States. The duties of these gentlemen ceased on their return to Rhode Island. The further proceedings of Mr. Anthony, after his return, were upon his own responsibility. He repeated to me several propositions made by him, or to him, at the meetings which he held with several of our opponents. Other gentlemen of our party mentioned to me propositions which had occurred to them, or had been suggested to them from the other side,—some less exceptionable than others, but all involving the surrender of our Constitution. To all these individuals I have always returned the reply, that such a surrender could not be made, and that I could not be a party to it if contemplated.

Being engaged, on Tuesday the 17th, in the preparations for the intended movement, my attention was diverted from the proceedings of Mr. Anthony and others, relating to any compromise. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon of that day, Mr. Anthony addressed a company of more than 100 persons, near his house, to the effect that the proposed military movement in the evening was unnecessary, as a compromise would probably be effected. Hearing his remarks, I at once asked them, in his presence, if he were attempting to countermand the orders which had been given?

He excused himself: and I then briefly addressed those who were present, and informed them that I knew of no such compromise, and called upon them to remain true to their Constitution.

In the evening Philip Allen and Crawford Allen, both near relations, called upon me on the

subject of the existing difficulties. Mr. P. Allen called first, and endeavored to prevent the employment of force, as contemplated, to take possession of the public property. Mr. C. Allen called afterward, at a late hour, and offered several plans for adjusting the controversy between the two parties. Every one of them appearing to involve the surrender of the Constitution, I replied to him that they were inadmissible.

In the morning Mr. C. Allen called upon me again, after the arrangements for defence had been made by me, and our affairs had assumed the appearance which I have described in my former communication. He stated that he had come as a friend and relative, to offer me a conveyance from our head-quarters, should I determine to retire. He came without my request or knowledge of his intentions. He stated, in the hearing of Mr. Anthony and others, that he believed that the Charter Government entertained pacific intentions, and would not farther harass the officers of the People's Government; but he added that he spoke for himself, and not by authority. I recollect no mention by him of any compromise at this time. No importance was attached by me to this statement, relative to the disposition of the Charter Government. I have already explained the grounds of my determination to retire. The conveyance offered to me was accepted, because a friend at North Providence, also a devoted friend of the People's cause, who had made a similar previous offer, had not returned. From the manner in which these facts are stated in Mr. Anthony's letter, many may be led to infer motives and conduct on my part of which I am incapable. I have made no compromise of the rights of others, or of my own.

THOMAS W. DORR.

May 26th, 1842.

To show the sentiments and feelings entertained by the Democracy of the United States for the Free Suffrage cause in Rhode Island, selections are given from various Democratic Publications, accompanied with observations by the Editors of this Journal.—To enable our readers to understand the feelings entertained by the Democracy of the United States for the people of Rhode Island, who are battling for their Equal Rights and Privileges, we have given selections from a few (out of hundreds) Democratic papers. It may appear somewhat singular, but it is a fact, we have not seen a Federal Whig print, or heard from the lips of a Modern Whig, a sentence in favor of the people's cause in Rhode Island; on the contrary, all are deadly opposed to the people for asserting their rights and endeavoring to capsize the *King Charles Company*. We did not expect any other course to be pursued by the wealthy and well-born portion of the Federal Whigs and their hireling Editors, but we confess our surprise to find that portion of the producing and working class

attached to the Modern Whig party following their leaders in their opposition to the people of Rhode Island, who are struggling for self government and equal rights, as set forth in the Declaration of Independence. We are almost inclined to believe that the mass of those people who oppose the Free Suffrage Party in Rhode Island, cannot have read that portion of the Declaration of Independence we particularly refer to, or if they have, it must be obliterated from their memory: but be that as it may, for the benefit of all we insert, as follows, that portion of it immediately under consideration:—

“We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government.”

How forcibly does the above extract apply to the Rhode Island case! But, notwithstanding, we are perfectly aware that the *well-born clan* will treat it with contempt, or put an *erroneous construction* to the intent and meaning of the same. We, of course, naturally expect this from that portion of the community who condemn the framers of the Constitution of the United States, because they did not make a *strong government*, after the Federal plan of Hamilton and others; and one, too, that would have destroyed free suffrage, &c. That our readers may not misunderstand us on this subject, we respectfully refer them to two articles published in the first number

of this Journal, page 18, entitled “Friends of Equal Rights and the privileges of self-government,”—see article entitled “Col. Hamilton, of strong government memory,” page 32. In the two articles just mentioned, it will be seen there is abundance of evidence to substantiate what we have said about the views of the Federalists from their own mouths or pens.

MEN CHANGE—PRINCIPLES NEVER.

We have been forcibly reminded of the truth of the above words, by the recent transactions in Rhode Island. But sound principles in the end will prevail, whether men change or not. Truth will triumph, if some of those who profess to be its advocates prove faithless. The sword of justice may fall from the hand of the recreant traitor, and the progress of liberal principles be stayed for a while, but we would say to all such:

“Another hand thy sword shall wield,
Another hand the standard wave,
Till from the trumpet's mouth is pealed
The blast of triumph o'er thy grave.”

We have looked upon the struggle which has been going on in Rhode Island for the establishment of a constitutional government, recognizing and securing equal rights to the people, with no ordinary degree of interest; and we never doubted for a moment the triumph of the people in establishing a constitutional form of government in the late struggle for that purpose—for we had confidence in the people. Still, for the present, however, it cannot be disguised, the constitutional party have *failed*. It is mortifying to say so. It is humbling to the pride of any man who has a deep faith in humanity, to know that a cause, as just as ever engaged the attention of men, and which did receive the sanction of a majority of the people of a State, should fail for the want of sufficient moral courage, firmness, patriotism, fidelity in the men who had taken the lead, to advance and establish it. But, thank God, the *PRINCIPLES* for which the people of Rhode Island contended, remain. The resignation of every member of the new legislature, and every officer under the Constitution—aye, the admission of every man who voted for that Constitution that he was a traitor or insane, cannot change or alter in the least the great principles for which they professed an attachment, and which we, at least, believed them to possess sufficient honesty and courage to establish.

We intend to talk plain. That nearly 14,000 people of Rhode Island, who voted to annul the Royal Charter, and establish a Constitution, were either right or wrong in so doing. If right, they ought to have supported that Constitution; if wrong, confessed their error and abandoned it. We believe they were right—that they took the only course they could take—precisely the same course that other people, similarly situated, have taken to accomplish the same or similar objects—and they doubtless think so too. Why did they not, then, support the Constitution of their choice? Was the adoption of a Constitution a mere *farce* to be enacted before the people of the United States by the people of Rhode Island? Men

would not be worthy of a free government, who could be guilty of such conduct.

But the people of Rhode Island went further than this. They chose State officers, representatives and senators, and men accepted those offices, and entered upon the duties. And was *this* all a farce too? Were those men, who accepted the offices, mere *players*,

"To play fantastic tricks before high Heaven,"

and make great professions of attachment to principles, and fidelity to the people, and then come out and declare to the world, over their own names, the part they had *played*? and say, like boys, they were only "*make-believe*" senators, representatives, &c.?

What did the people want of a Constitution, if it was not to be carried into effect? What of legislators, and State officers, if they were to do nothing, but swagger a while and then flee from the State, or resign their offices, or turn traitors? If the people of Rhode Island can look upon those men who, when they were wanted to stand in the breach, threw up their commissions and deserted their posts, with any other feelings than those of contempt and scorn, we confess they are disposed to look upon them somewhat more favorably than we are.

There has been, and we feel as if it should be plainly stated, a wonderful falling off on the part of most of the leaders of the Constitutional party. Some have undoubtedly been true, (and among whom we believe Gov. Dorr, but in this opinion we may be mistaken, as affairs have taken such a turn in Rhode Island, that we know not that there can be any faith put in any thing but the *royal charter*;) but they are so few that it would be more easy to point out the faithless than the faithful. The *Arnolds* are more plenty than the *De Wolfs*.

But we take no pleasure in indulging in remarks of this character. We feel, however, that the truth should be spoken in regard to the manner in which the struggle in Rhode Island for constitutional liberty has been conducted, and by whom a favorable termination has been delayed, but not entirely defeated. But in taking this view of the case there is still one hope left. Men may change, but principles remain the same for ever. The principles for which the constitutional party contended will yet triumph, even in Rhode Island.

The landed aristocracy in Rhode Island, and their supporters in other States, may jeer those men who are not willing to be slaves, and treat with contumely and derision those who desire to see the principles of democracy prevail throughout the Union, and glory in the apparent defeat of liberty in that State; but we tell them their day of exultation is short; what is now to them their glory, will be, before many years have rolled away, their shame; for the faithful historian will award them a place with the Tories of the revolution, and the enemies of liberty every where; and posterity will confirm the decision.

Let not, then, the friends of liberty in Rhode Island and the Union, despair. Nay, let them not give way for a moment to the idea that the cause of equal rights is to be finally stayed by the turn that things have taken in the land of Roger Williams. The check which the constitutional party has received, will but strengthen the tree of lib-

erty, which will, in good time, raise its trunk to heaven, spread out its branches for the security of the people, and, firmly rooted in the affections of freemen, defy the assaults of the enemies of freedom every where.—*Bay State Democrat*.

THE RHODE ISLAND QUESTION.

A Plain Statement.

Facts with regard to the troubles in Rhode Island, which are submitted to candid men of all parties.

The free suffrage Constitution was adopted by a greater majority than has ever been given in any State in the greatest political excitement. The vote in favor of the Constitution amounted to more than 59 per cent. of all the citizens of the United States dwelling in Rhode Island, of the age of 21 years and upwards, and was nearly 13 per cent. of the whole population. The greatest vote given for Harrison in proportion to the population was in Kentucky, and was less than 10 per cent., and the vote by which he was elected was less than 8½ per cent. of the population of the United States.

But, say the advocates of the constitution framed by those who claim to be the proprietors of the State under King Charles' charter, why not take the Constitution offered to you by those proprietors? To which the people answer that,

We cannot consent to receive as a favor, what we may justly demand as our right. Having framed in convention, and ratified in our primary assemblies, a constitution, after the approved and successful forms adopted by the other States of the confederacy, we could not if we would, and we would not if we could, annul this constitution, in order to have it replaced by one that is in every way inferior to it. And to prove that the objections to the constitution framed by King Charles' charter men, are well founded, it is only necessary to quote some of its provisions; none of which are to be found in the people's constitution:

1. It makes a distinction between freeholders and other citizens—between native and naturalized citizens—between the present freeholders and those who may hereafter become freeholders, and between the eldest sons of the present freeholders and the eldest sons of future freeholders.

2. It gives the legislature jurisdiction in judicial matters which properly belong to the courts of law, such as new trials, insolvent petitions, divorces, sales of real estate, &c.

3. It divides the Senate unequally, so that the electors of less than one-third of the population can return a majority of the Senate, and gives to 2,835 inhabitants in the 9th district, equal power with 11,586 in the 3d district.

4. It gives to less than three-tenths of the population of the State a majority of three in the House of Representatives, consisting of 77 members. It gives an equal number of representatives, namely, two each, to a town with 365 inhabitants and to a town with 3,717 inhabitants; and to 2,728 inhabitants, it gives as many representatives as to 23,171.

5. Though the inequality of the population of the towns in this State is very great—the smallest containing only 365 inhabitants, and the largest upwards of 23,000; yet they are divided into only four classes of representatives. The first class

requires from 183 to 1859 inhabitants to elect a representative; the 2d requires from 1364 to 1742; the 3d, from 1682 to 2384; and the 4th requires 2897.

Contrast this with the Constitution adopted by the people:

1. A majority of the electors is required to elect a majority of the Senate.

2. The towns for representation are divided into 6 classes. In the 1st class it requires from 365 to 891 inhabitants to elect a representative; in the 2d, from 462 to 1859; in the 3d, from 1364 to 1742; in the 4th, 1682; in the 5th, 1667 to 1907; and in the 6th, 2000.

3. All citizens of the United States having a residence of one year in the State and six months in the town where they claim to vote, are entitled to vote in the choice of all officers of the State and of the United States.

4. It separates the Executive, Legislative and Judiciary departments.

5. It provides against the establishment of corporations, unless by a majority of two-thirds of the General Assembly, and against the establishment of banks, unless approved by the people; and it requires that all charters shall be subject to amendment and repeal.

6. It exempts from the payment of a poll tax all who actually perform duty in the militia and in fire companies.

7. It secures the right to vote by ballot.

8. It provides that no man's property shall be taken from him for public uses before compensation, if required, shall have been made.

9. It prohibits the enactment of retrospective laws, as well civil as criminal.

10. It makes the jury in all criminal trials judges of the law as well as of the facts.

11. It protects witnesses from being questioned for their religious opinions before the legislature or the court of law.

Is it not incredible that so admirable a constitution should meet with such furious opposition, and that the people who are about to put it in operation should be threatened with imprisonment and even death? Can it be possible that the President of the United States will dare to attempt to put down the supporters of this constitution by military force! And if he should dare thus to attempt to crush the rights of the people, will not little Rhody find sympathy and support, encouragement and protection, in the good yeomen of the other States of New England?—*ib.*

FEDERAL WHIG SYMPATHY FOR THE PEOPLE OF RHODE ISLAND.

Atrocious Sentiment.—The Ohio State Journal, published at Columbus, in speaking of the efforts of the people of Rhode Island to obtain a republican form of government, makes the following infamous remark:

“UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, HOWEVER, IT WOULD BE GOOD POLICY TO HANG ABOUT A DOZEN OF THE MOST OFFICIOUS AND HARDENED OF THE OFFENDERS, AS A WARNING TO ROGUES OF THEIR STAMP THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. If the laws are not to be respected, or may be set at defiance by any who choose, provided it be done under some plausible

pretext, it is time we knew the fact, so that we might conduct ourselves accordingly.”

James Watson Webb, of the *Courier and Enquirer*, the purchased hireling of the U. S. Bank; the man whose craven villany was the primary cause of the murder of Cilley, speaks of the honest people of Rhode Island as follows:

“The authorities of that gallant State will never surrender to a LAWLESS MOB; and if the *disorganizers* should dare to interfere, then we hope to learn of their being shot down like so many *midnight assassins*. They should be dispersed with as little ceremony, and fired upon with as little pity as any other band of murderous outlaws.”

The ruffian who recommends to shoot them down like “midnight assassins,” would tremble to stand in the presence of a patriot who dares to oppose the tyranny of the party that purchased and have so long held the degraded paltrone of the *Courier and Enquirer* in subjection.—*American Manufacturer.*

Extract from the *Globe* on the Rhode Island Affair.

If, however, it shall turn out that the expectation of obtaining free and equal suffrage—the essence of a Republican Government—is defeated, we must look upon this result as brought about by the unconstitutional, if not wicked, interference of the General Government. The Suffrage Party had proceeded peacefully to form a constitution, peacefully to adopt it by a large majority of the people, and were peacefully proceeding to put it in operation. Suddenly the landholders start up, denounce them as usurpers, threaten them with the fate of traitors if they do not desist, and call upon the President to sustain them with the army of the United States. That functionary replies, that no case exists which will justify his ordering the army to slay the people; but, nevertheless, he proceeds to decide what will be a case when it is made out, and promises his assistance when it should occur. Thus he gratuitously decided a point before it was presented for his consideration; threw the weight of the General Government into the scale of the minority; and, to give it the more effect, put some hundreds of soldiers in motion towards Rhode Island, a part of whom entered the State, and were supplied with ball cartridges in sight of the people. On being informed that the officers of the new Government were peacefully elected and peacefully installed into office, he still avowed his purpose to sustain, by the military power of the Union, as the Government of the State, the Government abolished by the people; and even denounced as “insurgents” the men who had thus peacefully effected a change in the form of their Government.

Thus, by threatening the people of a little State with military coercion, has the Administration of the General Government subverted and repudiated the very first, the most precious principle embraced in the Declaration of Independence—a right inalienable, and, if not eternal, as lasting as the race of man:—we mean the *right of the people* (always meaning a majority of the people) *to change their form of Government in any way, and at any time they may think proper, with or*

without the authority or consent of the men in power, where the majority have not previously agreed upon a mode of effecting the change. We sympathise with the patriots of Rhode Island, and advise them to be of good cheer. Not a hair of their heads will their adversaries dare to hurt. They will get all they have demanded; and as to the principle, it still exists, and, if necessary, will be re-assented under better auspices. Borne down to day, it will prevail to-morrow.

"Truth, crushed to earth, will rise again;

The eternal days of God are hers."

We hope the American people will be once more warned of the danger of a standing army by this occurrence. The freemen of each State may, in turn, be awed into a relinquishment of their rights by threats of military coercion from a weak or wicked administration; or, if they dare assert them in defiance of usurpation and threats, be shot down in their own fields and at their own firesides.

Let there be no further increase of the army or navy. We see now to what uses they may be applied. It was rumored, a few days ago, that the steamer Missouri was destined for Rhode Island, to aid the United States land forces. When asked to increase the army or navy, except in time of war, or in the most imminent danger of war, every true patriot should REMEMBER RHODE ISLAND. And when any of those who have aided in, or approved of, this outrage upon the inalienable rights of the people, shall ask for the renewal or bestowment of political power, let the language of indignant freemen be—REMEMBER RHODE ISLAND!

THE INSTINCT OF FEDERALISM.

The course of the Federal papers, upon the Rhode Island controversy, discloses the inherent animosity of the party, now, as formerly, to popular rights. The aristocrats of Rhode Island, with their property qualification, meet with the congenial sympathy and support of the Whigs. All this is as might be anticipated. On the other hand, the Democratic party, as reflected through its editorial representatives, is moving with equal unanimity in support of the suffrage Constitution lately adopted by a large majority of the adult voters.

The flimsy pretext upon which the popular Constitution is opposed, is its want of legal validity, in the circumstance that the ordinary Legislature of the State did not give the people *permission*! to elect the Convention which framed that instrument. The force of this consideration will be better appreciated some years hence in *Western Virginia*, when a demand for like authority to amend our own Constitution will probably be refused to the bitter end. In such an event—not at all improbable—we should like to know what will become of this notion, that the Legislative discretion is paramount to the sovereign determination of the people themselves? This ridiculous and most stupid idea, that an ordinary Legislature can *forever*, by its obstinacy and self-will, intercept the attempts of the proper authority to establish or amend at pleasure the fundamental law, is too gross for serious refutation. It is most particularly inapposite, when applied to the existing facts and circumstances

which attend the controversy in Rhode Island. The Charter of Charles II.—the only relic of royalty which survived the Revolution, and under which the people of the State have been living for many years with great dissatisfaction—that instrument contains no provision by which itself could be superseded, and a substitute of popular creation adopted. By what authority, it may then well be inquired, has the *Charter* party! of Rhode Island framed a *new Constitution*? They too, forsooth, must be revolutionists, since the countenance of their primordial law (the Royal Grant!) is withheld in that self-same moment. The truth is, that all this grannysm about supplicating the State Assembly from *year to year*, to allow the people to form a Government for themselves, must be abandoned as childish—fit only for the subjects of an "omnipotent Parliament," and a truckling, subdued populace.—*Banner, Abingdon, Va.*

RHODE ISLAND.

The contest, it appears, is over, and matters have been subjected to an amicable understanding, if not a positive agreement, between the leading men on both sides. Dorr, and some other of the leading men among the suffrage party, have retired into the country, and some of the volunteer companies have surrendered their arms; while the Chartists, on the other hand, have formally declared their assent that a new Convention be held, the members of which shall be voted for by all adult citizens within the State, who would be entitled to vote under the people's Constitution, for the purpose of forming a new Constitution, one of the features of which will be the extension of the right of suffrage. Thus the war, we hope, is over, and freedom has gained by the contest. Aristocracy may fancy that it has triumphed, because the people have shown a forbearance and a desire to preserve peace, which only shows them to have been still more deserving of the rights which they claimed; but we hope they will have learned a lesson from it, and that they will be more careful how they place themselves in a similar position again, and run the risk of exposing themselves to the stern indignation of public sentiment throughout the whole country, by attempting to trample upon popular rights within their own immediate section. If, however, the army of the United States is to be but an instrument in the hands of the President for controlling public sentiment, by anticipating what those who violate the rights of the people may call insurrection, and trampling under foot the very principles upon which the foundation of all our republics rests, we shall be henceforward still more opposed to any increase of that strong arm of the Executive, during a time of peace.—*Montgomery Advertiser, Alabama.*

A "*Treasonable Minded Mob*."—This is the term applied by the federal paper of this village to a political party in Rhode Island. It may be asked, who compose this treasonable minded mob, at whom the editor turns up his aristocratic nose, and of what have they been guilty to merit such an epithet? This mob is composed of a large majority of the people of Rhode Island, the same class which in this State are allowed to vote for

every officer elected under our constitution. Just such a mob as that, seventy years ago, set in motion the revolution which separated the U. States from Great Britain, the example and influence of which has delivered nearly a whole continent from European domination. Just such a 'treasonable minded mob' met in this State about that time, in defiance of the 'constituted authority,' and formed a constitution, not quite as liberal, it is true, as the one under which we now live, but securing to the people many valuable rights, which are denied to the people of Rhode Island by their "true and legal government." The people of these states then received the same opprobrious epithets from the tories of that day, which the people of Rhode Island receive now from the tory party of the present time, and from the tory print in this village.

The tory paper says this treasonable minded mob are at issue with the 'constituted authority.' The constituted authority, truly! Who constituted that authority? The people of Rhode Island? No; the people had no voice in that matter. Even the landholders, who enjoy such exclusive privileges under that government, and with whom are all the sympathies of the tory editor, had not a syllable to say in its formation. But they received it, as so many slaves, as a boon from their gracious sovereign, Charles II. of England.

Our Declaration of Independence says, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of life, liberty, or the pursuit of happiness, it is the right of *the people* to alter or abolish it. If it is admitted that this is sound doctrine, and we presume it will not be denied, then how shall the people proceed to avail themselves of this right? By petitioning that government to alter or abolish itself? The people of Rhode Island have tried that method for years, but to no purpose. No notice was taken of their petitions or complaints, until the landholders and their legislature found that the people could be trifled with no longer; that they would frame for themselves, what was bought by the blood of their fathers, and guarantied by the constitution of the United States—a republican form of government. The landholders then endeavored to make a merit of what they saw no way longer to avoid—and called a convention to frame a constitution, which met and drew up an instrument which they called a constitution, not such an one, however, as the people had determined to have, and which was accordingly rejected.—*Democrat and Balance, Lockport.*

From Gov. Hubbard's Message to the Legislature of New Hampshire.

"There has been of late in one of the States of the Union, a controversy of a most extraordinary character—a controversy involving the grave question of the right of the people to self-government—a right well protected "by universal suffrage and equal legislation." No question of so serious importance has for many years occupied the attention of the American people, as that now agitated in the State of Rhode Island. Governed by a charter granted at a time when popular rights were not acknowledged to exist—possessing a small territory and scanty population, the people of the State have, until the present time, delayed taking that step, which the other States of the

Union deemed of paramount importance, that of adopting a written Constitution, recognizing certain principles and clearly defining the powers of the various departments of Government. Why it is not as competent for the people of Rhode Island at the present time, to adopt a written Constitution as it was for the people of New Hampshire in 1792, no friend of popular rights is able to understand. As an independent State of this Union, New Hampshire cannot fail to regard with deep solicitude every movement, come from whatever quarter it may, tending to abridge the sovereignty of the people—to bring their political influence within the control of exclusive privileges. Living as we do under a constitution, the deliberate choice of the people, and appreciating the blessing of political and individual independence which spring from it, our warmest sympathies must be excited for those who are struggling for the same advantages. Their cause must in the end prevail, and our earnest prayer must be that these great blessings may be obtained at the smallest sacrifice of internal peace and private happiness."

Observations accompanied with a few Extracts from Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry.—We have

now presented to our readers what we conceive to be a pretty correct view of the political history and recent events in Rhode Island, between a large majority of the people, who wish to be free and live under an independent Constitution, on the one part—and the King Charles Chartered Company, backed by "Captain Tyler," with a *military force*, on the other part.

For the especial benefit of the people of Rhode Island, we respectfully present to them a few extracts from Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry, and hope they may profit by them. "On the 20th day of May, 1775, a Convention of Delegates from the several counties in Virginia met at Richmond, for the purpose of devising some plan to get redress from the British Government of certain grievances the country then labored under." Many of the Delegates were planters and men of wealth, and, like the *King Charles Chartered Company* of Rhode Island, did not wish to have any measures adopted calculated to displease their King, or strip them of the power they then held; they therefore urged that a *humble and submissive memorial* should again be presented to the throne, to grant to the subjects of Virginia their humble requests, &c.

"These proceedings were not adapted to the taste of Mr. Henry; on the contrary, they were 'gall and wormwood' to him. The house required to be wrought up to a bolder tone. He rose, therefore, and moved the following:

"Resolved, therefore, *That this colony be immediately put into a state of defence, and that there shall be a committee to prepare a plan for embodying, arming, and disciplining such a number of men as may be sufficient for that purpose.*"

"The alarm which such a proposition must have given to those who had contemplated no resistance of a character more serious than petition."

"The shock was painful. It was almost general."

"They urged the late gracious reception of the congressional petition by the throne. They insisted that national equity, and much more filial respect, demanded the exercise of a more dignified patience."

"Not so Mr. Henry. His was a spirit fitted to raise the whirlwind, as well as to ride in and direct it. His was that comprehensive view, that unerring prescience, that perfect command over the actions of men, which qualified him not merely to guide, but almost to create the destinies of nations."

"He rose at this time with a majesty unusual to him in an exordium, and with all that self-possession by which he was so invariably distinguished. 'This,' said he, 'was no time for ecremony. The question before the house was one of awful moment to this country. For his own part, he considered it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery. And in proportion to the magnitude of the subject ought to be the freedom of the debate. It was only in this way that they could hope to arrive at truth, and fulfil the great responsibility which they held to God and their country. Should he keep back his opinions at such a time, through fear of giving offence, he should consider himself as guilty of treason toward his country, and of an act of disloyalty toward the majesty of Heaven, which he revered above all earthly kings.'

"Mr. President," said he, 'it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth—and listen to the song of that syren, till she transforms us into beasts. Is this,' he asked, 'the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Were we disposed to be of the number of those who, having eyes, see not, and having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation? For his part, whatever anguish of spirit it might cost, he was willing to know the whole truth; to know the worst, and to provide for it.'

"He had," he said, 'but one lamp by which his feet were guided; and that was the lamp of experience. He knew of no way of judging of the future but by the past.'

"We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we resort to entreaty and humble supplication? What terms shall we find, which have not been already exhausted? Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer. Sir, we have done every thing that could be done, to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned—we have remonstrated—we have supplicated.'

"Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded.'

"In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. *There is no longer any room for hope.* If we wish to be free—if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so

long contending—if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon, until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained—we must fight!! I repeat it, sir, we must fight!! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us!

"Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God!—I know not what course others may take; but as for me," cried he, with both his arms extended aloft, his brows knit, every feature marked with the resolute purpose of his soul, and his voice swelled to its boldest note of exclamation—"give me liberty, or give me death!"

"He took his seat. No murmur of applause was heard. The effect was too deep. After the trance of a moment, several members started from their seats. The cry, 'to arms,' seemed to quiver on every lip and gleam from every eye!"

"That supernatural voice still sounded in their ears, and shivered along their arteries. They heard in every pause the cry of liberty or death."

[From the Buffalo Economist.]

COL. BOUCK.

The Cayuga Patriot and the Utica Democrat have for some time been carrying on a discussion in regard to the claims of Col. Bouck to be the Democratic Candidate for Governor at the next fall election, which is exciting a considerable degree of interest.

No doubt can exist but it is the bounden duty of the Democratic party in the present momentous crisis of affairs, as they value the great principles for which they have so long contended, and as they hope to secure their permanent triumph and rescue the State from the melancholy condition to which it has been reduced by the effects of whig folly and misrule; to exercise the utmost caution in their selection of a candidate to fill the Executive Chair, and to give their support to none in regard to whose opinions on those grand points of State policy, there rests a shadow of doubt, and for this reason we are glad to perceive the Democratic press engaging in a spirit of the utmost candor and forbearance, in the discussion of the claims of the many proud and honored names in the Democratic ranks to the highest office in the gift of the People of the State. Let the whole truth be elicited, and let a candidate be selected who will carry out to the very letter the principles so dear to the heart of every Democrat. Col. Bouck possesses a strong hold on the Democracy of this State. He was almost unanimously nominated as the Democratic candidate for Governor in 1840, and his name was a tower of strength to the Democratic cause. His popularity is shown by the large vote cast for him at that election, and he was ahead of his ticket in almost every county of the State. He is a veteran Democrat, and his name is connected with the most trying conflicts of the Democracy in by-gone days. He has been the friend of Tompkins, the supporter of Jackson, and the co-laborer of Martin Van Buren in the Senate of this State. He has been proscribed by the whigs, and been the object of their most virulent abuse for a long series of years. No doubt has ever been whispered respecting his integrity,

and he has been the disbursing of millions of the public moneys without a dollar sticking to his hands. Again he stood forward as the candidate of the Democratic party in the trying struggle of 1840, and the Democracy cannot now in their season of prosperity cast him off without weighty reasons. These are certainly great claims on the Democratic party for a nomination as their candidate. They are not probably possessed in an equal degree by any other in their ranks.

But the *Utica Democrat* nevertheless brings against him a grave charge, which must be refuted ere Col. Bouck can receive the hearty and cordial support of the Democracy of this State. The *Democrat* says that "it has learned from various sources that the views and opinions of Col. Bouck in reference to our financial and internal improvement policy, differ from the policy of the Republican majority in the Legislature, and that adopted by the State officers, and the canal board." Such adverse sentiments as these, by whomsoever entertained, can receive no countenance or support from the Democrats of the State of New York. The last Legislature took a high and noble stand upon the question of internal improvements and a State debt, and their course has been most triumphantly sustained by the people. To this policy we must adhere as the sheet anchor of our hopes, and the least departure from it would give public confidence a most fatal shock, and destroy our most cheering prospect of success, and at the same time be a most shameful betrayal of the grand principles of our political faith.

Remarks.—In our last number we published an article embodying our honest views of the political character of Col. Bouck, which we then believed, and still believe to be correct. We have reason to believe that the language of the *Utica Democrat*, noticed in the foregoing article, was occasioned by the statements made by us. But for this fact, we should probably have taken the advice of several Democratic Editors, and declined agitating the subject further until nearer the time appointed for holding the State Convention. But "circumstances alter cases;" and under such circumstances as exist in this case, we deem it our imperative duty to say a few words in reply to the *Democrat*, (not only in reference to the above remarks, but also in relation to an article which appeared in that paper a short time back,) in justice both to Col. Bouck and ourselves. Our opinion of his merits was based on the legislative records, public documents, his replies to numerous letters and inquiries in 1840, personal intercourse with his intimate friends, and his undisguised political life of more than 30 years.

Our article in relation to Col. Bouck has been favorably noticed by many of our contemporaries, and by none has it been treated harshly, unless the remark will apply to the *Utica Democrat*.

The Editor of that paper seems to doubt the correctness of some suggestions we made in regard to Col. Bouck's opinion of public measures, and more than intimates, that between him and the other members of the Canal Board with whom he was associated, there were differences of opinion, of a character material and essential. Who framed the various reports signed by the Canal Board while Col. Bouck was a member, or what were the individual opinions of its members on particular topics, we have not the means of knowing, nor should we deem it decorous to inquire. The Canal Board, at the period to which we refer, acted in concert on general politics; and, as we have always understood, in mutual confidence on public matters: and it cannot be either necessary or useful at this time to inquire after the opinions of individual members.

As Col. Bouck stands a prominent candidate for nomination, nothing can be more proper than that his opinions on important public measures should be freely given for the honest purposes of any of his political friends; and from the well-known character of Col. Bouck for frankness and fair dealing, we doubt not but he would reply readily to inquiries made by his political friends.

We would suggest for the consideration of our friend, the Editor of the *Utica Democrat*, whether it would not be more proper to make a direct inquiry of Col. Bouck, than to hazard assumptions that may do him injustice. The Editor should consider that he is speaking of one who has identified himself with the Republican Party by the *active, efficient* service of his whole political life.

An inference might be drawn from the language of the *Democrat*, that we were unfriendly to Messrs. Flagg and Dix. Such an impression, if entertained, is entirely erroneous. If any allusions we made to the public acts of Col. Bouck, apply with equal and greater force to those gentlemen, we certainly shall feel gratified. We yield to no one in admiration of those faithful public servants and efficient champions of democratic principles.

That Col. Bouck's views are sound upon the subjects of finance and currency—that he is not one of those doubtful characters called Bank Democrats, may be inferred, not only from his whole political course and his repeated declarations, both written and verbal, but also from the

fact, that, although one of the most prominent men in the State, for thirty years a leading politician, yet he never procured a bank to be chartered in his own county. No doubt he might have done this, and placed himself at the head of a bank that would have enriched him and strengthened his influence, but he abstained from thus using his advantages, and Schoharie is one of the few counties in the State free from the curse of a chartered bank.

We cannot close without remarking that the views of the Buffalo Economist, quoted at the head of this article, coincide not only with our own, but, as we firmly believe, with the sentiments of a very large majority of the Democracy of the State at the present time. Never, it seems to us, did public opinion more distinctly point to its candidate; and we have too much confidence in our political friends, to believe that the demands of justice, and of the popular voice, will be thwarted at the State Convention, by intrigues or by any unworthy departure from the true Democratic principle, and the golden rule of doing unto others as, in like circumstances, we should wish to be done by.

Two Letters from General Jackson—one to a Committee of Gentlemen inviting him to visit the Capitol of Ohio, and the other to the Hon. L. F. Linn, in relation to the fine imposed on the old Hero of New Orleans; accompanied by a few Observations.—We never take up our pen to write the name of Andrew Jackson, but we feel veneration and gratitude for the old "Military Chieftain," for the many valuable services he has rendered to our country, both in the field and in the councils of the nation. He not only battled and defeated the common enemy in the field, but a host of domestic foes, backed by the moneyed aristocracy of England and America, by refusing to give his signature to recharter the late United States Bank. We are informed that General Jackson said on this memorable occasion, "Were I to sign that bill, I should be aiding to destroy the liberties of my country, and rendering the people little better than the serfs of Russia; and rather than I would do this, I would prefer loosing my right hand."

If we look at the present members of Congress, we shall find all of them that voted against re-funding General Jackson's fine are Federal

Whigs, and who will never forgive him for *vetoing their idol*. We cannot, in the course of nature, expect the aged Warrior and Statesman to remain long on this side the grave; yet we trust that he will be spared until we have a Democratic Congress that will do justice to him, and a large majority of the American people, who are anxious to have the fine imposed on General Jackson at New Orleans, *erased*, or black lines drawn around every book or public document where a record of the said fine may be found. We respectfully say to the people, rally at every coming election for members of Congress, and cast your votes in the ballot box for none but men who will pledge themselves to use all possible exertions to have the fine that was imposed on the Hero of New Orleans *cancelled*.

—
HERMITAGE, March 14, 1842.

DEAR SIR: I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th of February last, and hasten to reply to it.

Having observed in the newspapers that you had given notice of your intention to introduce a bill to refund to me the fine (principal and interest) imposed by Judge Hall, for the declaration of martial law at New Orleans, it was my determination to address you on the subject; but the feeble state of my health has heretofore prevented it. I felt that it was my duty to thank you for this disinterested and voluntary act of justice to my character, and to assure you that it places me under obligations which I shall always acknowledge with gratitude.

It is not the amount of the fine that is important to me; but it is the fact that it was imposed for reasons which were not well founded; and for the exercise of an authority which was necessary to the successful defence of New Orleans; and without which, it must be now obvious to all the world, the British would have been in possession, at the close of the war, of that great emporium of the west. In this point of view, it seems to me that the country is interested in the passage of the bill; for exigencies like those which existed at New Orleans may again arise; and a commanding general ought not to be deterred from taking the necessary responsibility by the reflection that it is in the power of a vindictive judge to impair his private fortune, and place a stain upon his character which cannot be removed. I would be the last man on earth to do any act which would invalidate the principle that the military should always be subjected to the civil power; but I contend that at New Orleans no measure was taken by me which was at war with this principle, or which, if properly understood, was not necessary to preserve it.

When I declared martial law, Judge Hall was in the city; and he visited me often, when the propriety of its declaration was discussed, and was recommended by the leading and patriotic citizens. Judging from his actions, he appeared

to approve it. The morning the order was issued, he was in my office; and when it was read, he was heard to exclaim, "*Now the country may be saved: without it, it was lost.*" How he came afterwards to unite with the treacherous and disaffected, and, by the exercise of his power, endeavor to paralyze my exertions, it is not necessary here to explain. It was enough for me to know, that if I was excusable in the declaration of martial law in order to defend the city when the enemy were besieging it, it was my right to continue it until all danger was over. For full information on this part of the subject, I refer you to my defence under Judge Hall's rule for me to appear and show cause why an attachment should not issue for a contempt of court. This defence is in the appendix to "Eaton's Life of Jackson."

There is no truth in the rumor which you notice, that the fine he imposed was paid by others. Every cent of it was paid by myself. When the sentence was pronounced, Mr. Abner L. Duncan, (who had been one of my aids-de-camp, and was one of my counsel,) hearing me request Major Reed to repair to my quarters and bring the sum—not intending to leave the room until the fine was paid—asked the clerk if he would take his check. The clerk replied in the affirmative, and Mr. Duncan gave the check. I then directed my aid to proceed forthwith, get the money, and meet Mr. Duncan's check at the bank and take it up; which was done. These are the facts; and Major Davezac, now in the Assembly of New York, can verify them.

It is true, as I was informed, that the ladies did raise the amount to pay the fine and costs; but when I heard of it, I advised them to apply it to the relief of the widows and orphans that had been made so by those who had fallen in defence of the country. It was so applied, as I had every reason to believe; but Major Davezac can tell you more particularly what was done with it.

Connected with the history of this case, I would give some interesting facts, showing the motives and feelings of Judge Hall; but I am too feeble to write, and I have no disposition now to revive charges which can have no effect upon the judgment which posterity will form from the records. Although the Judge violated my orders, and fled from the defence of the city, and, in his proceedings against me for contempt, committed blunders which were extraordinary, if not criminal, it was not in my nature to brood over them after the brilliant close of the campaign; and, hearing afterwards that he manifested contrition and repentance, I cheerfully forgave him.

The Judge's character, however, should be out of the question in this case; or, at least, I have no desire to assail it. The great point is this: Ought not Congress to interpose and return a fine imposed, as mine was, for the performance of an act which was indispensable to the safety of the country? And if not, will not the precedent prejudice the public interest in a similar emergency, should one arise? Can it be expected that a general will take a high and necessary responsibility for the safety of his country, if he is insulted, fined, or imprisoned by a mistaken or vindictive judge, whose fiat, under an erroneous view of what is due to the forms of law, cannot be changed by legislative power?

Thanking you again, Sir, for your generous sympathies, I remain, your friend,

ANDREW JACKSON.

Hon. L. F. LINN.

HERMITAGE, May 11, 1842.

GENTLEMEN:

I have received your letter on behalf of the democracy of Columbus and its vicinity, inviting me to visit the capitol of Ohio. Nothing could be more gratifying to my feelings than the acceptance of this invitation, on the occasion and under the circumstances referred to in your letter, but the state of my health is such as to deprive me of this pleasure.

I pray you to assure the democracy of Columbus and its vicinity, that I appreciate as I ought their patriotic exertions to re-establish the true principles of the Constitution, and trust that the day is not distant which is to witness the consummation of their wishes. To have had their support in the struggle which it was my lot to have with the bank of the United States, and to possess their unqualified assurance that my conduct during that eventful period commands their approbation, is an honor which far more than compensates me for the sacrifices I had to make at the time.

Accept for yourselves, gentlemen, and be pleased to convey to my democratic friends, this imperfect expression of my gratitude for their kindness, and my deep regret that I cannot shake them by the hand once more, and rejoice with them at the evidence which every day is affording of the advance of democratic principles.

I have the honor to be,

With great respect,

Your obedient servant,

ANDREW JACKSON.

Messrs. Samuel Medary and others, Committee.

Items.—Those who wish to know what they are will of course read them.—Under the head of "The Signs of Political Affairs," &c., in our last number, page 220, we gave an outline of the course the Clay and Tyler Parties do, and will continue to pursue, to gain the next Presidency; to which article the reader is referred. So far we see our predictions are going on. Clay men are removed from public offices, and *seceders* from our own ranks put in their places. No doubt the "god-like" Daniel and his master, "Captain Tyler," think they will make much political capital by this course. Be that as it may, from what has come to our knowledge so far, we do not believe that those persons immediately under consideration can carry with them to the polls more than their own *rotten votes*; but as there is no knowing what *intrigue*, management, &c., may do, we therefore would strongly advise the defenders of real Democracy not to be lead astray by the tricks of either Clay or Tyler *Federal Whigs*, but view both, politically speaking, as *snakes in the grass*. Do this, and you will be sure to *avoid* the *snares* laid to *entrap* you.

The Clay and Home League Party being so well stocked with presses, probably little addition will be made in that way to prop up their "rotten pillars;" but we understand that other *powerful arrangements* are in progress to catch the people.

With respect to John Tyler and his *portion* of the Federal Whigs, &c., we learn that *meetings* are to be called over the country, and the calls so worded as to have the *appearance of real old Democratic meetings*; and that men in *high and low stations* of life will be called to address said meetings. Great exertions will be made to get the Democracy to attend those meetings. *Friends of real Democracy*, permit us to say to you, do not be *gulled* by persons that may have either a *direct or indirect interest* in said meetings, or by those who may be *hired to cater* for them, but treat all such as you would a man that is about to rob you.

We are informed that *Tyler presses* are to be established over the country; two or three of which are to be located in this city, under the direction of certain *Officers of Justice, Law departments, Post Office, Custom House, &c.*—These papers, we are told, are not to come out on their *first appearance, whole hog Tyler*, but *manœuvre* until they get the *weather gage of their prey*, then bring out their *big guns* to bear alike on the Clay and Van Buren men. This, we have the best reasons for believing, is the course the Tyler presses are intending to pursue in commencing their *pilgrimage*.

In addition to what we have already said in relation to the Tyler presses, we understand that there are *two presses* in this city, with their Editors, either of which may be purchased to *join the Tyler standard* for less than \$52,000. We shall continue to watch the movements of both these Clay and Tyler Federal Whigs, and, as far as we can, let our readers know the game they are playing.

Six distinguished Democratic Gentlemen are named as Candidates for the next Presidency.

We learn from our exchange papers and other sources, that six distinguished Democratic gentlemen are named as candidates for the Presidency of the United States, viz: Martin Van Buren, John C. Calhoun, Senator Benton, Senator Wright, Senator Buchanan, and Col. Richd. M. Johnson;* all well known to the Democracy of our country. It is natural that the friends of each of the above-named gentlemen should press the claims of each for the Presidency in a forcible manner, but we think it unwise to call State Conventions for the purpose of nominating a candidate for the Presi-

dency in 1844 at the present time. We take this occasion to make a few remarks. In our last number we gave an outline of the course the Clay and Tyler parties of the Federal Whigs were pursuing to divide the Democratic Party, and the endeavors of each to fill their ranks by *enlistments and desertions* from ours. *Late events* have verified our predictions. Under those circumstances, we trust the Democracy of the country will see the necessity and importance of taking measures to meet Harry of the West and "Captain Tyler" on the threshold. For this purpose, we would respectfully suggest to the Democracy of the United States the propriety of calling an early convention, to nominate candidates for President and Vice President; particularly so, as we understand that the Tyler portion of the Federal Whigs, with their *new allies from the Democratic ranks, Conservatives, &c.*, intimate that the Old Democratic Party will be *broken up*, and that Tyler will be the only candidate that will oppose Harry of the West. That we may be better understood, we refer the reader to the article preceding this, also the one in our last number, "The Signs of Political Affairs," &c., page 220.

P. S.—Since writing the foregoing, we have been told that Daniel Webster is to run for the Vice Presidency with John Tyler. This *bargain* it is said will secure to them four Eastern States, viz: Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut,—and, probably, Maine and New Hampshire.

Sympathy for Rhode Island.—Some of the organs and supporters of the Rhode Island Aristocracy, are punishing the people of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia with severe denunciations, for expressing their sympathies for the struggling people of that State. But they misrepresent the character and objects of the movements of the citizens of those places. Nothing was farther from their intention or wishes than an interference with the civil or governmental affairs of Rhode Island. All they did was to proclaim their belief in the right of the people to substitute a republican form of government, if they chose, for one of an aristocratic origin and character, and to secure to all equal immunities in the capacity of citizenship; and to declare their disbelief in the right of the General Government to interfere in the domestic affairs of an independent State, and their determination to resist any such interference when undertaken. This they had a perfect and legitimate right to do, and had the occasion occurred, it would have been seen that the demonstration was not a mere empty profession.—*Troy Budget*.

Symptoms of Insanity.—His High Mightiness, acting Governor King of Rhode Island, making requisition on the Governors of the other States to deliver up Thomas W. Dorr, the legal chief magistrate of Rhode Island.—*Bay State Dem.*

* Although we have inserted the name of Col. Johnson last on the list of Candidates for the Presidency, yet he is by no means the last of our choice.

THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC GUIDE.



THE blessings of Government, like the dews of Heaven, should be dispensed alike on high and low, the rich and the poor.

The privilege of self-government is one which the people will never be permitted to enjoy unmolested. Power and wealth are continually stealing from the many to the few.

JACKSON.

WILLIAM LEGGETT.

VOL. I.

JULY, 1842.

No. IX.

Continuation from page 200, of the analysis of the political portion of Mr. Jefferson's Works.

Birth day Celebrations.

"Disapproving myself," says Mr. Jefferson, "of transferring the honors and veneration for the great birth day of our republic, to any individual or of dividing them with individuals, I have declined letting my birth day be known and have engaged my family not to communicate it.

I am not reconciled to the idea of a Chief Magistrate parading himself through the several states as an object of public gaze and in quest of applause, which, to be valuable, should be purely voluntary. I had rather acquire silent good will by the faithful discharge of my duties, than owe expressions of it to my putting myself in the way of receiving them.

A United States Bank dangerous to the national government.—General tendency of monied monopolies. and Sub Treasury system.

"I deem no government safe," says Mr. Jefferson, "which is under the vassalage of any self constituted authorities or any other authority than that of the nation or its regular functionaries. What an obstruction could this bank of the United States, with all its branch banks, be in time of war? It might dictate to us the peace we should accept, or withdraw its aids. It is the great duty we owe to the safety of our constitution, to bring this powerful enemy to a perfect subordination under its authorities. *Could we not make a beginning towards an independent use of our own money, towards holding our own bank in all the deposits where it is received and letting the Treasurer give his draft or note, for payment at any particular place, which in a well conducted government, ought to have as much cred-*

*it as a private draft, or a bank note or bill, and would give us the same facilities which are derived from the banks.**

Such was the language of Mr. Jefferson, in 1803, in relation to the United States bank. It was reserved for General Jackson, to witness the fulfilment of the prediction and to crush the power of a monied monster—that dared to set at defiance the authority of the government to rob the fatherless and the widow—to destroy our credit with nations—to place a *fictitious* value on property of every description and finally by the *sudden* curtailment of its loans and *political* accommodations, to aid in producing a state of suffering and bankruptcy—before unknown in our country. For this just exercise of the veto power, what epithets have not been bestowed on the hero of New Orleans? Where now are the Federal whigs who assailed this just measure—who were willing to surrender *all*, to preserve British influence in our funds, and to lend their means and support to preserve from public exposure, the political gamblers, who basked in the sunshine of this monied monopolist? They are scarcely to be found, not only are corresponding motives to those espoused by General Jackson, to be found in the above extracts from the writings of Jefferson—but the foundation of a *Sub Treasury system*, similar to that recommended by Mr. Van Bu-

* In republishing President Tyler's letter to his Virginia friends, page 57 of this Journal, we suggested the propriety of Congress remodelling the sub-treasury so as to give drafts &c., on the plan recommended by Mr. Jefferson.

ren and repealed by the Federal whigs, occupied the mind of the great statesman.*]

With a political keenness and sagacity, which have few equals, perhaps no superiors, he foresaw that the banking system would in the end, produce that ruin—which is now the theme of universal reprobation and our universal misery.

Means of providing for the exigencies of War.—

Specie and paper money.

"We are," says Mr. Jefferson, "an agricultural nation.—Such an one employs its sparings in the purchase or improvement of land or stocks. The lendable money among them, is chiefly that of orphans and wards, in the hands of executors and guardians, and that which the farmer lays by until he has enough for the purchase in view. In such a nation there is one and *only one* resource for loans sufficient to carry them through the expenses of a war. The fund I mean is the *mass of the circulating coin*. Every one knows, although not literally, it is nearly true, that *every paper dollar emitted, banishes a silver one from circulation*. A nation therefore, making its purchases and payments in paper, thrusts an equal sum in coin out of circulation."

This Mr. Jefferson contends, and the fact is too palpable to be denied, is equal to borrowing that sum and yet the lender receiving his money, in a medium as effectual as coin for his purchases and payments, has no claim to interest, and so says Mr. Jefferson, "a nation may continue to issue its bills as far as its wants require and the limits of its circulation will admit. But this, the only resource which the government could command with certainty, the states have unfortunately fooled away, nay corruptly alienated to swindlers and shavers, under the name of *private banks*."

To remedy this *real depreciation* in the value of property, under the semblance of increasing prosperity; Mr. Jefferson advises that *treasury notes* should be issued, on a tax appropriated for their redemption in fifteen years, bearing an interest of six per cent. He contends there is no one who would not take such bills in preference to those of private banks. The principle here sought to be established, is too simple to admit of a doubt—that the property of a nation, pledged for the payment of its debts—paying at the same time an interest of six per cent. per annum, on its borrowings, does not offer a surer guarantee for the most minute performance of its pecuniary contracts, than does a chartered company, acting under a license, obtained from a state legislature; perhaps at the sacrifice of a *bonus*, equivalent to the speculative and gambling desires of its members, is one of those propositions too plain to be rejected, even by those unacquainted with the

principles which regulate monied exchanges. It was for the support of such a measure—for its successful attainment—for the political and moral courage which defended and dictated its adoption, that Martin Van Buren was denounced by the whigs in the presidential contest with General Harrison—It was for this honest political measure, that every political engine was brought to bear against him in that contest—that the ruin of his country was laid upon his shoulders, by the Federal whigs—that victory declared for his opponents—and that the *repeal* of this great political measure followed the immediate introduction of the Federal cabinet. We have lived to see the consequences of this repeal—to sigh for the great results promised by the Federal whigs, as a natural consequence following its rejection—to mourn over the ruins of a bankrupt government and a *beggared* population. We were promised by the Federal whigs a sound currency and national prosperity. Is the soundness of the currency to be found in the enormous discounts on our southern and western paper? Is the national prosperity to be sought, or rather *found*, in the universality of that ruin which has swept like a whirlwind, the fortunes of our fellow citizens from the Atlantic to the Pacific—which has paralyzed the efforts of a people proverbial for their enterprise—benumbed their energies—and almost destroyed the wish to offer an opposition to the political measures which have desolated their habitations. Let every democratic reader of the "Guide" ask and answer this question, for himself.

Are we to have no banks?

"But it will be asked," says Mr. Jefferson, "are we to have no banks! Are merchants to be deprived of the benefits which such monied accommodations give to them? I answer, let us have banks: but let them be such as alone are to be found in any country on earth, save Great Britain. Let those who have monied capital among us and who prefer employing it in banks rather than otherwise, set up banks and give *cash* or *national* bills for the notes they discount. Private fortunes are now at the mercy of *private banks*. He who lent his money to an individual, before the institution of the United States bank, when wheat sold at a dollar per bushel and receives now his *nominal* sum, when it sells *two* dollars, is cheated of half his fortune: and by whom? By the banks, which, since that, have thrown into circulation ten dollars of their nominal value, where there was one at that time."

We refer the readers of the "Guide" to the subjoined extract of Mr. Jefferson on national exchanges and the medium in which those exchanges should be made; they may there see at one view the wide contrast between a real and a fictitious circulating medium—between a *nominal* high price for all articles produced by the mechan-

* If our readers will refer to page 41—number two of this journal, they will then find the principles and items of Mr. Van Buren's sub-treasury bill corresponding precisely to the views entertained by Mr. Jefferson.

ic or agriculturalist and a *real* equivalent for the same.

"To trade on equal terms, the common measure of value should be as nearly as possible, on a par with that of its corresponding nations, whose medium is in a sound state: that is to say, not in an accidental excess or deficiency. Now one of the great advantages of a *specie* currency, is, that being of universal value, it will keep itself at a general level. whereas, if the medium, as paper, be at a *local* value; if too *little*, gold and silver will flow in to supply the deficiency; but if too *much*, it accumulates—banishes the gold and silver and depreciates itself; that is to say, its proportion to the annual produce of industry being raised, more of it is required to represent any particular article of produce than in other countries."

Domestic commerce and its circulating medium of exchange.

On this subject our author thus writes, there is indeed, a convenience in paper: its easy transmission from one place to another. But this may be supplied by bills of exchange so as to prevent any displacement of actual coin. Two places trading together balance their dealings, generally, by their mutual supplies and the debtor, individuals of either, may, instead of cash, remit the bills of those who are *creditors* in the same dealings; or obtain them from a third place with which both have dealings. The cases would be rare, where such bills could not be obtained and too unimportant to the nation, to overweigh the train of evils flowing from a paper circulation.

"Redemption of bank notes—available only to few."

"It is said our paper is as good as silver," says Mr. Jefferson, "because at the banks we may have silver for it. This is not true. One two or three persons might have it; but a general application would exhaust the vaults and leave a ruinous proportion of their paper in its intrinsic worthless form. Distance likewise puts it out of the power of those in the country, to apply for it, and while these calls are impracticable for the country, the banks have no fears from the cities and towns—because the inhabitants are mostly on the bank books—and these only on sufferance and good behavior."

Is not this the language of truth? Does any one believe that all our banks could redeem their circulation, if called upon to do so;—if demanded *separately*, one institution might assist the other and thus, as in the case of the banks a few years since, meet the emergency—but let a simultaneous demand be made on *all* of them for specie and their doors would soon be closed or their vaults emptied. They exist by sufferance and fear. Sufferance, in as much as they are found fitting supports for fictitious commercial credit:—fear, from the fact that they make their *supporters* their *creditors* and hold their private fortunes in the balance against their opposition. But to the laborious and producing classes they offer no ad-

vantages—they depreciate the *real value* of their labor—under a currency that bears on its *face* and there only, a nominal increase.

Increase of Banking capital from 1803.

Mr. Jefferson in a letter to his friend Mr. Eppes, dated November 6th, 1813, says, on the subject of the alarming increase of banking capital and its influence on our commercial foreign exchanges, in 1803, there were thirty-four banks, the united capitals of which were \$23,902,00.

In 1804, there were thirty-six, the united capitals of which were \$19,200,00.

Shewing an increase in banks and a decrease in actual money of \$ 9,702,00, in one year. We know, continues Mr. J. (in 1813) how these banking institutions have since multiplied. Their capital now exceeds *one hundred and fifty millions*, on which they are at liberty to circulate *TREBLE* the amount. If the sage of Monticello is correct in his estimate and of that fact none, but Federal whigs, will doubt, there were in circulation, in 1813, one hundred and fifty millions of floating notes *irredeemable*—for which no capital was provided. Let us for a moment, suppose that by any sudden reverses in the money market these monied monopolies failed, that the withdrawal of *foreign* capital from their vaults in case of war, or from other causes, compelled them to close their doors and declare themselves bankrupt. Not only would their *promises to pay* on the actual amount of issues provided for by their capital be diminished, probably one half, but one hundred and fifty millions would be *worthless*.

"In 1807," says Mr. J., "the bank of England had in circulation *twelve millions* of pounds sterling. In 1812, it had increased to *forty-two millions*, or to one hundred and eighty-nine millions of dollars, on a population double to that of ours. But Great Britain continues Mr. J., is extensively commercial. Our own country extensively agricultural and needing therefore less circulating medium, because the produce of the husbandman comes but once a year and then partly consumed at home and partly exchanged for barter. The dollar, which was of four and sixpence sterling, was in 1812, declared to be worth six and ninepence, a depreciation of exactly fifty per cent."

The average price of wheat on the continent of Europe, at the period alluded to by Mr. Jefferson, was a french crown, of one hundred and ten cents, the bushel. In our own country it was one hundred cents. We could consequently compete with England, in the sale of wheat and flour, on the European continent. In 1813, the price had doubled in England and more than doubled with us. It had risen with every new bank, and says Mr. Jefferson, "it is evident that were a general peace to ensue to-morrow, we could not afford to raise wheat for much less than two dollars per bushel, while the continent of Europe, having no

paper circulation and that of its specie being augmented, would raise it at the ordinary price of one hundred and ten cents the bushel." Such are the blessings of our banking institutions: they, virtually, close the ports of Europe against us in almost the only article in which, from our abundant agricultural resources, we could successfully, compete with them. If we reflect on the increase of banks since 1813, the mind can scarcely calculate the immense increase of similar results to those above enumerated.

Increase of Bank issues—Suspension—and actual public loss.

In 1813, Mr. Jefferson informs us, the country was called on to add ninety millions more to the circulation. Two hundred millions was the limit of all the paper emissions of the old congress, when their bills ceased to circulate. In the year above named, we had a corresponding amount. "Our depreciation is now, says Mr. Jefferson, about *two for one*. Nothing is necessary to stop the circulation, but a general alarm and that may take place whenever the public shall reflect on the impossibility of the banks repaying this sum." Let us suppose the panic to arise when three hundred millions shall be in circulation. Nobody dreams that the banks would be able to redeem that sum, to the holders of their notes, or even to pay sixty-six and two third millions; which amount the law obliges them to repay. "What then is to become of the holders of such a currency—to what quarter are the deluded mechanics and producers to fly for their *two hundred and thirty-four millions of dollars*, earned by the sweat of their brows—by the practical duties of abstinence of economy—under the most rigid frugality? They may quietly lock up in their drawers, these *promises to pay* and weep over their blind infatuation. In the struggle for the wreck, deposited in these chartered monopolies, the *cities* will, of course, get the greater share—the country, scarcely any thing. We have been above alluding to the money market in 1813. What must it be—what *is it*, in 1842? Mechanic, producer, merchant, you can answer the question. You cannot recall the *past*, but you have in your hands a remedy against the future: look to your state legislatures—determine by the ballot box—whether you will elect to your state governments, men who will be governed by *interested* motives—who will barter your rights for *special* privileges or those who will only look to the *general* good of the country and dare to withstand the encroachments of monied monopolies, on the prosperity and happiness of your country. We make the appeal to you in the language of a suffering com-

munity—we look for the response to it in the energies of a great democracy.

Is it obligatory on one generation to pay the debts contracted by another? National debts and their redemption.

We can add nothing to the simple eloquence with which Mr. Jefferson argues the above question—he has left us nothing to add to the forcible argument which he brings forward in support of this position; We shall therefore quote his own words.

"Suppose," says he, "the annual births in the state of New York to be 23,994; the whole number, according to the tables of Buffen, will be six hundred and seventeen thousand, seven hundred and three, of all ages. Of these, there would constantly be 269,296 *minors* and 348,417 adults, of which last, 174,209 will be a majority. Suppose that majority, (he is now speaking of 1813) on the first day of the year 1794 had borrowed a sum of money equal to the fee simple value of the state, and consumed it in eating, drinking and making merry in their day; within eighteen years and eight months, one half of the adult citizens are dead. Till then, being the majority, they might rightfully levy on their fellow citizens, and themselves, the interest of the debt, annually. But at that period, a *new* majority have come into place, in their own right and not under the rights, the condition or laws of their predecessors. Are they bound to consider the debt as their own, the preceding generation having eaten and drank it up: to believe they are bound to pay for that which has been consumed by others—to acknowledge the debt, to consider the preceding generation as having had a right to eat up the whole soil of their country in the course of a life—to alienate it from them; and would they think themselves either legally or morally bound to give up their country and emigrate to another for subsistence? Every one will say no; that the soil is the gift of God to the living, as much as to the departed generation, and that the laws of nature impart no obligation to them to pay the debt. Had this natural principle been carried, as it ought to have been, into political effect, England would have been placed under the happy disability of waging eternal war and of contracting her thousand millions of public debt. Let us rally this principle and prepare for the payment of our national and state debts, by a tax, within the limits of nineteen years: let no loan be accomplished without a tax being levied for its payment within such a period."

No comment can add to the sterling value of such a proposition as the above. Let the projectors of internal improvements, particularly in our state, learn from the lessons of political wisdom.

"Paper emissions of the old congress and those which have since been circulated by private banking institutions."

When I speak," says Mr. Jefferson, "of the paper emissions of the old congress and the present banks, let it not be imagined that I cover them under one mantle. The object of the former was a holy one; for if ever there was a holy war, it was that which saved our liberties and gave us

independence. The object of the latter, to enrich swindlers at the expense of the honest and industrious part of the nation."

We now conclude our analysis of the political writings of the venerable framer of the declaration of independence. The circumscribed limits allowed in our periodical, has necessarily excluded much that is valuable in morals, science and art. We earnestly commend the perusal of the writings of Jefferson to every lover of his country—to every friend to liberty—every enemy to tyranny—every lover of pure morality and every friend to science or art. It has been our province only to present to the readers of the Democratic Guide, those political maxims equally valuable in the present period, as in the day and generation of the great apostle of liberty from whom they emanated—to present them as a beacon light, on which the children of liberty might gaze with admiration and the disciples of aristocratic tyranny, with horror and dismay.

SPEECH of Mr. Fernando Wood, of New York, on the Navy Appropriation Bill, delivered in the House of Representatives, Friday, May 20, 1842.

THE NAVY AND THE ADMINISTRATION.

Much has been said and written lately, about the refusal of Congress to appropriate all asked of it for the Navy, by the Secretary of that department. Much wholesome denunciation has been spent by the public prints upon those members who refused their assent. For our part, we wish that the present Congress had no other sins to answer for than this. If in all else it had kept faith with the people, and acted with a patriotic zeal for the interests of the republic, we should feel very much inclined to forgive it for this act. We would not only forgive, but commend it for having done good service. We have long been convinced that a time of general embarrassment and national poverty like the present, it was unwise and impolitic in Mr. Upshur to recommend the very large increase of the Navy he has. Congress would have been highly censurable, had it granted the amount asked of it. Mr. Wood in his admirable speech, which we annex fully shews this fact. He shows instead of reducing the Navy, as is charged against those who voted for a less sum than the Secretary desired, they were in favor of granting as much as the highest of Mr. Van Buren's years.

We bespeak from our readers an attentive perusal of the speech. If Mr. W. had needed anything additional to establish him as a man of sound abilities and patriotic spirit, we think this effort has accomplished it, and that too by a working man.

Speech.—The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill making appropriations for the naval service for the year 1842—

Mr. WOOD rose and addressed it, in substance, as follows:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The committee will remember that, on yesterday, the House resolved, on motion of the honorable chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, to take this bill out of committee, and close debate thereon, on Monday next at one o'clock. The committee will also remember that, though it has been before us longer than a week, and though it contains twenty-nine sections, and proposes an appropriation of nearly eight millions of dollars, we have not as yet closed the debate upon the first section. In pursuance of the resolution adopted by the House, but two days remain to discuss the twenty-eight sections not approached. I submit it to gentlemen, whether it is possible to do justice to the examination which these numerous details, not yet reached, require, within so short a period. For myself, I cannot vote understandingly upon them, with the little information now before me. Without reasons more cogent than any thus far offered, my vote shall be found recorded in the negative. I have listened attentively to the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, [Mr. WISE,] and to the gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. CUSHING] who appears as first lord of the admiralty; and I respectfully deny that either, with all his ability and ingenuity, has adduced arguments sufficiently exculpatory of the largeness and extravagance of this appropriation.

Declamation and oratorical flourishes about the glories of the American navy cannot induce me to give support to a profligate expenditure of the public money. I desire reliable facts, figures, and official statements—something tangible, addressed to reason, and not the fancy. Since the establishment of this Government, there never existed a greater necessity for close investigation and care in voting away revenue, than the present; yet we see honorable members ready to vote, without discussion or examination, every dollar asked of them. The haste with which it is sought to close this debate, and in a moment part with an amount which, under preceding Administrations, constituted one-third of the whole annual expenditure, is evidence in behalf of this remark. Have gentlemen reflected upon the responsibility they assume in yielding assent to a demand so unwarranted? Have they looked into the enormous Executive requisitions upon our table, and made comparisons with those from the same source under the late much-villified regime? I opine not. What do facts tell us? The Secretary of the Navy has, in his annual report, estimated that the necessary outlays of his department for the year 1842 will be—

For the naval service	-	-	\$8,213,287 23
" marine service	-	-	502,292 60

8,715,579 83

To this add the unexpended balance remaining to the credit of the department	-	-	-	2,965,594 96
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11,681,174 79

Congress have already voted for an iron steamer	-	-	-	500,000 00
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Various bills reported from the Committee on Naval Affairs, estimated	-	-	-	500,000 00
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12,681,174 79

To which may be added the home
squadron appropriation of last ses-
sion - - - - - 789,000 00

\$13,470,174, 79

Now, how does this amount bear comparison with the sums estimated for, and appropriated by, the Democratic party when in power? I will take the four years of Mr. Van Buren's administration. The official reports made to Congress show the following sums as estimates and appropriations:

	Estimates.	Appropriations.
1837,	\$5,513,721 00	\$5,679,021 00
1838,	5,185,124 91	4,135,270 00
1839,	4,776,125 64	4,776,125 64
1840,	4,647,820 00	5,762,120 00
Total,	20,122,791 55	20,352,536 64

Here it will be seen that the highest estimate for either of the four years was in 1837—the year in which the exploring expedition was fitted out, at an expense of about \$500,000; and, notwithstanding that charge, it amounted to but \$5,513, 721—being \$3,201,858 83 less than the estimate for the present year. But if this large difference exists in the estimates, how much larger will be the difference in the actual appropriations, if the committee and the House pass the bills now presented! The largest appropriation made for any one year of the last Administration was in 1840, and amounted to but \$5,762,120; whereas I have shown that, with the bills already passed, the bill before us, the estimate of the Secretary, and the unexpended balance, there will have been spent this year, \$13,470,174 79—an excess of \$7,708,054 79, and thirteen-twentieths of the Van Buren four years.

The amount is equal to the whole sum expended for both army and navy in any one of the last five years. I cannot vote for it. I cannot give my support, humble and inefficient as it may be, to this rapid progress towards the accumulation of a public debt, from which it will be impossible to recover. I cannot give my support to the rearing, in this home of simple republicanism, a powerful and splendid navy, with all its paraphernalia of pomp and tyranny. I could not return to an honest and truly Democratic constituency, after having aided in a system of profligate squandering; especially when the deficit is to be drawn principally from the earnings of their industry. Hereafter, should it become my province to denounce (as it will be the duty of every good citizen) the enormous expenditures of the *patriots* now in power, I cannot give them the privilege of pointing to my vote as having aided in the act.

Sir, if the condition of our foreign relations bore a threatening aspect, and danger of collision was anticipated from any quarter, no man sooner than myself would prepare and do battle for defence. The unanimous voice of my constituents would be heard first in behalf of invigorating the maritime arm. The only sentiment which could arise in my breast, if the position of pending negotiations were such as to leave “a hinge to hang a doubt upon” as to the speedy and amicable arrangement of all questions at issue, would be to arm, “and to arms”—“millions for defence, but not one cent for tribute.”

But it is not contended that war is probable. No gentleman has advocated this bill upon that ground. The honorable the Secretary has not proposed the

increase predicated upon the slightest fears of difficulty with England. Nothing has been said in this debate, giving color to the idea that an increase of the navy is necessary in anticipation of any such event. It appears to be generally conceded that this is to be exclusively a permanent peace establishment. Nor are there causes for apprehension of war. Great Britain will not attempt the subjugation of the American prowess. It has never been her policy to declare hostilities against the brave, the powerful, and the just, when diplomacy or corruption of honor by gold could reach the negotiating officer and obtain her object. So long as Daniel Webster wields the Department of State, and holds within his grasp the thoughts and the will of the pliant Executive, so long will the peace of this country be maintained, if with England is the only contention. Her policy will seek other means of preserving peace and obtaining her desires than by the cannon and the sword. Experience has taught her here are to be found not imbecile Chinamen—not enervated Indians—not tyrant-ridden Europeans—but men in the full growth of intellectual and physical manhood; who, when in embryo and comparatively powerless, stood up in two contests, unshrinkingly and successfully against her overgrown might. She knows we were refractory in childhood, and have never repented the contumacy: on the contrary, when what she conceived to be wholesome chastisement has been attempted, we have turned upon the parental assailant with other than filial mercy. For this we have not been forgiven; nor do we ask forgiveness. It is true, we are a sprout from her trunk; but we have grown a rival tree: we claim with her a common origin; but thank God, we are not linked to a common fate: we will perpetuate her language, and all that is ennobling in her virtues and glorious in her institutions; but trample under our feet her threats, defy her prowess, repudiate her vices, and, if bloody strife ensues, sink into oblivion the last foothold of her trans-Atlantic power.

Mr. Chairman, is now the time to enlarge the navy? The wheels of Government but yesterday stood still, and the machinery of the Executive was stopped, for the want of a small pittance wherewithal to proceed. A permanent debt, heretofore unknown to the present generation, has been, within a twelvemonth, fastened upon us by the party in office. But yesterday, the public faith was hawked up and down Wall and Chestnut streets, an humble suppliant to *British capitalists* for favor. Pecuniary dishonor—the first since the establishment of an American mint—has been permitted to visit and rest upon our escutcheon. Out of money, out of credit, embarrassed and financially disgraced, is this the chosen opportunity to appropriate the millions asked? The vicious banking system having spread its evils through the land, our industry is borne down by oppressions which paralyze every sinew of production. The great bubble of an extended credit-system, created and upheld as it was by the credit party, has exploded over our heads with terrible devastation; making a wreck of fortune, character, and life, and sinking the iron deep into the bosom of the wife and mother. With the yeomanry and trading population, “chaos is come again”—man looks upon his fellow as a foe. Self-preservation and interest are now the predominant springs of action. The biting want of maintenance has driven the mind to expedients for a sustenance, as

it has taught a lesson of economy which *force*, that unyielding tutor, has driven him to practise. Men have realised want. It is no longer an unpleasant day-dream reverie, arising upon the vision in crossing the path of the tattered mendicant; but has become a painful reality, from which there is no escape by passing on. Retrenchment and reform is now the domestic economy of the American people; and be assured, sir, the time is not afar off when it will be their political economy. The time is not afar off—for it is now! The people of this country now demand, through their Representatives, a reduction of the public expenses. They call upon that party, and those men, some of whom have the full control of the executive branch, and others of the legislative branch, to carry out in practice a general system of contraction. They ask it at your hands. They say, "We will not revert to the oft repeated promises and solemn pledges with which you made the air of 1840 vocal; nor will we tell you of the professions for our own prosperity, which, without stint and without bounds, were lavished upon our credulous ears. Let them pass. It is true, the odious *sub-treasury times* were the haydays of thrift, compared with the present gloom which our 'generous confidence' has given us. But of this no matter. Our own folly has produced much of our own distress; but to the Government we look, not to put money in our pockets—not to enact laws by which idleness may get rich and labor be defrauded—not to lend its aid in the re-establishment of a cormorant monopoly, which, like the locusts of Egypt will overshadow the land with its pestilential progeny; we look to it to contract its power, to reduce its expenses, and to cleanse its abuses. These are of the thousand reforms so loudly promised us; and having given you the power—the full and absolute control of the law-making power—we call upon you for action, speedy and efficient action. It is no answer to say you have fallen out among yourselves; that, in the struggle for the mastery and the spoils, the Executive had been separated from the Legislature; that, without harmonious action of both, nothing can be accomplished; and that your President is a traitor, or that your ex-legislative leader is a dictator. Of your criminations and recriminations we know nothing. By your joint and combined advice and proffers, we drove the late incumbents from power, placing you joint and combined in their stead; and, in your joint, combined, as well as individual character, we hold you responsible." This, sir, already is the language of the people. How is it met? In what have their expectations been realized, and your pledges redeemed? Where has been furnished the evidence of the so-violently-denounced Florida war corruptions? Where are the proofs of the Executive malpractices? Where the slightest testimony of a single profligate expenditure? And who are the thieves and speculators in high places which, so soon after getting the reins, you intended to identify? Give us the record; produce the data. It cannot be done. These vile charges, like the vile inventors, have sunk into silent insignificance. The brains which conceived them, and the tongue which gave them utterance—though still following their wonted avocation of abuse by calumniating each other—have not the hardihood to reiterate, or the slightest proof to adduce in substantiation of a single slander. That part of Whig promises cannot be performed. Not so as to the retrenchment of expenses. There is no impediment to a full com-

pliance in this particular. Coming into office with at least forty majority in this House, and nine in the other—with the President and heads of departments—no obstacle presented itself. Why has it not been done? Why has it not been proposed? You have the power, and there exists the necessity. The expenditures are too great; they are far beyond the simplicity compatible with the Republic, and very far beyond what is compatible with its present means of defraying.

Retrenchment is the order of the day in private life; why should it not be the practice of those who are honored with stations in public life? You have held power over a twelvemonth, during which Congress has been in session nine months; and no retrenchment worthy the name proposed or adopted. It is true, the honorable gentleman from Virginia, [Mr. GILMER,] to whom much praise is due, early in last session moved a committee for some such purpose; but no measures have yet been offered, save what relates to our own franking privilege and mileage, which although commendable reforms, are minor, indeed, compared with the overshadowing cost of this Government. I desire good faith upon this part of Whig promises. Why are not efforts made for a compliance? The treasury is empty—the credit of the country prostrate; and yet nothing is said of a reduction of outlays. The last Democratic Congress voted you five millions to commence with; at the extra session you voted an additional twelve millions, as a permanent loan; and at this session another five millions—making, in all, twenty-two millions in less than a year; and yet penniless and bankrupt, and daily crying give! give! give! Why, instead of the lamentations of the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means over the lack of funds to replenish our exhausted treasury, have we not substantial bills of retrenchment and reform, which will lop off the causes of our distress? The people do so. It is not their practice when involved in embarrassments, with burthens greater than their income, to borrow, borrow, borrow. They retrench—that is the first principle of their domestic economy; and I mistake them if they will not exact similar economy of their public servants. What would be thought of that man, in private life, who, a creditless debtor, kept up a splendid establishment, without apparently knowing he could not afford it? But who would pronounce him honest, if sane, if such an one made voluntary bequests of one-tenth of his whole income? You have done this; while an avowed bankrupt—with expenditures greater than receipts—you gave away the proceeds of the public lands, averaging three millions annually. This is only the suicidal policy of knaves. Surely "he whom the gods wish to destroy, the first make mad." Sir, the expenses of this Government are as far beyond what, under a proper system, would be necessary, as they are beyond our ability to support. This fact was fully established by the twenty-sixth Congress. That Congress, though repudiated by the people, who thought best to substitute a *hard cider* Congress, was satisfied of this fact. Its acts prove this remark. It made great progress in the work of reform, commencing in the right way and in the right quarter. It reduced the emoluments of the collectors of our large seaport cities to an amount within the bounds of reason; but yet leaving them far beyond, in my

opinion, a sufficient recompense. The collector of New York, who under the old law, considered himself poorly paid if his salary and perquisites netted less than twenty thousand dollars, was limited to six. The postmaster at New York, whose yearly income had grown from five to over twenty thousand, was reduced and limited to five thousand dollars. The district attorney and marshal also came within the pruning-hook. Here was serious retrenchment. Hundreds of thousands of dollars annually were thus brought into the coffers of the nation, which had previously been the pay of public officers.

Thus has the example been given you by the Democratic Congress which you have so much admired upon. Why not follow in its footsteps? Why not go on and continue this work? None can question the policy—nay, justice to the tax payers. It must be done, sooner or later, or national degradation will surround us. A Democratic Congress commenced it in good faith, which its successors promised should be continued and perfected. And it was but commenced!

Sir, I have taken some trouble to look into the yearly cost of carrying on this Government for the last twenty years; and am convinced that, estimating it at present at twenty-five millions, there is room for striking off at least one-fifth, leaving it at twenty millions. Indeed, Senators, whose long experience in public life, and whose ability to judge of these matters qualify them thereto, have asserted that sixteen or seventeen millions would be sufficient. I would take the estimate of twenty millions, which my examination assures me will leave every department in full vigor.

To do so, I would propose reductions in the following branches of the public service, which a close examination of the whole subject has convinced me can be done without detriment:

From the mileage of members of Congress:

Length of the sessions, one quarter.

Contingent expenses of Congress.

Expense of the Judiciary Department.

Salaries of the President and heads of departments.

Expense of intercourse with foreign nations.

Home expense of State Department.

Expense of Treasury Department.

Expense of collecting revenue and light-house department.

Expense of General Land Office.

Expense of coining department.

Expense of the War and connected offices.

Expense of the Department of War, including a reduction of the military establishment, &c.

Expense of the Navy, including a general supervision of yards, purchases abolition of Navy Board, &c.

Expense of Post Office Department, including restriction of the franking privilege.

I would thus relieve the Treasury of millions, and not cripple a sinew of defence, or impair the full efficiency of a single office. Nor is this all. I would bring in several hundreds of thousands of dollars annually, which now find their way into the pockets of the office-holders. I would bring into the Treasury all fees and emoluments received by

the following officers, over and above a fair recompense for their services.

Consuls abroad.

Deputy postmasters.

Marshals and attorneys.

Revenue-collectors.

Pursers.

Navy-agents.

Commissary General of Purchases.

Military store-keepers.

Now, Mr. Chairman, holding these views, can any vote be expected for this bill? I have shown by figures, which do not lie, that it is extravagant, unnecessary, and far beyond any appropriation for corresponding purposes made for the late Administration, when there was as much necessity. I have shown that not only is the sum proposed exorbitantly large, but that the Treasury is bankrupt, the tax-payers poverty-stricken, and the spirit of the people in favor of "retrenchment and reform." I have shown the already enormous useless expenditures, by pointing directly to them.

But, sir, let us look a little further. Suppose the objections thus far urged were without existence. Let us imagine that the Treasury is full, and without indebtedness; that the people are prosperous, and willing to bear additional burdens; that extension, expansion, and prodigality characterized the age, and there were no existing evils of this character;—would it be consonant with propriety and correct legislation to pass this bill? I think not. It was not intended by the fathers of the Republic that upon their plain and unostentatious foundation should be built a gorgeous and powerful nation. They did not establish this political community for conquest or plunder. It was no part of their design that posterity should rear upon the corner-stone laid by their hands, a splendid edifice of naval or military glory. Their policy was essentially peaceful. Meek and humble in spirit, they banded themselves for protection, and for protection alone. The Union was confederacy for mutual defence and preservation, and not to form a league, the consolidated strength of which could reduce nations, impart glory, or make too strong the arm of the Executive. Simple and republican themselves, they sought to establish a Government thoroughly imbued with their own faith—one assuming no power not necessary, exerting no authority not required, antagonist to no principal of popular rights. Would a naval armament numbering its hundreds of ships and millions of tonnage, employing its thousand commanders, disbursing its millions on millions annually, and extending to an almost unlimited degree the already overgrown privileges of the President, who, by virtue of the Constitution, is "Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States," be consistent with this simple republicanism? It would not. But pass this bill as now before us, and the first step is taken; the first stride towards consolidation, Executive mastery, and an incubus of debt, is taken—irrevocably taken.

Another objection: Ships, after construction, must be supported; officers, men, supplies, and stores, must be furnished. The end is not with the cost of building. The keel is but laid for a continuous and never-ending expenditure. They must be kept afloat. If unemployed, they rot at the depots, and the whole is lost. The error once committed of saddling the country, in a time of peace and embarrassment, with a large floating naval

world, you must go on appropriating annually a proportionately large amount to keep it sea-worthy and from falling to decay. It is a permanent expenditure now presented to us. The aggregate of this bill, enormous as it is, will be less onerous than what will be necessary to preserve it from ruin. And, when once made, there can be no receding. As with State appropriations for internal improvement, you must go on *ad infinitum*, or all will be lost.

Again: I find no provision in it, or in the several bills for the organization of the Navy Department reported from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to remedy the evils of the present manner of procuring supplies. The door for corruption, which long practice, from the foundation of the navy to the present moment, has opened, has not been closed. I would remedy this objection, before voting so large an amount. Under long-established usage, the navy agents are authorized to make open purchases, without contract, without agreement or supervision. A large portion of the material, and many heavy articles of stores used at the yards, as well as nearly the whole outfits of ships, preparatory to sailing, are procured in this manner. These officers have permission to disburse hundreds of thousands annually, without check as to prices or quality. They buy of whom they please, and at such prices as they please. I am not prepared to say that of my own knowledge, there are malpractices; but I do say, that if none have been, it was not for want of opportunity: we may thank the integrity of the officer, and not the strictness of the laws.

Before placing at the disposal of the Secretary the millions comprehended in this bill, I would supervise the laws regulating purchases. I would not, in these days of want and speculation, place in the power of any agent the opportunity of profiting ten and twenty per cent. by his disbursements. Every article should be supplied by contract. It should be the duty of the Secretary, or of the Board of Navy Commissioners, or the agent, to advertise for estimates in the public prints, thus giving to every citizen an equal opportunity to benefit by this immense patronage; and incurring no loss to the Government from bad quality, high prices, or collusion between the officer and the factor or merchant. But, Mr. Chairman, there is another consideration which, though not relating directly to either of the points thus far urged, is a subject for serious reflection, and is equally applicable to every money-bill presented to the House. Is this the proper stage of the session to discuss and act upon bills to appropriate money? Is it wise policy to make these large bequests at this time, within a few weeks of the expiration of the sliding scale of the compromise act, without any adequate provision to insure revenue, and, in fact, without a law to carry into effect the only existing law which can give us a dollar? The leaders of the Whig party in this House (the very men who are urging on these cormorant bestowments from an empty treasury) tell us that a high tariff is necessary for revenue; and that, without a new law to take the place of the compromise law, and without a general supervision of the whole subject, there will not be revenue enough to meet one-half the public expenditures.

We are told that, to keep the wheels of Government in motion, it will be necessary to lay additional duties upon imports, and to settle upon a per-

manent basis this greatest of all questions. I ask whether, under the avowed condition of our collecting laws, it is wisdom to pass this, or any bill for similar purposes, before some action is taken on the revenue bill? Can it be the correct policy of Congress to go on appropriating, appropriating, appropriating, with empty coffers, an admitted want of laws to bring in and secure the usual fiscal income, and with a probability of a heavy falling off of imports, under any rate of duties? Certainly not. Were there no other objections, this, alone, ought to prevent action at this stage of the session, or until the other and more important business is disposed of. And is it not strange we find here men advocating measures so contradictory; telling us in one moment, that we must pass a high tariff, to preserve the nation from bankruptcy; and, in the next, proposing the most extravagant outlays? Is it not singular consistency, to use the mildest phrase? If it is true, as alleged by the high-tariff party, that it will be impossible to carry on the government, under the lowest reduction of expenditure, without a material advance on present rate of duties, why is it that, before action is had on the tariff question, so much anxiety is evinced to enlarge our appropriations? Why are the gentlemen in such hot haste to make these heavy requisitions upon the public coffers.

Sir, I think the astute eye of prophecy is not necessary to define the reason. I do not believe that none but a Talleyrand or a Metternich can unravel this seeming secret. In my humble conception of the ruling motives of men, the "why and wherefore" is to be found in the same reason which made them bequeath to the States the public domain, without consideration and without cause. It was, to drive us by necessity to a high tariff, to fill up the vacuum thus made in our finances; to force us, by appeals to national honor to preserve the national credit, to go with them in their unhallowed designs upon the rights and liberties of the people; to give away our anticipated receipts, that means may be taken, through the operation of an increased tariff, to favor particular interests at the cost of the tax-payer. It is for this we have systematic expansion, instead of the systematic contraction the times demand. Besides the tendency of Whig principles to inflation, as evidenced in every instance where they have obtained power—besides their love for debt and detestation of liquidation—besides their contempt for every thing *locofocoish*, as is the pay-up system, there are now at work other motives and other inducements. The expenses must be increased, because there must be a deficit between revenue and disbursements. Having embarrassed and exhausted the finances, it is supposed the people will rise *en masse* in favor of devising a remedy, which they are prepared with in a high tariff; and thus accomplish, by a trick, that which they dare not ask for as a principle.

I mistake very much if this is not the object hidden under the bill before us. In fact, the veil of public necessity, with which it is sought to hide the scheme, is too flimsy to deceive the most unsuspecting. No party could drive so recklessly on, after the many protestations of reform, without some such intention.

Mr. Chairman, we are told that an increase of the navy is advantageous to commerce, and that every member representing a commercial district is expected to support this bill. It has been said by

gentlemen who have advocated it, that the principal employ of our naval marine is to protect our commercial marine. The interest of Representatives from the Atlantic cities have been appealed to, to come forward in behalf of what they are told is the vitality of commerce. Sir, I am not old, but yet too old to be caught by pretexts so weak. Could arguments like these (which, at best, are addressed to our interest, the most selfish of all legislative influences) affect my vote, I should be incapable of performing the trust confided in me. I am yet to learn that in any quarter of the globe the American shipping has suffered for the want of Government protection. No cases have come to my knowledge where our flag has been insulted, or our property destroyed or taken from us, because of a restricted navy. There have been isolated instances of encroachments, but none that could have been obviated had every ship of war been a fleet. England and France, with the most extended navies in the world, have occasionally met obstacles to their trade. But the stars and stripes are a passport upon every sea to the hull and spar which bear them. Our bright bunting floats unmolested over the wide expanse of ocean, for there is none so daring as to do it injury. Under its broad folds, legitimate trade is secure and respected.

And were we liable to frequent losses for the want of the proposed increase, I am far from being satisfied that, of the two evils—the passage of this bill and the chances of occasional injury without it—the latter is not the least. Can it be advantageous to the city of New York to adopt a policy which drives us into a restrictive tariff? If, by large drafts upon the Treasury, the necessity of additional duties is forced upon us, commerce will undergo a diminution, because your increased duties will decrease importations. The foreign trade cannot thrive if legislative impediments are thrown in the way of its free action. It is not reasonable that, where an exorbitant toll is demanded for ingress, that ingress will not diminish. It is a well-established axiom that the imposition of higher duties upon imports immediately and seriously affects the commercial trade; hence the rallying-cry of a party not many years since in this country, of “free trade and sailors’ rights.” Therefore, admitting an accession of ships-of-war is required to protect our flag, it would be suicidal to procure them at a cost so great; better arm our merchantmen at private expense, for self-protection than lay them up in ordinary, without employment. Gentlemen had better use other arguments militating less against them. It is not wisdom in Congress to attempt to give protection to any branch of trade, when such protection is only to be obtained by the infliction of harm. In this instance the injury would be twofold; first, to the interest intended to be the recipients of favor; second, to all other interests who are taxed for its support.

There are other arguments which press themselves upon my notice; but I fear the patience of the committee is already exhausted. I could go on elaborating the objections which are continually arising before me, but the allotted time for cutting off the debate, and the many other gentlemen who are anxious to be heard, warn me not to trespass much farther. It is a grave topic, and admits of a wide range of discussion. At any time, in any condition of the Treasury, a bill to appropriate money involves important considerations. To vote

money, is to expend the proceeds of taxation; which is to part with that portion of the capital or results of industry which is bestowed upon the Government for its necessary disbursements. If the people are interested in the amount of taxation levied upon them, to a corresponding extent are they interested in its disposition.

If the amount expended is drawn from the taxpayer, we are but his agents to appropriate his money for the maintenance of law and order. It is equally criminal to make lavish or impolitic use of it. I conceive that we would be as guilty of dereliction of good faith by complying with exorbitant behests from the executive departments as if we put our own hands into the Treasury to fill our own pockets. By the Constitution, we are more the guardians of popular contributions than of the popular liberties. We are made the peculiar conservators of the money-power. It behooves us, therefore, to scan closely all requisitions. Endowed as are the members of this House with the high privilege of representing the great body of American freemen, it boots us, in the plenitude of power, not to forget the poor tax-payer at home.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I beg leave to say that it is with regret that an imperative sense of duty has compelled me to address the committee on this subject. It is with no little fear my position has been assumed. The almost overshadowing popularity of the navy, and its adaptation for American defence, connected with the recollection of the glorious victories which crowned its success in the last war, make me feel I have been treading on dangerous ground. Had my inclinations alone been consulted, my voice would not have been heard; but convictions, matured from deliberate reflection, have prompted my tongue, and it has spoken. I regret to be thus seemingly placed in opposition to it; but, at the same time, beg to be understood that it is to the unprecedented increase at this time I object—not to the service. I object to this extravagant proposition, believing it to be impolitic, unnecessary anti-republican, and premature. I am willing to vote the usual annual sum, and will go to the highest of either of Mr. Van Buren’s years; but cannot give support to the bill as now before us, without material reduction.

STATE INDEBTEDNESS.

Now that the State is really in debt, and that a tax to remove that indebtedness finds popular favor, the opposition are endeavoring, by every means in their power, to saddle the very creation of the necessity for a tax upon the democratic party! They forget their old electioneering hobbies, which secured to them political eminence; they forget their most enthusiastic promises, which gained them temporary credence because of their earnestness; they forget their defence of the full-blown impulse policy of Seward, after the fallacies of that policy had become apparent to every reflecting mind, and were matters of discussion throughout the State; they forget that they once expressed a willingness, that future generations should be encumbered with a debt, as they would be reaping the benefits of the improvements which we were constructing; they forget all these things, even with greater rapidity than they were conceived, and turn out all their party venom upon the heads of those individuals who had always

favored a *judicious* system of internal improvements, and who had judiciously encouraged those works, which, in whig hands, have become the instruments of our indebtedness, and the cause of our taxation. Yes, they who declared that New York was still in her "shell," that she was behind the spirit of the age, that her enterprise was falling in the rear of that of her sister states; those persons, who, on Seward's election, proclaimed, "with trumpet and with drum," the dawning of a new and glorious era, that was to eclipse the brightest annals of the Empire State, and give to the policy of Clinton an air of insignificance; those very persons, with an unblushing impudence, now proclaim, that the policy pursued by the whigs since their accession to power, was no more than the carrying out of the measures of the democratic administration previous! that if there were any extravagance in that policy, that extravagance is chargeable to Seward's predecessors! that the great depreciation of our stocks, and the utter failure of the state credit, were the *necessary* consequence of the patronage extended, and guaranteed for a specified time, to the public works projected under democratic auspices! And these charges are made with so much boldness, supported with so much art, and given the impress of so much plausibility, that we now deem it proper, though perhaps intrusive upon the good sense of the democracy of Chenango, to make a concise statement of the conduct of the state towards internal improvements for the last ten years, that the parallel between the antagonistical, prudential and "impulse" policies may be strictly drawn and the whole responsibility of state indebtedness and taxation fall upon proper heads.

First, then, let us look at the New York and Erie Railroad project. This great measure, it was said, was brought forward in justice to the southern tier of counties, whose resources had remained undeveloped in consequence of their eumbrous means of intercourse, and transportation to the principal marts of the state. Aside from this, it was represented by the designing individuals who brought the measure forward to be eminently meritorious, one which would be profitable to all who might engage in it. Therefore, as so much of the state was directly interested in the project, and as there were no good reasons for doubting its practicability, as many capitalists *professed* their readiness to make great investments in the undertaking, such was their confidence in its utility and profit; for these considerations, did the state legislature of 1832 grant a charter for the formation of the New York and Erie Railroad Company, with a capital of \$10,000,000, all of which was to be subscribed before the company could go into operation. But there was no prospect of this sum being subscribed, even months after the book was opened; so that the next year the subject was again brought before the legislature, and that body was induced to lower the necessary subscription before the company could be legally organized to \$1,000,000. But there wasn't "confidence" enough yet to set the work a-going; and petitions were got up and sent into the legislature of '34 to have the route for the road surveyed at the expense of the state. The prayer of the petitioners was granted, and in the mean time the company formed. Yet there was one thing still wanting, which had been de-

signedly kept in the back ground by the whig speculators; it was, *the aid of the state*. Now we have arrived at the period of the legislation which has been so misrepresented. This aid was granted; and granted, too, upon the true democratic policy, which was to secure the construction of the work by judicious and *encouraging* appropriations, not by lavish expenditures. Three millions of dollars, at the session of '36, were pledged for the aid of the *road* (not the *company*, which it will be seen the whigs had more particularly in view in pursuing their policy;) and mark how judiciously the appropriation was guarded from speculation, and calculated to encourage the company to a vigorous prosecution of the improvement: State stocks to the amount of \$600,000 were to be issued as soon as the road was constructed (single track) from the Delaware and Hudson to the Chenango Canal; \$700,000, when constructed from the Chenango Canal to the Alleghany River; \$300,000, when constructed from the Alleghany River to Lake Erie; \$400,000, when constructed from the Hudson River to where it intersects the Delaware and Hudson Canal; and \$1,000,000, when a double track railroad had been constructed from the Hudson River to Lake Erie. Such were the democratic provisions for the construction of this road. Let us see what the whig legislature of 1838 did. The company was allowed, by an enactment of this legislature, to draw a dollar of stock for every dollar expended on the road, to the amount of \$3,000,000. Here was an appropriation of money, without any regard to the ultimate construction of the work; here was the munificence of the state, without any guarantee of reciprocity. In 1839, even this great privilege was extended; the company being permitted to draw two dollars of state stock for every dollar expended on the road. Thus \$3,000,000 have been drawn from the state, and put into the pockets of speculators; the work is unfinished; the interest upon the loan unpaid; and the company bankrupt. As the fruit of the New York and Erie Railroad project, a THREE MILLION DEBT is upon us; and we need not ask, who are responsible for it.

The Erie Canal Enlargement is the next to be considered. The act for the enlargement passed May 11, 1835. It was provided in this act, that the work should progress as rapidly as the surplus revenues of the canal should allow, without borrowing and creating a debt. This salutary policy, under which sure and steady progress was made in the work, without even temporary hindrance to the business of the canal, was but of short continuance. In 1838, the "impulse" commenced, and the "more speedy enlargement" was resolved upon. Four millions of dollars were appropriated to this object by the legislature. This was the first step towards the forty million debt recommended in Ruggles' Report, made in 1838; and which report, it is well remembered, met with the decided approbation of Governor Seward, in every particular, and was unqualifiedly applauded by the whole whig party, as well as it was unreservedly condemned, without exception, by the unbribed democracy, to whom appeals to sectional feelings, without any regard to the permanent weal of the state, were of no avail, and met with but indignant frowns. To meet this appropriation, state stocks have been sacrificed, thus swelling our in-

debtedness beyond natural limits. Here were FOUR MILLIONS OF DEBT directly accumulated; and this debt is chargeable to the opposition, for it was created by the whole weight of their power, with but little countenance from the democracy, and that little the consequence of an expectation that it would be the only extensive expenditures based upon the credit of the state.

These are the two great items of debt, (the \$3,000,000 N. Y. and Erie Railroad debt, and the \$1,000,000 Erie Canal Enlargement debt,) the responsibility of the creation of which the whigs are unjustly endeavoring to throw upon the democracy; seeming to forget, that this very indebtedness was the direct consequence of the change made by the whigs from the democratic policy towards these works.

Here, then, are SEVEN MILLIONS OF STATE DEBT.

At this same session of 1838, aid was extended to the Canajoharie and Catskill Railroad Company to the amount of \$200,000; to the Ithaca and Owego Company, \$315,700; to the Auburn and Syracuse, \$200,000; and, in addition, for the Oneida River Improvement, \$75,000 were appropriated. The bill for this latter object, as it passed the whig assembly, contemplated extending aid to the amount of *four millions of dollars*; but this utterly reckless appropriation was not permitted to pass the more deliberative senate, which lowered it to \$75,000. These expenditures were mentioned with pride by the whigs; and the Albany Evening Journal declared them the result of the "triumphant Report of Mr. Ruggles."

Add \$790,700 to the \$7,000,000 debt, and we have over SEVEN MILLIONS SEVEN HUNDRED AND NINETY THOUSANDS OF STATE DEBT, for which we hold the whigs responsible.

Now let us see what was done in 1840. An act of April 25th appropriated two millions of dollars additional for the Erie Canal enlargement; five hundred thousands to the Genesee Valley Canal; and two hundred and fifty thousands to the Black River Canal: in all, *two millions seven hundred and fifty thousands*.

Add this sum to the above, and there is a STATE DEBT OF OVER TEN AND A HALF MILLIONS, for which the whigs are responsible.

We will now canvass the acts of 1811. Two millions one hundred and fifty thousands more, by an act of May 18, were appropriated to the Enlargement; five hundred and fifty thousands to the Genesee Valley Canal: and three hundred thousands to the Black River Canal: making, in all, *three millions*.

Add in these three millions, and the State Debt is swollen to over THIRTEEN MILLIONS AND A HALF, created under the whig "new impulse."

Appropriations made at various times since 1838, for which we have not the data, (to the Auburn and Rochester Railroad Company, \$200,000; Hudson and Berkshire, \$150,000; Tonawanda, \$100,000; Long Island, \$100,000; Schenectady and Troy, \$100,000; Tioga Coal, Iron, Mining, and Manufacturing Company, \$70,000,) swell this state indebtedness to more than FOURTEEN MILLIONS TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTY THOUSANDS, the responsibility of which rests upon the shoulders of the whigs.

Add to this immense sum, temporary loans, and money due contractors and other state funds, not reckoned in this account, to the amount of *four*

millions, (and this is not assuming an indebtedness that does not exist; for we all too well know of the existence of pressing demands against the treasury, the result of whig improvident extravagance;) and there is an ACCUMULATED WHIG STATE DEBT OF NEARLY *eighteen millions and a half!!*

Thus it will be seen, on adding in the state indebtedness at the time the whigs came into power, (\$5,728,687,) which was not for any of the objects above specified, that the people of the great Empire State of New York have fastened upon them A DEBT OF TWENTY-FOUR MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.

These statements are incontrovertible facts; they form a part of the history of our legislature; and they were not denied by the opposition until the recent startling exposition of the condition of the state finances, and the utter inability of the state to meet its engagements without a change of policy. In reality, the whigs have unwittingly acknowledged the truth of these statements; they have done it, in admitting, as they have, that the present state indebtedness is \$24,000,000; for Governor Seward plainly stated, in his first annual message, when there was no motive for misrepresentation, that the whole debt of the state at that period was only \$6,728,687; and one million of this debt was the expenditure upon the four million Erie Canal Enlargement appropriation, for which the whigs are responsible: thus leaving the debt accumulated by the whigs, as stated above, OVER EIGHTEEN MILLIONS AND A HALF.

The State Debt is properly set down at from *twenty-six to twenty-seven millions*; for large amounts of state funds have been deposited in banks, where they are not available.

Yet, notwithstanding this, there is a cry made, that we should not tax the people; that we should not, temporarily, stop our public works! What would they have us do? *Borrow!* Yes, they would have us *borrow*, to carry on our public works, without, first, a resort to taxation, to restate the credit of the state; when they *know* that borrowing is utterly impracticable. Did we not attempt in vain to obtain a million loan at 7 per cent. before the avails of a direct tax were pledged as security?—the great Empire State a *beggar!* This is well known: it is not denied. Yet, with this startling evidence of our wrecked credit before us; helpless, and shorn of our beauty, as we are; with the scorn of a once admiring world brooding over us; *the whigs would have us borrow—borrow ourselves out of debt!*—Oxford Republican.

Selections from the Speeches of the Hon. R. D. Davis, of New York, in Congress, 8th July, 1842, and the Hon. John Thompson Mason, of Maryland, in Congress, 7th July, 1842, both on the Tariff and Revenue Bill.

EXTRACTS FROM THE HON. MR. DAVIS' SPEECH.

"At the opening of Congress, in December last, the President, in his annual Message, told us, in substance, that the condition of the country was such as to require the raising of the duties above twenty per cent.; that the Government could not be carried on without it; that the public exigencies demand it; and he accordingly, as was his duty, recommended that it should be done. Did he intimate any thing to contradict his opinion at the extra

session, that when the duties were raised above twenty percent., the distribution should cease? Did he express any change on that subject? Did he advise any change in the land bill—any alteration of its provisions? No. He left us to understand, that no change had occurred in his views; and that if the duties were thus raised—as was required by the wants of the Treasury—the distribution was to stop. No other construction can be fairly given to his language or his acts; and no other will be thought of, or believed by the people.

“Thus, then, did Congress meet in December last. The President had laid before them the condition of our financial affairs; the wants of the Treasury; the propriety of an adjustment of the tariff; and he likewise urged the policy and right of a discrimination in the duties; and the desirableness, if not necessity, of legislation to meet the last change in the compromise act—which was to take place on the last day of June, then next, and now past. And what was the action of Congress, under these recommendations and in this condition of affairs? And how have the large majorities which control both houses, been occupied during almost the entire session? Month after month elapsed, and nothing was accomplished. The past disagreement between these majorities in Congress and the President has been the endless topic of our discussions; and to make him in the wrong and themselves in the right, would seem to have been their chief pursuit.”

“We have now before us the general tariff bill, the great question of the session—a measure which all admit to be the most necessary and important—which all do, or ought to, wish to have passed in some form or other, because it is conceded to be essential to the support of the Government, indispensable to the business of the country, and to that repose and settlement of affairs which must precede the return of general prosperity. And yet, to such a bill, so deeply interesting to every individual in the community, so much affecting all classes, and involving in itself so many and various embarrassments, so full of its own proper difficulties, so hard to settle and adjust by itself alone—to this bill we see the whig majority appending a distribution clause, similar to the one already vetoed, and insisting on its insertion, with an obstinate pertinacity which seems to seek another veto and to court its consequences. Why, let me ask, is this course pursued? Why are the tariff and the distribution thus linked together? What necessary connection is there between them? And why are they not separated as they ought to be, so that each measure may stand or fall on its own proper merits? If the distribution is right and ought to be continued, do not connect it with other matters, but put it in a distinct bill; and, with honest frankness and fairness, let it meet its fate. And so of the tariff question. Let that stand on its own foundation, and not be involved with other and different difficulties. Each of these subjects should be independently considered and settled by itself, and not made dependant on or connected with the other, and a fair legislation would thus have arranged them.

“The whig majority in Congress must know that this bill will be vetoed in its present form. It is a farce for us to pass this law with the distribution clause in it; for common consistency would require the President to oppose it, and we cannot doubt that he will do so; and yet we are gravely and seriously spending our days and weeks in the con-

sideration and settlement of a tariff bill, when it contains provisions which every human being knows will not, and cannot be sanctioned by the President. Why not put out of it that distribution principle which ensures its defeat?—Leave it out, and the President has told you that he will sign any tariff bill which the wisdom of Congress shall propose. Keep it in, and he has told you that he can not do it. He has recommended and advised Congress to raise the duties; to make all proper discrimination; to give reasonable and fair protection to American industry; to settle this great and agitating tariff question. He has left all this to the wisdom of Congress, and volunteered to approve and sanction any measure which you may pass. Why not now pass such a law, which you know will be successful? and why make such a law, and add to it a distribution clause, which must defeat the whole? Will not the people of this country believe that the whig majority are dividing this law through Congress, in its present form for the mere purpose of having it vetoed, in order that they may turn around and hold up the President to the odium of the public mind, and thus endeavor to make him a scape-goat for the consequences of their own mismanagement?

“I would again ask, what is proposed by this course of legislation, and why is this protracted session thus long idly prolonged? What benefit to the country can result from another veto?—What good can we do by thus wasting the time and money of the nation in useless, and worse than useless proceedings? If we pass this law in its present form, and it is vetoed, as it will be, what must be done? We must at once renew the act, and re-pass it, with the distribution clause stricken out, when we know the President will approve it.—Or are the whig party in congress prepared to send this bill to the President for that veto, which they know it will have, and then do no more? To fold their arms, and look abroad on an abused and distracted country with calm composure? Do they believe that they can thus shield themselves from censure, and cast it on the President? That they can thus fasten upon him the condemnation which they only have deserved? Do they fancy that the thunders of an outraged and indignant people cannot reach them? If they do, they know not their own position, or that of the people. These designs and purposes will be comprehended by the people; and if the whig majority here shall take that course, I warn them to prepare for the verdict of their country. The whig party have a clear majority of over thirty in this house, and over eight in the senate.—They wield an undisputed ascendancy in both houses of Congress, and can accelerate or delay, control and regulate its action as they please. We of the minority are powerless and impotent against them; and they must be, and will be, held to be responsible for the good or evil to result from our doings. It is not to be denied that there has been no hour of this session, in which with fair action on the part of the whig party, there could not have been passed any proper bill for the regulation of the currency, the finances, and the tariff, which would have met with the approbation of the people. Had it not been for the blindness, obstinacy, and political intrigues of the whig party here, the whole business of the session would have been disposed of to the general satisfaction of the country, and we adjourned to our homes three months ago at least. The President has interposed no impediments, and we,

the minority, had not the power to do it, if we had possessed the inclination. Let not, therefore, the whig majority in congress suppose that, when this bill shall be vetoed, they can break up the session, and say to the people that the President has obstructed their action, and the democracy had obstructed them and they could do nothing. With the fact of our inability to prevent them, if we wished to do it, and with the open declaration of the President that he will sign any proper tariff bill, the people will not be so blind and so stupid as to be deceived by such assertions, and I dare them to go before the nation on such an issue.

"But I will not believe that such a course can be taken by the Whig majority in Congress; and much as I censure their proceedings thus far, and their sending forward this bill through this house in its present shape, I cannot persuade myself that after it is vetoed they will still madly adhere to their policy, and refuse to do any thing, because they cannot do it in the way and manner they prefer. A fair settlement of the tariff question is now plainly, obviously, palpably within their power and at their command. The great interests of the country are waiting and suffering for that settlement to be made, and the people are looking to this congress to make it, well knowing that it can and ought to be done. The consequences which must, in all likelihood, result from our not doing any thing at the present session to settle and fix on some permanent foundation the future policy of the country, are too terrible and disastrous to permit me to think for a moment that any party will ever dare to incur the responsibility of producing them. I will not believe it. I cannot believe that this great question is not to be settled before we adjourn, and I must be permitted to say that however anxious I may be to return to my home (and no member is more so), my vote shall not be given for an adjournment until this matter is finally disposed of, or the majority have demonstrated by their action that they will not permit it to be done."

"Mr. Chairman, the condition of the country is apparent to every eye, and needs no particular description from me. All the great interest of agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and mechanics, are depressed, and in some sections and some branches the embarrassment is severe almost beyond any former experience of our people. Nor should it escape observation that, as a general rule, those which a short period since were really or seemingly the most prosperous are now the greatest sufferers. This seems to be the law of all reaction. We are undergoing the process, and must expect to endure what we cannot remedy or avoid. I will not now go into any enquiry whether one political party or the other is more responsible for these results, or whether they are alike culpable for the causes which have brought these consequences upon us. The folly and extravagance and wild spirit of speculation which overrun the country for several years (so lately that we must all remember it), whatever may have caused them, were undeniably the true source of that excess and expansion in every pursuit of labor and capital, which running beyond the means of human support, ended at last in that exhaustion and depression of the community which we are now enduring, and whose precise range and extent we are unable to foresee.

"This Government is embarrassed; so are the States, and so are the individuals of the States—all

having more or less been influenced by the expansion, and being correspondingly more or less affected by the revulsion, as they had yielded to the former. To these causes of our embarrassments, let me add another—one which I have not heard enumerated in any catalogue, of the means by which the troubles of the country were produced and are to be prolonged. I allude to the cost and expense of that great political contest—the election of 1840. I do not mean to speak here of any corrupt use of money by either side, if any such there was, but to the enormous and extraordinary expenditure of time, labor, and money, over and above what had ever before been devoted to any similar election, and which, for one, I sincerely hope may never be repeated in the country. The Whig party opened that campaign on a system which the democracy had of course, to some extent, to adopt, in order to meet and counteract its effects; and thus both parties were for months engaged in a rivalry of action, whose cost to the community at large, few have ever estimated, and perhaps fewer still will believe. All this outlay of time, labor, and expense, beyond the ordinary and proper amount, was so much lost to the country, and withdrawn from the general business and means of the community, into which it must have flowed if it had not been thus withdrawn. Almost seventeen millions of people were engaged for months in a political campaign; and whoever will compute the value of what was thus expended, in the thousands of Mass meetings from one end of the continent to the other, by the millions engaged in them, and the thousands of individuals travelling to and fro throughout the land, will find an aggregate great enough, as I sincerely believe, to pay off the entire foreign debt of the country in Europe. And in my humble judgment, this is one of the most aggravating causes of that embarrassment and distress which pervade the community; because, without doing any imaginable good, it has much increased and prolonged all our difficulties.

"It is a natural and proper inquiry, how all this is to be corrected, and when, and by what means we may expect the recovery and return of better times? Sir, I never have believed, I know not how to believe, nor have I ever taught the people to believe, that instantaneous and immediate relief could be afforded by any administration, or by the adoption of any set of measures. Any such expectation would be idle. The restoration of our affairs depends upon the people themselves, and not upon their government; nor can it be suddenly accomplished by them. Time, industry, economy, the gradual regeneration of business, will regain our lost prosperity, and give us more. All the elements of individual and public welfare remain, and we have but to move in safe and sure paths, of steady and slow progress, to reach the end we seek and aim at. All this must be the work of time; and if the government will but settle its policy, make no further derangement in the course of business, nor too much increase its exactions from the community, the people will soon work out their own redemption. I have no fears for the future, if we can keep this government from too much interference in the affairs and business of the people; if we can simplify its action, and reduce its burthens on the community; for under such an administration of it, the freedom, intelligence, energy and industry of our countrymen, will soon overcome all their temporary difficulties of to-day, and accomplish results not yet foreseen in our hopes

of human happiness. The great error of the world has been to inculcate in the public mind the opinion that the people derived all they have from their government, and were dependant on its action and favor for their success—teaching them to think that its counsels was their only safety, and its legislation their only source of business and of wealth. Sir, this is not true. It is false to all the principles of the country, and repugnant to the spirit of the age. A government may curse, but it cannot bless a people. Legislation may rob a people, but it cannot enrich them. As a freeman I abhor, and as an American legislator I protest against that dangerous and monastrous doctrine, that the people are dependant on the government. I hold that other and opposite and divine principle, that the government is dependant on the people."

"For I am of those who believe that results are to be hereafter witnessed in the development of the democratic principle, of which we scarcely conceive. As yet, the dawn but faintly gleams, of that full day, in which the benevolence, justice, and truth of the democratic creed, will illuminate and bless the world. This is our faith—that working faith which, cheered by the prayers and progress of the past, looks onward and onward, beyond the humiliation, and obloquy of the hour, nor fears, nor doubts, that in after times, the principles of this system will be as familiar as household words, and omnipotent to vindicate and confirm, not the privileges and powers of men as citizens or subjects, but the great and eternal equal rights of man, accomplishing those results in the civil and social condition of the world which are to precede the millenium of the prophets."

"Although in principle a free trade man to the last extremity, I am not one of those inconsiderate, rash, heels-over-head politicians who would obstinately urge it and push that system on the country at all hazards, whether the condition of our affairs would admit of it or the sentiments of the people were ready to receive it. The reform I advocate is the conviction and the conversion of the mind, and when that is done, then, and not before, I would have the cautious and gradual adoption of the change it might require. The time has not yet arrived in this country for the establishment of the free trade policy. The public sentiment is not yet sufficiently satisfied of its correctness, and if it were, the business, and labor, and pursuits of the people are not, and can not be speedily accommodated to its introduction. We have been long acting under another and different system. All the habits, customs, occupations, interests, opinions, and prejudices, of too many of the community are fixed and set against such a change, and this season of general depression and embarrassment is, of all others, the worst possible time to attempt, or even to urge its adoption; and as a free trade man, I repudiate any such intention now, and object to it as an unnecessary injury to the cause."

"Having a government, it is of course to be supported, and we know of but two ways to do it—by direct taxes or by indirect taxes in the shape of duties, the lands being but a partial item whichever system is adopted. We have seen that a resort to free trade and direct taxes is not now to be thought of, and that revenue from imports is the only chief reliance of all parties and the only one of any practical consideration. And here arises all our difficulties. Some contend that the same duties should be put on every thing in a horizontal scale, but so

few advocate this that it will scarcely be discussed. Others contend for what is termed a high protective tariff, by which, on certain articles that are, or are to be made in this country, so high a duty is put, that they cannot be brought in at all, and then the whole revenue must be collected from those things which are brought in, which of course very much enhances their price to the consumer, and at the same time leaves the price of what is made here in the hands of the manufacturer entirely; thus exposing the people who buy and consume—1st, to the exactions of the government on what comes from abroad, and 2dly, to the extortions of the manufacturers on what is made at home; thus burdening consumption with a double load, the support of the government on one class of articles and the support of the manufacturer on the other class. In my opinion, this system has no original claims to favor, and can acquire none but from the plighted faith on which it started, and peculiar circumstances which may require its longer continuance, nor ought it ever to be long extended or enlarged. Contrasted with this, is the revenue tariff, wherein the duties are set with reference to revenue alone, and so as not in any case to raise the article so high that it can be made here and its importation diminished or stopped. In this tariff discrimination must be made as well as in others, for besides smuggling frauds, the revenue depends on consumption, which is affected by the price; and in all tariffs the price to the consumer is invariably more or less enhanced by the duty, and generally in exact proportion to the duty when not qualified by other causes. And this would be the tariff which I would advocate if we were now first introducing the system into the country, as this taxes the consumer with only that which the government collects, and imposes no burden on him for the support of any body else."

"As to the amount of revenue which ought to be, and which can be, collected at the present time, I differ entirely from the views of the chairman of the Committee of ways and means and of Manufacturers. They propose to raise enough to meet the enormous amount of the present current expenses of the Government. In my opinion this can not be accomplished, if it is attempted; for the present depression, in our commerce and business generally, must depress the importations so much that no rate of duties will bring in the requisite amount; and if you undertake to raise the duties very high, that of itself will tend to diminish the imports. I do not see how any tariff can be devised, that will collect revenue sufficient to support this Government for the next three years; and I have no doubt that, by the 4th of March, 1845, (when we expect there will be a full restoration of the democratic party to power,) there will be found a public debt on the country, of from forty to fifty millions of dollars: even if, in the meantime, you raise all that can be raised, by the best revenue system we can adopt. I would meet this difficulty by curtailing, reducing, retrenching the expenses of the Government in every possible way. I have voted, and will continue to vote, for every permanent and useful reduction, (not for some of the paltry retrenchments of a boy here and a laborer there, but for all that are substantial and practicable). I will vote to materially reduce all our civil and diplomatic expenses; to curtail those of Congress; and to cut down the army two-thirds, and the navy one-half. I am for reducing the whole expenses of the Government to somewhere between

ten and fifteen millions, whether or not that will support its dignity and honor, at home or abroad; as I care nothing for any dignity or honor of this Government, but that which is to be found in the happiness, freedom, and prosperity of the people."

"In making a tariff at the present time, we should not do so as the chairman of the committees of ways and means and of manufactures have proposed; undertake so to form it as to meet the present wants of the government. If that could be done it would be improper and unwise, because these expenditures ought not to be twenty-seven, or twenty-five, or even twenty-three millions.—Let us make such a reasonable and proper tariff as will in ordinary times, furnish the government with some eighteen or twenty millions, and then (leaving the excess of the expenses to accumulate in the shape of a debt, as they will, for some time, under any tariff) go to work, and by retrenchment and economy so reduce the expenditures, that that income of eighteen or twenty millions will, in eight or ten years, be sufficient to pay the expenses of the government, and also the debt that will accumulate before the reduction is complete. I am therefore opposed to making a tariff if it were possible to do so, that would bring in any thing like thirty millions at the present time, or within any short period. I advocate a medium tariff; one that will last after the present exigencies of the government are over. The great and important desideratum, in fixing a revenue tariff, or in ministering to the wants of the farming, commercial, mechanical, manufacturing, and laboring interests of the country, is permanency, stability, fixedness. The worst system, if it can be stable, is better than perpetual fluctuation and change; and above all things else, we should aim to have the system that we may now adopt, one that may be permanent, durable, and uniform. We are now in the midst of embarrassed and depressed times. I can see no reason to suppose that they are very soon to improve; nor do I believe that they can be changed for the better by any thing that we can do further than that, by our legislation, we may prevent the overthrow of those branches of business which are dependant on the tariff, and we can settle the rate of duties under which the expenses of the government, and the commerce and general business of the country, are to be carried on; or in other words, settle that policy under which the people are, by their own industry and efforts, to relieve themselves. Until that is settled, they can not begin to do it; and hence the imperious necessity of our action at the present session. Almost any kind of tariff, that could be permanent, would be better than to prolong the uncertainty and perplexity which now agitates and harasses the public mind; and so important do I know the settlement of this matter to be, in the present situation of the country, that if the distribution is given up, I shall not feel myself at liberty to vote against almost any tariff which the majority of even this congress may make."

"And, in conclusion, I will say, that while I can vote for no tariff, be it high or low or medium, which contains the distribution clause, I am ready and willing and anxious, if that be stricken out, to meet with the high tariff men on mutual and consensory ground, and to unite with them on liberal, fair, generous, and honorable principles to make such a tariff as will meet the real and permanent wants of the country, and fulfil all the just expectations of the people."

EXTRACTS FROM THE HON. JOHN THOMSON MASON'S SPEECH.

"It might be here proper to remark, that I am well aware that a small portion of my constituents—such as manufacturers and particular classes of mechanics—would be benefitted by a protective tariff. But I assert, without fear of contradiction, that if they are the supporters of such a policy, it arises from a belief (but a belief founded in error) that the public good would be advanced by it, and not from any selfish considerations. Of whatever party they may be, they are too proud, too patriotic, to ask that the strong arm of the law should be invoked to advance them and their interests at the expense of their neighbors; or that ninety-nine out of every one hundred of their fellow-citizens should be taxed for their benefit. If they would look into this subject, they would soon find that such is its operation; and, when convinced, they would scorn to be the recipients of the fruits of their neighbors' toils, without rendering some consideration in return."

"As a Representative of the people, I feel bound, in obedience to what I regard the will of my constituents, taken as a mass, to vote for as high a tariff as may be necessary—I care not how high it may be—to raise the sufficient amount of revenue for the expenses of Government. If the people find their taxes raised, they have themselves to blame for having placed in power a party whose policy it is to swell to an indefinite extent the expenses of Government. They have with themselves the means to correct the evil. Turn out those at present in power, and put economists in their places, and your taxes will immediately come down. We have, however, nothing to do at present with the amount of our taxes. But, how we shall pay them? is the question now claiming our attention. Not having the least doubt, then, but that my constituents are in favor of paying their taxes by duties upon imports, rather than by direct taxation, I shall support such a tariff as will yield the greatest amount of revenue, without any regard whatever to protection."

"Having been reared in that school of politics which entertains the profoundest respect for the intelligence and virtue of the people, I can be the supporter of no measure which has its foundation, its very existence, in a want of confidence in both. It should be our pride and our boast that from the people emanates all power; that from them, as from a source, flows all of liberty, all of virtue, all of glory, all of power, that we boast as a nation. May that source be pure and eternal. May streams flow therefrom, blessing and elevating our whole country. Sir, when that source becomes polluted or obstructed, then will our verduous tree of liberty, which has so long been nourished and sustained by its waters, languish and die."

"Mr. Chairman, all tariffs having in view protection are interferences with the industry of the country, and are therefore fraught with the most dangerous consequences. It is not one of the functions of government to add, by direct interference in any way, to the pecuniary prosperity of its people. Whenever this is attempted, the delusive appearance of success which may occasionally follow the effort is not real; but it consists in the adroitness of concealing the operations of a scheme by which one class of the community is

advanced, at the expense of another. Whenever the Government so far leaves its proper sphere of action as to direct, or in any way to interfere with, the industry of the country, the inevitable result must be injustice and injury to some portion of the community, in the same degree that others may be benefited. As long as the Government is prompt in doing all within its power to protect its people in the enjoyment and possession of their property, after it has been acquired, it has discharged its duty. The people must depend upon their own industry, economy, and skill, for success in the acquisition of property."

"It is not for man, nor the government of man, to work results by which private fortune may be accumulated, without drawing, to some extent, from the stock of public property, in which all men have an equal share.

"Not so with the blessings of liberty. Liberty is an inexhaustible fountain, from which all mankind may drink, and none be stinted. Its pure stream may sparkle in an endless current before every man's door, carrying the same blessings alike to the humble and solitary cot and the stately mansion. It is for the Government to keep these streams pure, full, and perpetual: it is for the individual citizen to dig the channel through which his own private fortune must flow."

"We do not complain of the increase in the price of imported articles, provided that that increase goes into the treasury. We must pay our taxes for the support of Government, and it makes very little difference whether we pay them by an equitable system of duties, or by direct taxation. Taxation is taxation, in any shape you may think proper to place it. Gentlemen may say what they please, but the two systems amount to precisely the same thing in this, that their objects are to extort money from the people; with this argument in favor of direct taxation—it is a system of greater equality in its operation upon the country, as a whole, and upon individuals. Take an article, for instance, consumed in one section of the country and not in another. Now it is manifest that all the revenue raised upon that article is paid by one section of the country, while other portions are exempted. As regards individuals, let me suppose a single case. Take two families, each possessing property sufficient to yield them an annual income of two thousand dollars: the one has a family of twelve in number, the other but two: the one requires the strictest economy to support his family upon his income, while the other can easily live upon five hundred dollars. The articles that enter chiefly into the consumption of these two families are foreign, and are, therefore, subject to duties. Does it not, therefore, strike every one that the man with the family twelve in number pays four times as many taxes as he whose family consists of but two, though their property is equal in value? In this way, a man is actually taxed because he has a large family of children. And the case would be a still stronger one if the income of one of these individuals was the fruit alone of his labor, and that of the other was the proceeds of property, and unaffected by a life of inglorious indolence and sloth. It is a tax upon expenditures and industry, instead of a tax upon property. Under a system of direct taxation each would pay taxes according to the amount of his property, and their taxes would

only be increased as their income was converted into capital.

"But it is said that an army of tax-gatherers would spring up under this system; and the people have a holy horror of tax-gatherers. Well they may have; for of all the necessary evils to which we are subject, this is the most odious. But are they aware that at this time the officers in the various custom-houses in the country amount, by an official statement from the Treasury Department, now before me, to one thousand five hundred and fifty-six? To this number may be added upwards of one thousand officers and men employed upon the vessels engaged in the revenue service. What are all these but tax-gatherers?—and enough to collect all the direct taxes that might be required from the whole country. And in collecting direct taxes they would be scattered over the whole face of the country; in collecting the other, they are congregated together in masses, hatching corruption, fraud, and crime, and plundering the Government and the people. The cause of morality is interested deeply in this question; for no source is more fruitful of evils than the system of customs.

"There is one argument in favor of the impost system, or system of customs, which may be considered—at least for the present—as paramount to all those against it. It is sufficient to impel me to adhere to the present mode of raising revenue in preference to all others. *It is the long-established policy of the country*; and I have seen no manifestations of the people I represent which can induce me to believe that they desire a change; and, therefore, rather than to uproot a system which has been so firmly established, I would bear the evils of it. Perhaps it would be wisdom, in this instance, to

—“Rather bear the ills we have,
Than fly to others that we know not of.”

"Therefore, Mr. Chairman, if I could believe that the purposes of this bill were to raise revenue, I should vote for it. But the next thing which I shall endeavor to show is, that this measure has no such object in view; and, if it has, it is a mere secondary consideration to that of protection.

"The public mind throughout the whole country is in a state of great excitement upon this subject of the embarrassed condition of the finances of our country; and, through the patriotic desire to see the treasury relieved, and public credit restored, many of the people heretofore uncompromisingly opposed to tariffs, have been induced to change their grounds, and to come out for a tariff as the only measure of relief. Little do they understand that the present embarrassed condition of our finances is the result of an artfully devised scheme of the party now in power to create a necessity for an increase of the tariff, which will ultimately result in a protection of the northern manufacturers. To accomplish this end, they have squandered the public money, destroyed the public credit, and brought ruin and disgrace upon the whole country. They have prostrated the man of health upon a bed of sickness, that the physician might get his fees in curing him. No party dare come out at this enlightened period of the world for an exclusively protective tariff; yet this end, though afraid to be approached directly, is to be reached indirectly. I shall now attempt

to show that this necessity, under which we now labor for an increase of revenue, has been purposely brought upon the country, that protection might grow out of it.

"When the Whig party came into power, it was asserted that they received, as a legacy, from those who had preceded them, an immense national debt. It is not important to the point I am now considering, to controvert this position—though I am prepared to show at any time, that the debt left by Mr. Van Buren's administration did not exceed five millions and a half of dollars. But suppose that the debt was immense; was their course such as to relieve themselves from the embarrassment of it? Did they enter upon a system of strict economy and retrenchment, as debtors should have done? No, sir; they entered upon the administration of the Government by increasing the appropriations to every one of its departments over those which had been made by the Van Buren administration, until they have swelled the public debt from five to twenty-one millions of dollars in the single year in which they have been in power. Besides increasing the expenditures of the Government, they have cut off one of its fruitful sources of revenue by distributing the proceeds of the public lands among the several States. In this way the balance between the expenditures and income is destroyed; and then follows the injury to public credit under which we are now laboring. This having been accomplished, a panic cry is raised, and the whole country is thrown into excitement upon the subject of national faith and honor; the man of health is prostrated in sickness, and the tariff is held out as the only panacea for the disease. Necessity has driven many who despise the noxious draught, to accept it. With Lear, they find, indeed, that—

"The art of their necessities is strange,
That can make vile things precious."

"Another powerful influence has been brought to bear in producing this public excitement upon the subject of the tariff. The merchants of our cities have come to the aid of the manufacturers. During the period of the late great expansion of the currency and credit of the country, they imported large stocks of goods, which have accumulated upon their hands; and they find it to their interest to exclude, as far as possible, further importations until they can sell their stock of goods already on hand. Hence, *for the present*, they are tariff men. They are for taxing the country people that they may sell their old stock of goods. To this cause may be traced the recent tariff excitement in Baltimore, (now nearly subsided,) by which all parties seemed to have been moved. Certain it is, that the merchants were the originators of it,—and they are rarely ever prompted by any other than selfish motives.

"In the next place, let me examine whether this is such a tariff as will yield the greatest amount of revenue, as it should be; or is it, as I suppose it is, a tariff for protection? To raise a revenue from a tariff, your duties should be laid upon such articles chiefly as are not produced or manufactured in this country, and which are most generally consumed by every section of the country. The reason is obvious: the tax then falls equally upon all sections of the country, and it makes no difference how high you raise your duties upon

such articles; it cannot amount to a prohibition of the foreign articles, because we produce nothing that can take their place. But how has this plain principle been applied to this bill? Here we have a list of just such articles as I have been describing, proposed to be admitted entirely free of duty, amounting to upwards of thirty millions of dollars, and sufficient to yield almost a third of all the revenue we require, at a duty only of 20 per cent. On the other hand, other articles, consumed chiefly by the agricultural and laboring portions of the community, are subjected to heavy duty, together with such other articles as are produced by the manufacturers of the country, and consumed by every other class of the community. Is this not taxing one portion of the community and exempting another? or, in other words, is not this a protective tariff in its most odious form? If this bill has in view raising revenue, why these discriminations? why this free list? The answer is, it is a tariff for protection, and not for revenue.

"This, sir, leads me to the next point in my remarks. Should Congress pass a protective tariff?

"The difference between a revenue and protective tariff is, that by the one, all the duties collected go into the treasury; by the other, a part—if not directly, in effect—goes to the producer or manufacturer of the article protected; hence one part of the people are taxed for the benefit of another. This is the operation. Suppose those engaged in agriculture shall require annually 200,000 yards of cloth; and that the Northern manufacturers could furnish 100,000 yards of the amount at 50 cents a yard, and that England could furnish the whole amount at 25 cents a yard: the result would be, that we would get our whole supply from abroad. To prevent this, the Government lays a duty of 25 cents upon each yard of cloth brought from England; which, when added to the original price, would bring it up to the American price—50 cents. The advance, then, in the price of these 200,000 yards, by the tariff, would be \$50,000; while only \$25,000 of that sum would go into the treasury—being the advance upon the price of the 100,000 yards *imported*. But suppose the Government, having an eye only to revenue, were to lay a duty of only 20 cents upon each yard: the price then, of the foreign article, would be 45 cents—being 5 cents less than the American article. The consequence would be, that our whole supply would still come from abroad. How much revenue, then, would this article afford? Why, the sum of \$40,000; and yet the price would be 5 cents less than it would be under the higher rate of duty, and still yield almost double the amount of revenue; but there would be no protection.

"My constituents live along the line of the Potomac river. Suppose they could supply the wants of their families by crossing the river into Virginia; and could purchase flour at \$4 a barrel, and cloth at 50 cents a yard; suppose, upon their return, they should be arrested for having violated a Maryland statute, which required them, for the protection of the Maryland millers and manufacturers, to purchase at home those very articles—flour at \$6, and cloth at 75 cents. This is the operation of a tariff narrowed down to States. What Marylander would submit to such a state of things? Such, then, is a protective tariff *per se*. No one upon this floor, at this enlightened period

of the world, will openly avow himself to be the advocate of such a system, if it went no further. But the friends of this measure say that this is not all that they propose to accomplish by a tariff. They place it upon the ground of retaliation; and think, in that way, to recommend it to the agriculturist and laborer. They say that the heavy duties imposed upon our flour, tobacco, &c., by other countries, require, as a measure of defence, that we should impose heavy duties upon such articles as are imported into this country. This is, of all others, the most suicidal policy that could be pursued: to use an old and vulgar phrase, "it is cutting off the nose to spite the face." The agricultural portions of the country are to be subjected to new burdens at home, for the benefit of other portions of the country, because the sale of their products is restricted abroad by heavy duties. Because England taxes us, we are to get into a pet and tax ourselves. But all this is a false theory. The effect of the duties imposed by England upon our products does not fall upon us, as is supposed; but falls upon their own unhappy people. And so with duties imposed by this country; they fall upon *our own people*. It is contrary to every principle of common sense to suppose that a law of an American Congress or an English Parliament can have any effect beyond the limits of the country enacting it. The tariff men say that the English tariff upon breadstuffs* is oppressive upon the American agriculturist; we say that it falls upon the workingmen of England. What does observation teach us? Why, that *our people* are happy, prosperous, and elevated; and that the English laborers are miserable, impoverished, and debased. I am willing rather to stand upon facts, in such matters, than upon theory.

"It is contended again by the tariff men, that, if you protect the manufacturers, an inducement will be thereby held out for agriculturists to leave agriculture, and go to manufacturing; and that the home demand for our products will be increased; that the price will be advanced, and that our money will be kept in the country by such a policy. It amounts, then, to a premium or bounty to your neighbor to give up agriculture, and take to manufacturing—for what the agriculturist gains in the price of his wheat, cotton, &c., he loses in the increased price he has to pay for the protected article; and what the country gains by keeping at

home the money paid upon articles manufactured by ourselves, it loses in the amount which would have been brought into the country for agricultural products, if the agricultural operations had not been curtailed. Push the system, then, to its extremes, and it comes to this—that if none of our money goes out of the country, the money of no other country comes into this. Let us see what we would have to pay for this great result! Let us contemplate the fruits of this stupendous system! Why, sir, the thousands of persons now engaged in commerce and trade would be thrown out of employment. Our commercial cities would become deserted places. The bustle and hum of business would be heard from them no more. The white sails that now cover our waters would disappear. Agriculture, and all its charms and beauties, would languish. Every interest of our country would decay, and be destroyed; of her, with the poet, we might then exclaim:

"Sunk are thy bowers in shapeless ruin all,
And the long grass o'ertops the mouldering wall;
And, trembling, shrinking from the spoiler's hand,
Far, far away, thy children leave the land."

"But the next question to be settled is, are those interests, which it is alleged require protection, in really so distressed a condition as they are represented? I say that they are not, and shall but refer to a few facts to sustain me. In Massachusetts, a large manufacturing state, it is estimated that there are about 170,000 men employed in manufacturing; about \$54,000,000 capital; and their income is estimated at about \$91,000,000. With an income averaging upwards of \$500 for each man thus employed, and almost double their capital, these men still ask greater protection. Perhaps Vermont is more exclusively a manufacturing State than any in the Union. In that State, the income of all its inhabitants—including men, women, and children, black and white—is estimated at \$200 per annum. Yet they want more protection!

"From a memorial sent to Congress by the sugar planters of Louisiana, it appears that there are but about 500 sugar plantations in that State, and that they are supposed to supply one-half the consumption of the United States: in other words, 500 planters, or thereabout, supply 8,500,000 with all their sugar. They ask that a higher duty be laid on the imported article.

"It appears by the census tables lately published, that there are 3,717,756 of our population engaged in agriculture, and that the aggregate annual proceeds of their labor amount to \$794,453,071—being an average of \$214 for each person so employed. The number of persons engaged in manufacturing is 791,545, and the annual proceeds of their labor amount to \$395,882,000—being an average for each person so employed of \$487 per annum; being more than double what the agriculturist receives. Yet the agriculturist is to be taxed still more for the benefit of the manufacturer.

"In the year 1840 (the last year to which we can refer, at present, with any accuracy) our whole exports amounted to one hundred and fourteen millions of dollars, and our imports to one hundred and eight millions—being six millions more of exports than of imports. It is obvious that any tariff will have the effect of diminishing this advantage which we have in our trade, by lessening the trade itself. It is true that, during previous years, the

* We have often been surprised to hear leading Modern Whigs and Home-leaguers, &c. complain of the manner in which the British ports are closed against American breadstuffs, and assign that as a reason why our country ought to retaliate by imposing high duties on articles manufactured by the subjects of John Bull. It appears to us that Federal Whigs and high Tariff men must either be ignorant of the real state and condition of agriculture in Europe, or they, in their usual manner of discussing political subjects, make bold assertions without a particle of proof to substantiate them. For the special benefit and information of such politicians, we refer them to an article headed "Market for American Produce," published in the fourth number of this Journal, page 118; there they will learn an undeniable fact, viz. that unless there is a great failure in the crops in Europe, or wars, that England can be supplied with breadstuffs, &c. from the continent at a much less price than we can sell at in the British market, unless indeed we follow the example set by the great financiers Messrs. Biddle & Co.—that of selling at less than cost to raise the wind; or, in other words, *rob Peter to pay Paul*.—Eps. D. G.

balance of trade was occasionally against us. This was not owing to any defect in our tariff system; but it resulted from two facts—one was, the excessive importations into the country over the real wants of the people, in order to gratify that extravagant disposition which the wild spirit of speculation had begot in us; and the other fact was, the small amount of our exports, occasioned by general and almost total failure of the wheat, tobacco, and cotton crops."

English Stock-jobbers—American State Bonds—

Lord Ashburton, &c.—We take the following extract of a letter to the Editor of the "Truth Teller," dated London, 18th May, 1842. It will be observed by the extract, that Alexander Baring, now *Lord Ashburton* and the Ambassador from the Court of St. James to the United States, is not only to push the American Government to assume the State Debts, but that his *lordship* is a creditor in common with other British creditors who have been gulled by a certain *clique* of *American stock-jobbers, &c.* What the god-like Daniel will do in this case we are not prepared to say; but should he *persuade* John Tyler to consent to assume the State Debts, it may be well for Daniel to make an arrangement with the *Royal Government* of Rhode Island to prepare a shelter for them in case of need.

"All the stock-jobbers here are on the *qui vive*, and want to persuade Europeans that the special—very special indeed—ambassador from London to Washington, will induce the Federal government to adopt the debts of the states respectively. Little do those hopeful stock-jobbers know of the American people, when they lay such flattering unction to their souls. The bare proposition is an insult to each of the state governments, and to every citizen in every state. Here is the very point which is mooted by the poor Chartists; they object to taxation on account of a national debt, incurred without their consent, and is it likely the freemen of the United States will consent to taxation on account of private debts moulded, or attempted to be moulded into a national one?—preposterous! I warned you in a former letter, that a notion of this kind was prevalent, and that millions of money would be squandered among the stock-jobbing press in both hemispheres to accomplish what Money Moses, transported to Botany Bay, would call an "arrangement." At present there is a conspiracy in Europe to resist the security issued by the Federal government, in order to coerce it into an assumption of the stocks issued by the states.

"The most conspicuous among the Money Moses newspapers, in this city, is the *Morning Chronicle*, and this paper says:—"The acceptance of the Federal Loan is the key-stone to be struck as the test, and until that scrip pass in Europe, the utmost exertions of the citizens of the United States to regain their credit will be ineffectual; and in respect of the state securities, they *must ALL remain as they are, until the credit of the Federal government is resuscitated.*"

"There, citizens of the United States; that is

the dictation of the *Morning Chronicle* in London, the notorious agent of Alexander Baring at Washington; a paper of which the city article was always written, when the interests of American stock-jobbers were concerned, and while he was in London, by Samuel Jaudon, the representative here of Nicholas Biddle, and his confederates at Philadelphia!

"Thus, you see, as I warned you, that while you boast of your "glorious independence," you are dictated to by a foreign stock-jobbing paper, and a foreign stock-jobber is gone as a special ambassador to the Federal Government, in order to hold American citizens in monetary bondage; but what does the "Chronicle" mean by saying the "citizens of the United States can only regain their credit," by the means it so venally dictates? It does not mean American citizens, it means the readers of the "Morning Chronicle." As Gratiano said to Shylock, "There I have thee on the hip." In the mercantile intercourse between England and the United States, the bankrupt condition of the former, in consequence of her making too many goods, compels her to send them for sale, at auction, at any price they will fetch; and the consignors here receive from the consignees in New York, in advance of the sale, some ready money on security of the bill of lading. What credit have American citizens to regain in such transactions? The manufacturers of America, who have wisely formed a Home league, ought to be protected by the Federal Government against such a system as lowers the price of their commodities by the bankrupt state of foreigners. Credit of American citizens forsooth! Let the "Morning Chronicle" adopt the plan of Free-traders, and make more Chronicles than can be paid for, and send some of the surplus quantity to your city, and sell them at auction, for whatever price they will fetch, and that venal paper would discover that the credit of American citizens has nothing to do with the affair, but began and ended in the deplorable condition of itself.

"To facilitate the arrangement of ALEXANDER BARING, Mr. HORSELEY PALMER, formerly Governor of the Bank of England, and brother-in-law of the Archbishop of Canterbury, will go by the same conveyance as you will receive this. This gentleman's visit to the United States is not merely to "aid, maintain, comfort and counsel ALEXANDER BARING," but also to look after certain affairs connected with the failure of the "Three W's" in 1837, and also to pay a friendly visit to NICHOLAS BIDDLE, to whom PALMER sent, in the year 1838, a "special ambassador," one JAMES COWELL, Banker, of Bristol, and who was a prototype of the Negotiator, in the person of ALEXANDER BARING. COWELL made a lame story on his return—what Baring will say, should he ever return, remains to be proved. The whole of his errand meant and means—money.

"Take care of your pockets, say I; but, above all, take care not to mortgage yourselves to foreign money-mongers. Do this, and you will vainly boast of political liberties."

Remarks on the foregoing Article.—Since the above was put in type, we are informed by Washington letter writers and other sources, that a treaty settling all the differences between the

American and British Governments, has, or will be shortly brought to a close. None more than ourselves will rejoice at such an event, provided that it is accomplished in an honorable and satisfactory manner to the American people.

We are strongly inclined to believe that Lord Ashburton, finding the Democracy of our country so decidedly opposed to their Government assuming the State Debts, that part of his *lordship's* mission has been passed over at least for the present, reserving that subject until "Harry of the West" is *made* President of the United States; and, backed by a *real Federal Whig Congress*, there will then be no difficulty in *bargaining* for the assumption of State Debts and the chartering of a United States Bank, and one too, in the language of Henry Clay when he was a Jefferson Democrat, that "will be dangerous to our liberties." Again, the retired Senator, speaking of the capital of the Bank in 1811, says: "Seven-tenths of its capital are in the hands of foreigners, and these foreigners chiefly English subjects." And in case of war with that country he says: "Should such an event occur, do you apprehend that the English Premier would experience any difficulty in obtaining the entire control of this institution?" He also says: "Suppose an attempt to subvert this Government, would not the traitor first aim, by force of corruption, to acquire the treasure of this company?" Again he says: "I believe it to be a fact, that this Bank exercised its influence in support of Jay's treaty; and may it not have contributed to blunt the public sentiment, or paralyse the efforts of this nation against British oppression?" We might continue our extracts from Mr. Clay's speech in Congress in 1811, against rechartering the United States Bank, but want of room at the present time will not allow it; therefore we refer our Democratic friends, and particularly that portion of the Federal Whigs who tell the people, and wish to make them believe, that Henry Clay has never changed his principles, &c., to page 217 of this Journal, where will be found Mr. Clay's speech entire, embracing the true Democratic principles of Jefferson, Jackson, Van Buren, &c. How has this Clay been *moulded* since the said speech was delivered! In 1811, he opposed rechartering the Bank of the United States with a capital of \$10,000,000, as being *dangerous* to the *liberties* of our country; *now* he advocates one with a capital of \$50,000,000, to be managed and controlled by the same kind of *aristocracy, stock-jobbers, &c.*, that he so violently opposed in 1811.—Eds. D. G.

A PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

The avowed object of such a tariff ought to be a conclusive argument upon this point. That

object is to exclude from our market, in whole or in part, foreign products and manufactures which come in competition with like articles produced and manufactured in our own country. It needs no argument to prove that, if the tariff shall succeed in excluding any foreign article altogether, foreign trade in that article must cease altogether. It is equally evident that if the tariff succeed in diminishing the importation of any foreign article, the foreign trade in that article must be diminished in an equal degree. If woollen goods were excluded, there could be no foreign trade in woollens; if cotton goods were excluded, there could be no foreign trade in cottons; so of iron and manufactures of iron, hemp, flax, and the thousand other articles which make up our tariff list. Following up this view, it cannot but be admitted that if all the articles now imported were excluded by a tariff high enough to make it profitable to raise or manufacture them at home, our foreign import trade must cease altogether. We do not maintain that this extreme result ever will flow from a protective tariff; but we assert, without hesitation, that such are its results, precisely as far as it produces the effect intended.

But this is not all. In an equal degree it diminishes our export trade and cuts off the foreign market for the produce of our farmers and planters, and the fabrics of our mechanics and manufacturers. Most commercial nations pay for what they buy from abroad in their own produce and manufactures. If they pay in money, that money has first to be purchased by the proceeds of their labor, as the precious metals are not of their domestic production. By cutting off their trade with us, in whole or in part, we diminish their ability to buy of us, and thus impair our own market abroad. If we ceased to buy of them altogether, they must of necessity cease to buy of us, or must confine their purchases in amount to the profits of their trade with other countries, which would be the only means of payment left them.

But, say the Protectionists, returns would then be made in gold and silver, and money would become abundant in our country. Such would doubtless be the result at first; but what benefits would arise from it? The precious metals are not food, drink, shelter, or clothing. They are property, but unproductive property; they do not directly administer to the sustenance, health, comfort, or pleasures of mankind. To one starving in a desert, they are as valueless as the sands which blister his feet and choke his respiration. Yet they are property, under ordinary circumstances, in its most available, and therefore most desirable form. That our country should possess its share of this kind of property, in common with other commercial nations, is necessary to the regularity of its trade and the stability of its prices. This proportion it would always possess, with a foreign commerce regulated by the laws of trade, without legislative tampering, and in the absence of its mortal enemy, *paper money*.

But let us look for a moment at the benefits which would accrue if all the brilliant pictures painted by the tariffites to gain supporters were immediately realized. Let us suppose that our foreign exports amount to one hundred and fifty millions a year, and that, in consequence of the effectual protection of "home industry," the entire returns are made in gold and silver. Our cur-

rency being relieved from all restraint by the influx of money, would pour forth their millions *pari passu* with the millions of specie coming in from abroad. The immediate consequences would be a superabundance of money, unlimited credit, increase of prices—double, treble, tenfold—inordinate, unbounded, and unprincipled speculation in every species of property and paper credits, beyond any thing witnessed or conceived of in 1835-6-7, together with the prostration of regular business, useful industry, and sound morals. This forced state of things would soon cure itself, by a convulsion more fearful than that which has kept the country in spasms ever since 1837. In the first place the commercial world would find it impossible to pay us one hundred and fifty millions in specie for our exports during a series of years. The operations of one year would make specie more valuable every where else than in the United States; and, in consequence of our high prices, they would purchase of other countries, with their specie, the articles they had heretofore bought of us. Deprived thus of our last article of import from abroad, we should become another Chinese empire, though a little more secluded from the family of nations, enjoying in their utmost perfection the benefits of *tariff taxation* and *pseudo protection*.

Again: we admit that this extreme result is neither practicable nor in the contemplation of any tariff fanatic, however extravagant. We present it to show the beauties of the system if carried out, and in the full conviction that every step of tariff protection is one step in the downward path towards this perdition; that most, if not every item of tariff protection, so far as successful, is an item of mischief inflicted upon the dearest interests of the country.

But you cannot deny, says the tariffite, that a home market for the planter, farmer and mechanic, and employment, with good wages for the laborer, are good things, and that these are the necessary effect of the protective tariff.

"A home market!" We admit that a home market is, in the abstract, a very good thing, but we doubt its benefits to the farmer, or any other class, when it compels them to pay *much more for what they have to buy* than if they sold and bought in a foreign market. In our "home market," the farmer can get two yards of cloth for a bushel of wheat; but in the foreign market he can get three yards of cloth for a bushel. Now which is the best market for a farmer? On one side of the street here is the factory store, where the American manufacturers will give him two yards of American cloth for a bushel of wheat; on the other side of the street there is a merchant who will give him three yards of just as good foreign cloth for the same quantity of wheat. Now which side of the street is it his interest to buy? Is it not better for him that the merchant should take his wheat and send it to England, than that he should sell it to be consumed in the factory, when by its going abroad, he can get *fifty per cent. more for it in necessities and comforts for his family*?

It is not alone the nominal price at which the farmer can sell his produce which concerns him; he has an interest, also, in the price of every thing that he buys. If the law be so framed as to add fifty per cent. to the prices of all that he buys, it

is the same to him as if they reduced one-third the prices of all he has to sell. If he could get two dollars for two bushels of wheat, and for those two dollars could get two yards of cloth; and, under those circumstances, Congress were to impose a tariff on imported cloth, raising the price to one dollar and a half per yard, it is evident that it would take three dollars (the price of three bushels of wheat) to buy the same quantity of cloth. Now the effect upon the farmer is the same as if Congress, instead of increasing the price one-half, had reduced the price of wheat one-third. But not meddling with the matter at all, two bushels of wheat would buy two yards of cloth; but adding fifty per cent to the price of the cloth, they make two yards cost three bushels. It would evidently be the same thing to the farmer if they were to let the cloth alone, and reduce the price of three bushels of wheat to the price of two. And this is the practical effect of a protective tariff upon the interests of the farmers, so far as they purchase imported or protected articles. This is what is called, "*protecting home industry*!" and giving our farmers a "*home market*."

"*Employment and good wages to the laborer*." In the abstract, this also is a very good thing; but we must shut our eyes to the ultimate consequences. Look at those consequences as developed in England and Scotland, where the "*system*" has been carried out. At first, no doubt, the manufacturing establishments gave employment and "good wages," but, by degrees, the condition of the laborer became one of absolute dependence on the owners of the factories, not only for employment, but for subsistence. At this moment there are tens of thousands in the British isles whose labor is barely sufficient, when in good health, to earn a miserable subsistence for themselves and families; and if sick or discharged, famine and pestilence desolate their miserable dwellings.

"*Girls*," said the late Judge RICHARDSON, of New Hampshire, to the writer a few years ago, "*are the best STOCK we can raise in New England*." This was spoken, not in praise of the protective system or its effects, nor in derision of the fair sex; but to illustrate an important truth in a way peculiar to that excellent and gifted man. The manufacturing system has made girls more profitable to their employers than are *oxen and horses to their owners*. As yet, they are not so dependent; but when those establishments arrive at *British perfection*, they will have become *stock* indeed.

"Who owns those blocks of neat houses?" we asked of the same gentleman while looking at the village of Nashau.

"They belong to the company, who rent them out."

"What sort of people live in them?"

"The boarding house keepers and families, the masters or members of whom are employed about the factories or machine shops, or in business connected with them."

"What large well furnished store is that?"

"It is the company's store, where their hands spend their wages."

"Do they sell any thing there but the goods they manufacture?"

"Oh, yes; foreign goods, groceries, every thing."

"The long and short of the matter is," said the

Judge, "*this whole village works for the company for their victuals and clothes.*"

In two sentences, uttered by that clear-headed man, the effects of the system were clearly defined. It converts laborers into "STOCK;" it makes whole villages, and the country besides, "*work for the manufacturing capitalists, receiving, in return, their victuals and clothes.*" It gives laborers "*employment*;" so does farming give employment to horses and oxen. Whatever its first effects may seem to be, it tends to place the laborer in a state of endless servitude; spending the prime of life in laboring for his "*victuals and clothes,*" without the consolation of the African negro, that those for whom he has toiled in youth and manhood will be obliged to support him in old age.

Is there a true-hearted patriot, philanthropist or Christian, who thinks the factory state better for themselves than the family circle? Is there a man who believes that their health or morals are improved by being removed from the wholesome air of their own native hills, and the watchful care and constant admonitions of anxious parents, to those hot and dusty working rooms in the large factories, crammed into crowded boarding houses, and exposed to all manner of temptation and follies? No, no; every good man responds that it is impossible.

And the *young men*! It is better for them, for their independence, health, and morals, to be removed from their native farms, where virtue and corn are cultivated together, and health gushes from every spring, to populous towns and villages where vice grows up as in hot beds, and every gale is tainted with disease, to become themselves the dependants of a few rich men, and leave their posterity under the doom which now broods over millions of their fellow beings, thus left by their ancestors in the British isles? What good man would not prefer to see them independent cultivators of the soil, owning the land they till, though it might be small in compass, and raising up a set of fine children, whose most precious legacy shall be virtue, health, liberty, and independence?

Our aspirations for our country are, that its *principal* and *governing* population may long be well educated tillers of the soil, owning the lands they cultivate; and independent mechanics, too proud of their own liberty to sell their services to any man on other conditions than those of perfect equality, both as citizens and men.—*Kendall's Expositor.*

Observations on the Practical Operations and Effect of a "Protective Tariff," by an old Manufacturer.

The future historian, in writing a history of our country for the first forty years of the nineteenth century, will be compelled to acknowledge that no subject, except perhaps the banking and currency question, has produced so much agitation and excitement, has been the object of so much legislation, and has been so little understood, as that of a "Protective Tariff." He will pause and wonder that a people so intelligent as we believe ourselves to be—that statesmen of the highest reputation for talents, should be so egregiously deceived and misled as to its real PRACTICAL operation. Posterity will behold with astonishment the fact that a separation of these States and a terrible revolution had nearly been brought about in a vain and foolish attempt to sus-

tain a measure, not only useless, but absolutely ruinous to the interests of the very persons (the manufacturers) who fought hardest for it, and it will not a little add to their surprise, on learning that a policy so deceptive was dignified by the term "American System."

It was hoped and believed by many that the compromise bill, as it is termed, would forever have settled this "vexed question," but some three years since new champions for a "Protective Tariff" sprung up in different directions almost at the same instant, as if by previous concert, and they have ever since been striving hard to bring the subject up, evincing clearly one of two things; it is either intended to favor some political manoeuvre, or else has its origin in an unenviable ignorance of the whole subject. It is easy to see, however, and requires no prophet to foretell, that these persons will entirely fail in their object—the time for the practice of this and other descriptions has gone by, "the schoolmaster has been abroad," the scales have fallen from our eyes. The sun has risen and shed abroad, far and wide, a flood of light where, but a short time since, all was darkness and ignorance. The Currency Question, with which the Tariff is so intimately connected, as I propose to show hereafter, ten years back, was almost a "sealed book"—few, very few, had devoted any attention to the subject, or understood the simplest facts connected with it, but now it is entirely a different case—various circumstances have set the people to THINKING; our country has, for the last ten years, resembled a vast debating school, with the banking and currency questions before it, and almost every citizen has more or less participated in the debate with a lively interest in the subject—the consequence of which is, that it is now extensively understood—the light has flown over the mountains, through the valleys—it has penetrated every town and village, the farm house, the manufactory and the work shop—every where the subject is becoming familiar, except, perhaps, in the banks and the counting houses; in the latter it is just now, at the eleventh hour beginning to penetrate, but in the dark abode of the former, it probably never will, for the simple reason that it there comes in contact with a powerful force, that of self interest.

I am confirmed in these views of the subject by my own individual experience. I have been engaged in manufacturing of various kinds for thirty years; for a long time I was, and with perfect security, as loud a brawler for a tariff as any other I then thought that every thing depended on it. Scarcely a meeting was held in reference to it in this vicinity, that I did not participate in; but when, ten years since, by a mere chance, my attention was drawn to the currency question, I soon discovered that I and all the manufacturers were thoroughly duped; or to use a more modern term "humbugged," and I was not a little chagrined when I discovered the fact.

With these preliminaries I propose, in a few short essays, to take a plain, common sense view of the practical operation and effect of the "Tariff." I shall address myself more particularly to manufacturers, and lay before them a few facts and circumstances which they, better than others, can appreciate.

run, with but very few exceptions, been unproductive and unprofitable. Take those under our own eyes, in the vicinity of this city, for instance and it is not notorious that three fourths of them, at least, have been unfortunate and changed owners, in most cases ruining their proprietors. Manufacturers are aware of this fact; but to satisfy those who are not let me refer to Manayunk, one of the most extensive manufacturing towns in Pennsylvania. The first two factories were erected there in 1819 and 1820; the remainder have been built within the last 17 years. Manayunk, now contains seventeen large manufactories, principally cotton—only two of these are now held by the original proprietors; one is a flour mill, the other has not been long erected. Some of them have changed owners two or three different times; and, I venture to say, that no proprietor ever came out of them unscathed, or would not have been glad at any time to have sold out his interest in them at infinitely less than cost. One of them which cost, in buildings and machinery, in 1824, one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, was sold by the Sheriff, ten years after, for TWENTY THOUSAND DOLLARS. The persons who got it even at this extremely low price were in their turn unfortunate, and unable to make it pay. These things are not peculiar to Manayunk, but have been witnessed all over our country wherever manufactories exist. When we consider the amount of talent, enterprise, ingenuity and industry connected with them, we are forced to the conclusion that there must be some deep-rooted cause of their misfortunes beyond the power of those engaged in them to control. It is all vain to attribute these misfortunes, to the operation of the tariff; they occur equally under high and low tariffs. It is equally vain and ridiculous to attribute them to the measures of this administration or of that—the existence or non-existence of a national bank, &c. The same misfortunes were alike under the administration of Madison, Monroe, Adams, Jackson, Van Buren and Tyler—with a national bank and without it. The impartial, unprejudiced searcher after truth, will find no difference, except that the difficulties have gradually increased in number and extent in proportion to the growth and increase of our rotten paper banking system to which I attribute all their misfortunes. I have long been fully convinced that the "Tariff," so far as the manufacturer is concerned, is all a deception, the practical effect of which is to benefit the banking interests, and not, as is foolishly supposed, to protect the manufacturer, to whom it emphatically "holds out promises to the ear and breaks them to the hope." As an illustration of this view of the subject, suppose business to be in a regular train, no panic or difficulty existing; then suppose, further, that the tariff be doubled tomorrow; what would be the practical effect? Let us see. Importations of manufactured articles would be lessened for a few weeks, or at least months; this would certainly benefit the manufacturer for the moment; our exports would not decrease, at least to the same extent; this state of things would very soon bring the balance of trade in our favor, and of course there would be no demand for specie from abroad. This foreign demand for specie, be it recollected, is the ONLY efficient check against inordinate issues by the banks; take that away and there would be no end to their issues. The banks, therefore, moved by the universal law of self-interest, and being unchecked by a foreign demand for specie, would immediately take the advantage, let out and rapidly expand their

circulation; this, of course, will raise the price of all necessities for life, and consequently of labor, and oblige the manufacturer to raise the price of his goods. The banks would continue to expand, and as a consequence the goods to rise, until it arrived at that point at which the tariff, HOWEVER HIGH, would be no tariff at all, so far as the interests and protection of the manufacturer is concerned. When it arrives at that point, the foreign manufacturer would again send his goods, and the people be doubly taxed to pay the increased tariff; not as is (I repeat it) foolishly supposed to protect American labor and industry, but to benefit and bolster up our rotten banking system by an extension of its circulation. By this simple process the banks "nullify" and engross to themselves all the benefits and advantages the nation intended the manufacturers should derive from the tariff. When the point above referred to would be reached, the banks would again be checked from going beyond it, by demands for specie from abroad. Nothing is more certain than the fact, that exactly in the proportion the tariff is increased, are the banks enabled to increase their circulation, and VICE VERSA, in the same proportion the tariff is decreased will they be forced to diminish their circulation.—*Public Ledger.*

THE DEMOCRATIC POLICY.

The position occupied by the State of New York under the democratic policy, is one of proud pre-eminence, and one of which her citizens may justly be proud. In the worst of times she has dared to be true to her own high character—just towards those who placed their confidence in her plighted faith—and mindful of the lasting interests of her own free population.—Amidst the denunciations of political opponents and the forebodings of timid friends, her democratic representatives emerged with firmness and decision upon the course pointed out alike by honor and duty. Their confidence was based upon the integrity and intelligence of the people, and it remains yet to be demonstrated whether or not the popular judgment is in accordance with the course of policy marked out by the legislature at its last session. We believe that it is. We believe that that policy in its general features, combining as it does present duty with permanent interest, will triumph over the machinations of political hostility, local cupidity and private interest.

Let us look for a moment at the aspect of affairs as they existed at the period which marked the democratic ascendancy in our state affairs. Many of the states had failed to comply with their pecuniary engagements—some from pre-determination, others from inability. Confidence in state obligations had sunk to so low an ebb, that further negotiations, if not utterly impossible, could only be carried on at the most ruinous sacrifices. Abroad, public credit was annihilated; at home, all was doubt, jealousy and distrust. Added to extraneous difficulties in this state, an administration held power which was pledged to no specific policy but that of spending all within its grasp—an administration that had derided the prudent maxims and cautious advances of its democratic predecessors, and openly proclaimed that the resources of the state were illimitable,—that economy was an obsolete virtue worthy only of the dark days of democratic ascendancy, whilst borrowing and spending constituted in reality the royal road to riches and greatness.

Acting upon these principles it is by no means strange that they soon found "the bottom of the loan bag," and when the present democratic incumbents took the possession assigned them, they found what? A bankrupt treasury—obligations for millions running to maturity without a dollar to meet them—hundreds of contractors and laborers thundering at the doors of the treasury for the payment of their just demands, whilst the financial officers of the State were standing impotent for the want of means wherewith to carry on the government.

In this crisis the Democratic Representatives, true to their own characters and the interests committed to their charge, came boldly to the rescue. They appealed without hesitation to the people themselves. They said, and we think correctly, if the public are unwilling to bear the slight burthen rendered necessary to save the credit of the state from dishonor, what reason is there to suppose that they will not resist the heavier infliction which must result from an aggregation of state indebtedness? They reasoned that the claims of honor and justice were as strong now, as they could be at any future season, and hence whilst they adopted such a measure as the exigency in the case seemed to demand, they at the same moment guarded for the time being against the recurrence of the unhappy events which marked the history of our sister states.

In vain, however, was this oblation upon the altar of public necessity, if the door to extravagant expenditure is again to be thrown open. That our state credit has been in a manner resuscitated by the measures that have been adopted, is indubitably correct. But it should be remembered that we are only upon the threshold of improvement, and that one false step may plunge us back into the abyss from whose vortex we have but just escaped. Let us not be too soon elated with apparent prosperity. Difficulties *postponed* are not difficulties *overcome*. The future is sufficiently pregnant with embarrassment to furnish necessity for extreme moderation, as well as caution. If the policy indicated at the last session of the legislature is a wise one, and such in its general features we hold it to be, then there is nothing in the present—nothing in the coming prospect—that can warrant the public in abandoning its safe-guards. Whilst we remark this, we say nothing that should lead to the discouragement of rational hopes, or desires not inconsistent with the interests of the whole state. We say then to our democratic friends in every section, have patience, have courage. Time and the recuperative energies of our people will eventually place every thing upon its just footing; but let us hazard nothing by sacrificing a safe and salutary principle either in the obedience to the behests of timidity, or the dictates of a doubtful expediency.—*Rough Hewer*.

MANUFACTURING SYSTEM IN ENGLAND.

Extract of Southey's Life of Cowper.

"The poor at Olney were miserably poor. * * * More than twenty year after this time the average earnings of women at the laze pillow was estimated at nearly six shillings (\$1 44) a week, but the expense of thread amounted to an eighth of the gross value of the laze. From such wages it was scarcely possible under the most favorable circumstances to make any provision against evil days; and the employment is an unhealthy one, as any sc-

dentary employment must be wherein human beings are occupied, in summer from six or seven in the morning till dusk, and in winter from daylight till ten or eleven at night. A cry against slavery was raised in Cowper's days;—in our own days it has prevailed, and brought about a consummation which was devoutly to be wished; though it were to be wished also that the emancipation had been graduated, and the negroes better prepared for it. A cry has now been raised against that manufacturing system, which, in our own country, extorts from what is called free labor more than slavish toil: it has gone up to heaven; and no spirit of prophecy is required to foresee that, unless timely and effectual remedies can be applied, it must, in its inevitable consequences, draw vengeance down."

These are the statements and sentiments, not of a British radical, nor even of a British whig, but of a British tory—the most conservative of all conservative animals—the greatest stickler for ancient abuses. The awakening of a hardened politician of this stamp is like the awakening of a hardened sinner. Now what does he tell us?

1. That under their manufacturing system the women who weave lacc, earn on an average, less than 24 cents a day, out of which is to be deducted 4 cents for the cost of the thread, leaving the scanty remuneration of 20 cents for unremitting toil during 14 or 15 hours, (in winter from day light till ten or eleven at night.)

2. That this toil brings disease in its train.

3. That the English manufacturing system extorts from what is called free labor more than slavish toil."

4. That the English themselves, even the tory part of them, are awaking to the evils of this system, and are in dread of the consequences.

This system, now reprobated abroad, the home leaguers are seeking to fasten upon this country—the system of palaces and hovels, the inevitable result of high taxes, protected manufactures, and a national debt; the system which reduces the earnings of industry to less than ONE CENT and THREE QUARTERS for the labor of *one hour!* out of which miserable pittance the starving wretches are to procure, if they can, shelter, fire, lights, clothing and food for themselves, and for those of their family who are too young, or too old, or too infirm to labor. If they cannot do this, there yawns the parish poor house! The thought is sickening!

Pause, O our countrymen, before you leave a foot print upon this path! The poet sings that the descent to hell is easy, but the labor and difficulty is to re-ascend to the upper air. So will it be with the manufacturing system. Be wise in time; touch not, meddle not, handle not; lest when the day cometh, as come it will, and come it must, when the distress and the poverty, and the crime, engendered by that poverty, shall cause a cry to go up to heaven from this country also, against this nefarious system; the remedy may be as difficult to find here as in England, and vengeance be drawn down from the seat of eternal justice and judgment upon this land, now so prosperous, so favored, and so happy.—*Bay State Democrat*.

WHIG CREED "DISCLOSED FOR THE PUBLIC EYE"—CLAY AND A BANK—Consistency of State Printer WEEB, and his Renunciation of his Party!

The whig party are emboldened to relinquish the concealment policy pursued by them at the last

Presidential election, in regard to the Bank question. A large meeting of that party in the city of New York, on Wednesday last, nominating HENRY CLAY for the Presidency in 1844, and "resolved unanimously" to stand or fall by the great measure which is the nearest of all others to their hearts, the *re-charter of the rotten old Biddle Bank at Philadelphia.*

Such a bank is now undisguisedly included in the "whig creed," as declared in the published proceedings of the party in public meeting. This changed policy, this frank avowal of their principles by the Bank party, was due to the electors whose suffrages they seek, and, we cheerfully concede, presents an honorable contrast with their former course of duplicity, concealment, and fraud upon the people.

In announcing these proceedings, the Albany Evening Journal exultingly remarks: "Mr. Clay" is in the field, and that field is a clear one.—*"There is no other whig candidate."* The action "of the party will be UNITED and UNANIMOUS. Differing with our friends in relation to the Presidential nomination *only as to time*, it is scarcely necessary to say that *WE are with them, HAND and HEART.*"

Considering the recent resolution of the State Printer never again to be "caught in a Bank trap," this is certainly a very cordial, if not unexpected, giving in of adhesion to the bank candidate. [Taken in connexion with his former avowals, however, from which we shall presently make a quotation or two, the meaning of the language expressed above may perhaps be regarded as somewhat doubtful.]

But to the creed of the whig party,—does the reader enquire what it is? We give in full, as now officially promulgated by the great Clay meeting in New York, and as we find it printed in the Evening Journal:—

☞ "The Whig Creed is that of Henry Clay.—It may be summoned up as shortly, and in as few words as the ten commandments. It includes a Tariff of Duties which shall be adequate to meet all just demands against the Government. It includes the restoration of a National Currency, and this can only be done by the RE-CHARTER OF A NATIONAL BANK, framed too on the principles of that which Andrew Jackson vetoed in 1832."

This, we are sure, is sufficiently explicit.—There can be no misunderstanding as to the character of the institution that the whigs are aiming again to fasten upon the country. Concerning the character and the conduct of the Bank which Andrew Jackson vetoed in 1832, and which is to be the model for the re-chartered one, the Eve. Journal recently furnished this testimony:—

"We have seen and heard enough of the INJURIES and FRAUDS of that *BLOATED MONSTER*, to make us loathe the thought of a United States Bank. A keen and indignant recollection of its ROBBERIES and ROTTENNESS will remain until an injured generation passes away. And yet, in view of all its RUIN and MISERY—regardless of these multiplied, aggravated, and unavenged FRAUDS and VILLANIES—some seek to make the question of an 'old fashioned United States Bank, an element in the approaching Presidential canvass! Yes, experienced, enlightened, and pa-

triotic statesmen, are deliberately proposing to go down to the ballot boxes in favor of the incorporation of a NATIONAL BANK, while a PLUNDERED PEOPLE and a DISHONORED COUNTRY, bleeding and bruised, RECOIL WITH DISGUST AND HORROR from an issue so pregnant with EVIL to themselves, their cause, and their country!" (Again:) "We shall be ready to take the field when we are assured that a UNITED STATES BANK MILL-STONE is not to be tied to our neck; BUT WE HAVE NO STOMACH FOR THE FIGHT, WHILE THAT ROTTEN, REEKING CARCASS is offending the nostrils of the People."

And subsequently, the editor of the Journal declared—

"WE CANNOT CONSENT to go DOWN to the People, at a Presidential election, in favor of a UNITED STATES BANK * * The moment the whig party determines to refer the Bank issue to the ballot boxes, we will cheerfully surrender our place and our paper."

Now mark this pledge of an unprincipled "office-holder" whose rapacity for the "spoils" has been gorged from the people's treasury, to the tune of \$60,000 a year, until he well might be willing to retire to private life with his ill gotten fortune. The "moment" has arrived when the whig party have determined to "go down to the people" with the Bank issue: We shall see whether his Royal Highness the State Printer will condescend to stoop so low, (in violation of his pledge,) or whether he will rather "surrender his place and his paper": We shall see if Thurlow Weed will secede from the federal party, on account of his pretended opposition to the Bank which they go for!—Wayne Sentinel.

THE DEMOCRATIC POLICY.

Equal Laws to secure to all equal Rights and Privileges—Repeal of the bill distributing the proceeds of the Public Lands among the States—a just and equitable Tariff sufficient to meet the current expenses of the Government—uncompromisingly opposed to a Bank of the United States in any form.

Above are the leading measures which the Democracy of the country are now contending for, and to all of which the present whig party are opposed. Let us look candidly and fairly at these measures, and see if they are not of the kind to be desired by every one, who wishes his country's welfare.

First, the Democracy insist upon a repeal of the Distribution Bill, for the reason that while our country is in debt, and has not the means to meet the demands against her, it is highly impolitic to take money arising from the sales of the public lands, which should go to the payment of her just debts, and distribute it as a gift among the several States; and then, by an indirect tax upon the people, through a high protective Tariff, raise the means of defraying the expenses of the Government. What should we think of a man doing business in our community who would give yearly his whole income to his children, and then when called on by his creditors for their just claims against him, would solicit aid from the public to enable him to meet their claims? The whole community would set their face against such a course, and yet this is the principle supported by the Federal leaders by adhering to that bill. Let it be remembered that they not only insist upon

* Where is Gen. Scott's self-nominating Circular, and Thad. Steven's Scott party in Pennsylvania?

the Distribution principle, but at the same time contend strenuously for a Tax upon the People, to be placed upon the necessities for life, to replace this same money which they by this bill so foolishly are giving away. Can any man doubt then, for a moment, which of the political parties of our country are correct in their views upon this subject?

Then as to a Tariff, the democracy are accused of being hostile to the Manufacturing and Farming interests, by being opposed to a Tariff. Now let us see for a moment, what the position of the Democracy is upon this subject. They contend, first, that the Government must cease squandering their means by curtailing their expenses in every shape; and by keeping their money which they are now giving to the States; replenish the Treasury; after that is done, whatever necessary expense is incurred in carrying on economically our Government beyond these means of payment, they are willing a just and equitable Tariff should be established for the purpose of defraying. And in imposing that Tariff, they think a just regard should be had for the interests of all that no particular class of men should be selected from among our industrious citizens to be the peculiar favorites of the government, but that all are equally entitled to her protection and fostering care. These are the views of the Democracy upon this subject, as far as we have been able to understand them.

A Bank of the United States, is another of the great questions at issue between the two contending parties in our country. At the last great contest in 1840, the whigs knowing the decided hostility of the people to such an institution, dare not openly avow their intentions of establishing one; but of their intentions who will doubt, when they look at the acts of their leaders upon coming into power. An extra session of Congress was immediately called, at an expense of some FIVE MILLIONS OF DOLLARS, for the purpose of fastening this Monster again upon the country. But thanks to the integrity of the President, who interposed his veto to the measure, they were foiled in the attempt. And shall we be asked what are the reasons of the Democracy for their opposition to such an institution of this kind? We answer, look at the conduct of the old Bank of the United States, her interference in elections, her bribery and corruption of our Public men, her enormous frauds upon the public. The misery and want, nay, beggary itself, which she has brought upon thousands of her fellow citizens; of those who had put confidence in her honesty, and invested their all in her stock; And you will have some of the reasons why the democracy are opposed to restoring her again to life, to once more prowl upon the community. It is in the embraces of such an institution, that whiggery lives and prospers, and it is for her re-establishment that Henry Clay and the other leaders of the whig party are devoting their whole energies. Let the Democracy stand firm upon this question, and teach these purse proud aristocrats that the monster hydra headed as he is, shall no more be forced upon us, and every effort they make to restore her, they shall be met in the start by the just condemnation of an indignant people. And what are the arguments to be made use of by the whigs to controvert these principles? Why, we have it publicly announced in their journals that the same disgraceful scenes are to be enacted as in 1840, with this difference, that Clay Huts are to be substituted for log cabins,

and small Clay Banks for coon skins. We have not yet learned that they have any substitute for Hard Cider. And with such arguments as these, together with songs, addressed to an intelligent people, they think to succeed in again duping them; whether they succeed or not, is for the people to decide; with them we leave it, without the least fear for the result.—*Champion.*

JACKSON AND HULL.

Nothing can be more significant of the natural and instinctive sympathies of the whig or anti-popular party, than the action of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate in the cases of General Jackson and General Hull—it is humiliating to be obliged to bring such names in juxtaposition.—That committee reported against the just claim of General Jackson, for money actually paid by him, under circumstances which reflect upon him the highest honor because forsooth, there was no legal record of a fact, as well and universally known as the battle of New Orleans, or any other great historical event; and now they actually report a bill of payment to the heirs of General Hull, (who took refuge from the charge of treachery in that of cowardice,) of the salary alleged to be due him, as Governor of Michigan, after he had most disgracefully surrendered it to the enemy! What will the country say to this preposterous incongruity, or rather disloyal and unpatriotic discrimination, which would seem an incredible calumny were it not of such recent and public transaction.

Mr. Preston wisely spared his party a most humiliating discomfiture by providing for it a hasty retreat, in moving to lay the monstrous bill upon the table. The whole affair is appropriately characterized in the brief remarks of Mr. Calhoun, whose generous indignation upon the occasion is very honorable to him, considering his late personal and political relation with General Jackson.

Mr. Calhoun said that he was not a little surprised with several things connected with the subject before the Senate.

He was in the first place surprised that the representatives of General Hull should ever think of presenting this claim to Congress. He would not be more so if the representatives of Arnold should present a claim for his pay, as a general in our service, after he had committed his treason on the ground he held the commission of a general, which had not been revoked. It would be every whit as reasonable as this. He could never forget the deep and universal indignation which pervaded the whole country on the surrender of Detroit. Never before nor since, had he witnessed anything like it. He agreed with his colleague that the judgment then pronounced by the public on the act, had never been reversed, and probably never would be.

He was still more surprised that so respectable a committee as that on the Judiciary, should report in favor of the claim. How could his pay as Governor be allowed, when there was, for the time, no such Territory as Michigan. It had, by his own act, become a British Province, and remained so until it was reconquered by the army under General Harrison.—With what show, then, of justice and equity, could he be paid for governing a Territory that had ceased to exist by his own act?—The error of the committee consisted in supposing that the commission—the mere paper and wax—and not the service gave the pay.

But what surprised him most of all was the fact that the respectable committee should report in favor of the claims of General Hull, after having reported against that of General Jackson. His was a clear case. He paid the fine which had been imposed for an act done in the performance of a duty of the last importance to the Union, and for which he received the thanks of the Government and the country, and yet the same committee, at the same session, which reported against returning the money to General Jackson, who successfully defended New Orleans, now report in favor of allowing the pay of General Hull for governing the Territory of Michigan, which he for a time lost to the Union, cowardice or treason! How strange that such equal justice should be meted out by the committee to General Jackson, who terminated the war with glory, and General Hull, who commenced it with disgrace!—*Washington Spectator*.

LETTER FROM GENERAL JACKSON.

HERMITAGE, June 9, 1842.

DEAR SIR:—I have received your letter of the 24th of May last, and since, I have also received the *Globe* containing the speech of Senator Conrad of Louisiana, on the bill to refund to me the fine &c. imposed by Judge Hall, who is styled by Mr. Conrad the UPRIGHT judge.

The feeling and sentiment displayed by Mr. Conrad in his speech truly astonish me. They are the very opposite of those entertained by the patriots who were engaged in the defence of New Orleans, not one of whom considered Judge Hall as performing the part of a good citizen in the proceedings which he instituted against me. They are such as Abner L. Duncan, Esq.—under whose patronage Mr. Conrad was raised, and who, with the character of a distinguished jurist, combined that of the fearless soldier and the good man—would have been ashamed to avow. Although at that time Mr. Conrad was a youth, he cannot have forgotten the leading facts of the case; and the lessons he learned from his patron should have taught him to disgust the motive of those who, in such an urgency as that at New Orleans, obtained applause from those alone who was inimical to their country.

It is a source of the deepest regret to me, that Mr. Conrad has disturbed the sleeping ashes of the Judge, for the purpose of throwing an unjust imputation on my character. The fault must be his, if, in dying so, truth and justice will compel the public to discredit his statement.

What are the prominent facts?

After intelligence had been received of the embarkment of the British troops at Plymouth, in England, and that their object was the invasion of New Orleans; and whilst I was engaged with all exertions in repelling their advance, which was then in possession of Pensacola—it being necessary for me to clear my left flank of the enemy before I could proceed to New Orleans to meet them—several committees from New Orleans waited upon me at Mobile, (the committee of safety and the committee of vigilance,) all giving me similar information to that communicated by Governor Claiborne's letters, which were appended to my defence, and produced before Judge Hall, under his rule to appear and show cause why an attachment should not issue for a contempt, which you have published in the *Globe*, and to which I refer. Having expelled the British from

Pensacola, and made the necessary arrangements for the defence of Mobile, I hastened to New Orleans, and reached there on the morning of the first of December—commencing then my arrangements for the defence of that country. When I arrived there, every thing was despondency and alarm at the approach of such an overwhelming force. The traitors to our cause were emboldened. There were no arms—not even flints—in the arsenal; and the means for defence were in all respects deficient. I had nothing to depend upon but the hope of arousing the citizens to that high feeling of patriotism which would make them as one man in union and energy. A call was made on the Louisiana militia in mass; plans were formed to prevent traitors and spies from communicating with the enemy.

Soon after my arrival, I was made acquainted with Judge Hall, who appeared willing to aid in the measures of defence. He was present at many interviews I had with the committees of vigilance and safety. The Legislature was in session, and had passed a law laying an embargo on all vessels; thus enabling Commodore Patterson to impress the seamen to man his flotilla.—The judge had opened the jails, and liberated the prisoners charged with piracy, &c., without bail, and had adjourned the court. The subject was discussed whether, in addition to these measures, a real necessity did not exist for the declaration of martial law in New Orleans, which had now become my camp. The Judge was present when this question was decided in the affirmative, and, by his gestures, he appeared to approve the decision. But as the Legislature had assumed the power to pass the embargo law, acting upon the necessity of the case, I appealed to it to exert the same power in suspending the writ of habeas corpus during the invasion. This was opposed by Louallier, and by those who wished to surrender the city to the enemy. The application failed. Events, however, soon made it apparent that, without the declaration of martial law, the city could not be defended; and I took the responsibility upon myself of making the declaration in time to profit by the additional power it gave to the military arrangements for the defence; and the morning I declared it, Judge Hall was in my office, and heard it read. It was then he exclaimed, *Now the country may be saved; without it, it was lost*. Application was then made to the Legislature to adjourn, in order that all might join in the defence. This was refused by the majority—the Republican members voting for it. A request was then made by the Governor to adjourn to Baton Rouge. This was also refused—the Republicans voting for it. The enemy had attacked and destroyed our gun-boats, which gave new alarm to some, and fresh encouragement to traitors. It gave noble resolution to the true patriot.

One of the details of the order declaring martial law was, "that the lamps be put out at 9 o'clock, and all found in the streets after that should be apprehended, and carried to the provost guard for examination." This rule proved inconvenient to the Judge, who was a bachelor, and spent his evenings with the ladies. He applied through the marshal to be exempted from this rule; which I resisted until it was repeated by the mayor and alderman, and other gentlemen of high standing,

when it was granted with great reluctance. Under this order, he passed my sentinels in the night—fled to the upper country, and did not return until after the battle of the 8th. On his return, he was received with great coolness by all his republican friends, and particularly by the ladies, because he had left them and the city exposed to the attacks of an infuriated soldiery, when he ought to have remained, and, by his example, stimulated a noble defence. This reception mortified the Judge. He was thrown into a fit of dissipation, and into the hands of Blanc, Louallier & Co., who made a tool of him to bring about a conflict between the civil and military power, under the expectation of exciting the brave Louisianians to some violent act, or of subjecting me to the imputation of military tyranny. Mr. Conrad well knows what difficulty I had in restraining the people from committing violence on the Judge, Louallier, Blanc & Co.

About the time of the Judge's return to the city, Louallier published his inflammatory address to the people, intended to create mutiny in my camp, and the desertion of the troops from their posts of defence. He was arrested for exciting mutiny, and as a spy for giving intelligence to the enemy; not—as Mr. Conrad asserts in his speech—for a libel. But, before the arrest was made, he secreted himself, until he had arranged with Judge Hall for the appearance of a writ of *habeas corpus*. This being done, he made his appearance at the coffee house on the 5th of March, when he was arrested. On his being delivered to the provost guard, Colonel Arbuckle commanding, who had been instructed to treat him kindly, and to furnish him with pen, ink, and paper, &c., communicated to him his instructions. Louallier thanked him, saying, "I will not be one hour with you." "How so?" inquired Col A. He replied, "There is a writ of *habeas corpus* out for me." This was communicated to me. I immediately sent to inquire whether it was true that Judge Hall had issued the writ before Louallier was arrested. Being informed that it had been so issued, and that Judge Hall's name was subscribed to it, I forthwith issued an order for the arrest of D. A. Hall, for aiding, abetting, and exciting mutiny in my camp. This was on the 5th. Shortly after, Mr. Duplessis, then marshal, informed me that I was "acting on the belief that the record would prove that Judge Hall had exercised his judicial authority within your camp, thereby interfering with the police of the camp, in violation of martial law, and aiding and exciting mutiny within it. In this you will be mistaken. Therefore you had better look to it, and see whether the date has not been altered from the 5th to the 6th, since the Judge has been arrested." I immediately sent for the clerk and record. When produced, the alteration plainly appeared. I inquired of the clerk by whom the alteration was made. He answered by Judge Hall—that he had sent for him with the record and made the alteration. I retained the original, and gave a certified copy to the clerk, as set forth in my defence, and tendered to the court, for the purpose, at the proper time, of sustaining the majesty of the law against such flagrant violation of it, and to purify the court.

Judge Hall was liberated, and sent beyond the lines of my encampment, with special orders not to return as long as the enemy should be on our

coast. But Mr. Conrad says the enemy had left our coast at this time; and the necessity of martial law ceased. I regret such loose assertions. Had he attended to the record, he would have found that Mr. Livingston returned from the fleet on the 10th, where he had been to complete the cartel for the exchange of prisoners, and on the 11th Mr. Blanchard was at the Balize, delivering the British prisoners to Quarter-master Pedro, from whom he received the confirmation that there were seven or eight men in New Orleans from whom the British received daily information, and every movement of my troops. Mr. Conrad can say whether Blanc & Co., with his two historians, were not suspected of being part of this clique who corresponded with the enemy. They were not at the lines of defence.

Peace being announced, and my proclamation promulgated removing martial law, Judge Hall returned to the city; and we were all in the midst of joy and pious gratitude to the all-wise Providence that had crowned our exertions with success, he commenced his proceedings against me, requiring me to attend at a named day, and show cause why a writ of attachment should not be issued against me. Agreeably to the rule, I attended, and presented my defence, which he refused to hear. The result was that, depriving me of my constitutional right of defence, he fined me one thousand dollars; and suppressing a full record of the proceedings, he compelled me to have one made out on the oaths of Abner L. Duncan, Esq., Edward Livingston, Esq., and Major John Reid, who acted as my counsel.

From these facts, which Mr. Conrad will not dare to deny over his own signature, I have the right to ask him, was it consistent with the character of an *upright judge* to alter the record, for the base purpose intended—that is to say, to show, on the trial of a prosecution against me, that I had arrested him before he had attempted to exercise judicial authority in my camp, then under martial law, the necessity for declaring said law being admitted by him? Was it consistent with the character of an *upright judge*, after putting me under the rules to show cause why an attachment should not issue against me, and, on my appearance with my defence, to refuse to hear me—particularly as he was sitting—in his own cause, and from whose judgment there was no appeal?—Lastly: was it not illegal and unjust in him, after he had approved the declaration of martial law, on the ground of that necessity whose office it is to make the law silent when this is indispensable to save the republic?—was it not, I say, dishonorable in him to institute proceedings against me, and insult and fine me, for defending the country by the means he approved and applauded, there being no other offence really charged against me? Is there a man, not carried away by party feelings, who, hearing the facts, will not pronounce it one of the most unjust and vindictive decisions ever pronounced by a judge?

But I will not pursue the subject further. My thanks are due to the Legislatures of New York, Ohio, and Michigan, for their expressions calculated to induce Congress to wipe from my memory the imputation cast upon it by the act of this tyrannical and vindictive judge. My thanks are due, also, to that portion of the Senate which has expressed a wish to refund the fine, but not on

the principle contended for by those who amended the original bill. I am obliged to regard the proviso of Mr. Bayard, adopted by the majority, as but intended to insult my feelings. What! take from Congress money instead of justice? When I apply to Congress, it will be to demand justice, not to ask a favor. They wanted the stain upon my character, imposed upon it by Judge Hall, without good reason, wiped away.

With the smiles of Providence, and by the aid of my brave compatriots in arms, after many days of toil and nights of watchfulness, New Orleans was preserved from the hostile tread of a foreign foe, and her amiable females protected from insult and pollution. In the struggle, I risked my health, my life, and, what is dearer than either, my reputation; and, if the honorable Senators from Louisiana, (Messrs. Conrad and Barrow) believe that I ought to be fined and disgraced for it, I leave them to enjoy all the satisfaction which so refined a patriotism can bring them.

I am, very sincerely and truly, your friend,
ANDREW JACKSON.
F. P. BLAIR, Esq., Editor of the Globe.

FEDERALISM COMPLETING ITS CYCLE.

The planets do not more regularly obey the laws of their motions than parties. Where military rule does not reign, society naturally divides into two great classes—one living by its work, the other by its wits. The same course which these parties have run in England for centuries, is in progress here. A minute observer will easily discover—in running over our recent history, and comparing it with what has occurred in England—analogies which show that the two classes of tax-eaters and tax-payers which, under variously modifying circumstances, have continually kept up the strife of parties there, are the same that beget the political struggles here. The church establishment is one machine of extortion which afflicts the people of England, and sustains their oppressors, from which our Constitution has delivered us. But we have monopolies, paper money, Government debt, and stocks, and all the other machinery by which the labor of the producing class is drawn from them, and turned over to enrich the non-producers, and growing more rapidly than they ever did in England.

The seed of this noxious crop of rank weeds—destined to eat out the fruit of the earth—every body knows was sown by Gen. Hamilton, who admired England's corrupt Government, and honestly believed that the masses never could be governed unless they were artfully stripped of their earnings, kept down by burdens, subjected by hardships, and tamed and corrupted occasionally by small allowances, *as gifts*, from the cribs which they had filled. He introduced the funding system, by the assumption of State debts; followed it up by a bank and the paper money system; and this he supported by a tariff for protection, and the adjunct of corrupt distribution in one form or another to drain the treasury, and spread government influence. The genius of Mr. Jefferson, and the patriotism of the party he embodied, have held in check the progress of this mighty scheme of aristocratic power; and General Jackson seems to have arisen fortunately to crush it forever, when the nation was almost betrayed by leaders who had belonged to the Jeffersonian school, and who still professed to adhere to

its principles. But no sooner was the way blocked by the vetoes of President Jackson to the further progress of the system in the Government of the Union, than it was transferred to the States, by the adroit and ever-active politicians of the Federal clans. Banks sprung up in every State, like mushrooms. Internal improvements were spread like net work in all quarters, and debts were heaped up by the million, and stocks provided to gamble in by every State Legislature. Nothing remains but *concentration*—which is the end of Federal measures in every thing touching the States—to renew the whole policy devised by Hamilton.

The public will remember that, on Mr. Webster's return from England, the Federal journals broached this matter. It was met at the threshold, in Congress, by Grundy's report; and the leaders of the party concluded that it was not safe to make this a public issue during the pendency of the hard-cider campaign. It was settled that their projects should not be developed to "*the public eye*." The managers worked their plots privately with those on whom it was supposed they would operate favorably. But now, as all the subordinate schemes have been brought forward, encountered, and defeated, Mr. Wm. Cost Johnson has—no doubt under the advisement of the Federal caucus—given notice that the grand scheme itself will soon be presented in due form.—*Globe*.

THE ELECTION LAW.

[The following abstract of the leading features of the New Election law.]

(1.) *Qualification of Voters*.—Every male citizen of 21 years of age, and a resident of the state one year, and of the town or county where he offers his vote six months preceding the election, excepting the following cases: 1st. The man of color, who must have resided in this state three years, and be worth 250 dollars in real estate; 2nd. A person convicted of felony who has not received a special pardon,

(2.) *A General Election* is to be held on the Tuesday succeeding the 1st Monday of November, in each year, and to continue for one day only.

Special Elections shall be ordered by proclamation of the Governor when a vacancy occurs, proper to be supplied at a general election. When to any office under that of Governor, no choice shall have been made in consequence of a number of candidates being in the field, special elections are to be ordered by the board of canvassers. In all cases, the elections in the several cities and towns shall be held by election districts.

(3.) *Notices of Elections*, shall be given, 1st, by the Secretary of State, three months immediately preceding the election of Governor and Lieut. Governor, to the Sheriff, Clerk, or first Judge of the county; also, specifying the several officers to be chosen; also, he shall give notice to them of any proclamation of a special election in said county—2nd, by the county and State canvassers, in case of an equality of votes.

It is also provided, that every city and ward shall be divided into election districts, each containing about five hundred voters, and that inspectors of election shall be appointed by the Common Council ten days before the choice of the same at any charter election.

(4.) *The manner of conducting Elections*.—1st,

by the formation of a board of Inspectors; for which purpose they shall meet and organize themselves, by appointing a chairman, clerks, and taking the oath: 2d, challenging any one whose right of voting at that election is disputed; in which case he shall take the oath administered to him by one of the Inspectors, to answer truly all questions put to him touching his qualification as an elector; and in case of a refusal to take the oath, his vote shall be rejected. No person shall have lost or acquired a residence by being a student in any college, an inmate of any alms house or prison, engaged in the army or navy, or travelling on the high seas. The inspectors shall keep an account of every person thus taking the oath. Any person once convicted of a criminal offence, and not pardoned, offering to vote, shall be liable to imprisonment for six months. 3d, it shall be the duty of the inspectors to provide the box, except in case of the vote for electors for President and Vice President of the United States, in which all the ballots shall be put: each ballot to consist of one paper endorsed on the outside. They shall have authority to maintain order about the polls, and to commit any one to custody who shall be disorderly: 4th, the canvass and estimate of the vote shall be made after a comparison of the poll lists, by opening each box, and counting, unopened, the ballots therein. If two or more ballots are found folded together, they shall be destroyed, *if the whole number of ballots exceed the whole number of votes, and not otherwise.* But if they do so exceed, they shall be replaced in the box, and one of the inspectors, without seeing them shall publicly draw out and destroy that excess. The statements, duly certified, shall be delivered by one of the inspectors, to the supervisor, within twenty-four hours after the same shall have been subscribed.

5th. Of the *Final Canvass*. (1.) The estimate shall be made from the original statement of the Canvass in each district, by the Board of Canvassers, (who shall be constituted of the Supervisors, to whom the original statements were delivered.) They shall make out separate statements of all the votes given, and for whom given; each statement to be certified by the signatures of the Chairman and Secretary of the Board, and deposited in the County Clerk's office. 2d. The County Clerk shall see that certified copies of all the votes of the county, in case of the absence of any of the Supervisors, are ready on the day appointed for the meeting of the Board; and shall transmit three statements of the vote for Governor, Lieut. Governor, Senators and Representatives in Congress, to the Governor, Secretary of State and Comptroller. 3d. It is the duty of the Secretary of State to file in his office, *each* of the three copies thus received.

6th. Of the *Election of Senators and Representatives in Congress*, and of Electors of President and Vice President. 1. Senators shall be elected on the first Tuesday in February, by both houses of the Legislature, meeting together, if they agree; if not, by joint ballot. 2. Representatives shall be chosen in the Congressional Districts, every second year after 1826. 3. Electors shall be chosen at the general election in November preceding the time appointed by the United States for the choice of President and Vice President.

The fatal consequence of dividing the public lands among the stock-jobbers and speculators

is now seen in the total inability of the General Government to effect a loan of twelve millions of dollars, except upon the most disadvantageous and humiliating terms. The administration is actually in the power of the Shylocks of Wall-street, and has submitted to be shaved by John Ward & Co., who is the mere agent in this case of a combination of money changers, determined on plunder, and who will make a million or two by shaving Uncle Sam. It must be extremely mortifying to Mr. Tyler to be compelled to send his financial agent among the brokers to raise money enough to keep the wheels of Government in motion, but it is an evil arising directly from his own acts; since he was so unwise as to sign the land bill, when he was well aware the Treasury was nearly exhausted, it is no more than right he should suffer the consequences of his own folly and imbecility.

Even were Congress at this time to repeal the atrocious land bill and pledge the proceeds for the payment of the interest on the loan, the stock would immediately sell at a premium of 3 per cent., whereas now only 95 dollars are offered, being 5 per cent. below par.

How different is the credit of the State of New York, where the democrats have the ascendancy! The Comptroller, a good sound democrat, a few months ago advertized for a loan of one million of dollars, and offers were made forthwith for nearly double the amount, at par, and the stock is now selling at a premium of 2 per cent. How is this accounted for? The democratic Legislature of last winter pursued the policy of statesmen, and adopted a measure, not only calculated to restore the credit of the state, which had been seriously impaired by the reckless and profligate measures of whiggery, but also to elevate it to its former high character and to preserve it untarnished. They passed a law imposing a tax of one mill on a dollar, which will yield about \$600,000 annually; this sum, with the surplus revenue derived from the Erie Canal, is pledged for the payment of the interest of the debt of the state, amounting to twenty-six millions of dollars, nearly the whole of which was contracted during the administration of Governor Seward, one of the most villanous demagogues in New York; over five hundred thousand dollars have been thrown away on such worthless projects as the Oswego and Catskill Rail Roads, which have lately been sold for \$15,000 at auction.

Let the koon skin kongress follow the statesman-like example of the democrats of New York, and the administration will no longer be disgraced by being compelled to submit to the insolent demands of heartless Shylocks. What a spectacle! to see the government of this country, a country of boundless resources, actually shaved by John Ward & Co. To so low a state has whiggery reduced the credit of the country in the short time of fourteen months.—*Passaic Guardian*.

The Tax and Finance Bill, a Law.—The "great measure of the session" is at length a law. The Governor, although "contrary to his policy," did not venture to withhold his signature.

That "these measures are contrary to the policy which he has on all occasions recommended to the legislature," is perfectly true. His "policy" was to plunge, by the most reckless expenditure, into the wildest excess of debt—until the state,

unable to borrow, was turned over to democratic hands, prostrate and disgraced in its credit, and with millions of "pressing engagements," and not the least provision for meeting and discharging its obligations. The democratic "measures" provide for these emergencies—thus shamefully and recklessly disregarded by the whig policy—and pursue the only possible course left for paying the debt and preserving the credit of the state. Of course all this is "*contrary to the policy*" recommended by Governor Seward and his partizans; but it is the only policy which honor, a just regard to the business interests or the character of the state, and even the hope of emerging from the present pecuniary gloom and embarrassment, could sanction for a moment. And we have no fear that it will not be approved by the intelligent patriotism and honesty of the people. We have no fear that the gross and impudent misrepresentation of the question by the *Eve Journal* will deceive a single mind, not already warped, or predetermined to falsify the object and effect of the bill.

The state printer—who indulges in the most unjustifiable party opposition to, and party falsification of the bill—accuses us of claiming it as a political measure. And he is struck with horror at the thought! We have said, that if with the clearest convictions of the great and strong necessity of this measure, and with a perfect consciousness that the best interests and the immediate welfare of the state demanded its adoption—and its adoption by a ready and united vote—the federal whigs choose to oppose and vote against it as a party measure, and to attempt thus to thwart what they were assured by the more candid and honest portion of their own friends was indispensable to the public weal, be the responsibility of the act on the heads of the democracy. And so we say still. Surely we should have been glad to have witnessed, for once, on their part, the sacrifice of party "policy" to the broader and urgent interests of the state; and to have recorded their votes for the bill. But, from such leaders, this could not have been expected; and could not happen. We repeat, therefore, be the sin of meeting the emergency with a firm and steady determination to rescue the state from the evil and prostration of the federal "policy," of reinvigorating its credit, of discharging its obligations, and of preparing it for future "financial achievements," upon the heads of the Democracy.—*Argus*.

Hard Times.—Almost every body (says the Bucks County Intelligencer) has something to say against the "times," and all agree that matters and things have of late years got sadly out of joint. There is no better way of beginning a reformation of what is wrong, than by an examination into the cause or causes of the evil; by such mode we get at the root of the matter, where, if the axe be applied, it will do far more good than merely trimming the branches of a growing evil. PRIDE and LAZINESS are two fruitful causes of many of the evils which afflict every community. Of late years, LABOR, manual and mental, that irreversible heritage of man, from which the genuine blessings of life are made to flow, has become UNFASHIONABLE, ungenteel, and quite beneath the dignity of the modern GENTLEMAN or the LADY. Every one desires to be rich, but would avoid toil,

without which no one of himself can acquire an honest living. Such being the case, a portion of almost every community in our country have sought to live by their wits, and wherever laziness and wit amass wealth, or even get a living, rascality is very often the active agent in the concern, as the course of many defaulters and financiers has shown. With idleness, luxury and pride of dress and equipage have crept in, and a continual effort by one class to outshine another in outward show and appearance, has been the consequence; and, provided the ruffle appeared, it mattered little about the shirt. Like the banks, too many people have been doing a large business on a small capital, or no capital at all, and now the bubble is bursting. Farmers, mechanics and working men in every useful and honest calling, who are the true support and ornament of our country, have suffered their honor and independence to be encroached upon, and themselves to be elbowed out of their rights, by the impudence and arrogance of those who consider manual labor NOT GENTEEL; indeed they have connived at it, for no matter how successful and profitable the mechanic or farmer may have found his business, or how happy he may have been in following it, ten chances to one, that he encourages his children to engage in some wild speculation, or enter some barren profession, where they may avoid manual labor, but not poverty—learn to despise their parents, and reap a heritage of threadbare and shabby gentility. From the false standard of respectability thus set up, flow many bitter consequences. The old but decent wagon will not do now to go to meeting in, because somebody else has got a splendid carriage. Linsey woolsey is obsolete. Nothing but broad cloth, and that too of the finest quality, is genteel. The tailor who makes it must be genteel too, for if your pockets are not placed right, it is worse than if they are empty. Silks and satins must adorn the ladies or they cannot possibly appear. Not that we would object to becoming and even elegant dress, especially for the ladies, but it is the consuming spirit of pride, extravagance and luxury—the rage for finery, tinsel and glitter—the universal worship of the mere OUTSIDE, that is to be condemned. If we had space, we might go on and trace out the workings of pride and laziness, until we tracked them to the doors of crime and wretchedness, of which they are the authors, but there's enough for the present.—*American Republican*.

Remember Rhode Island!—Hereafter, whenever the Whigs call on the mechanics and laboring classes for their votes, and represent themselves as the peculiar friends of the poor, be not deceived by their fair promises and loud professions, but *remember Rhode Island!* Whenever a Whig is heard to say that his party is in favor of the right of free suffrage, *remember Rhode Island!* Whenever a Whig is heard to talk about Democracy and our free institutions, call him a demagogue, and *remember Rhode Island!* Whenever the Whigs attempt to rule the State or the country, put them down—denounce them as enemies of freedom, and for proof—*remember Rhode Island!* For the opinions, principles, professions, and practices of the Federal Whigs,—let us all REMEMBER RHODE ISLAND!

THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC GUIDE.

EQUAL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES ARE ALL THE PEOPLE ASK FOR.

THE blessings of Government, like the dews of Heaven, should be dispensed alike on high and low, the rich and the poor. JACKSON.

The privilege of self-government is one which the people will never be permitted to enjoy unmolested. Power and wealth are continually stealing from the many to the few. WILLIAM LEGGETT.

VOL. I.

AUGUST, 1842.

No. X.

The Producing and Working portion of the Community in the United States will find the following Speech of Ely Moore, delivered in Congress the 5th of May, 1836, to be of immense interest.

It will be recollected that, in our fifth number, page 156, we stated our intentions to collect and republish all the information that came to our knowledge, calculated to promote and elevate the character of the producing and working classes: also any information tending to aid them to maintain and defend their equal rights and privileges among mankind. We also stated our intention to constantly keep before the people such mechanics and producers as had contributed to elevate and defend the characters of the labouring portion of the community, either in the halls of national or state legislatures, or otherwise. We commenced this department of our journal by publishing selections from the addresses delivered by Ely Moore, *on the importance of mental industry, and the importance of the useful arts to society, &c.* In continuation of said arrangement, we now republish Mr. Moore's speech, as mentioned at the head of this article. We preface it by republishing a selection from the first number of the Democratic Review, viz., "glances at Congress," the writer of which was not only an eye-witness of the scene he describes, but a political opponent of Mr. Moore. For his honesty and candour, expressed in favour of a New York mechanic, we owe him our kind acknowledgments.

"Near to Mr. Wise sits a gentleman with an unhealthy complexion and rather singular face; one of the most remarkable men of the body. His hair, brushed back from his forehead, is long and curly; his eye is keen, stern, and intelligent; he generally dresses well, and his usual companion is a heavy ivory-headed cane. He appears to be a nervous man; one of those men of deep but quiet enthusiasm, who never fail to make themselves both marked and felt whenever they put forth the slumbering powers within them. This gentleman is Ely Moore, of the city of New York. He may be said to be peculiarly the representative of the mechanics of that city, at whose head he stands as a prominent member of the Typographical Society, and lately President of his favourite Trades Union. Mr. Moore is a quiet, silent, reserved man; but beneath that apparent cold calmness glow feelings of an intense enthusiasm for the principles of democracy, and of a bitter strength against whatever he regards as tinged with an aristocratic

tone. In chartered banks he recognises the privileged superiority of a fortunate or favoured few over the great mass of the community, analogous in spirit and moral effects to the iron feudal aristocracy of the olden time, and considers them the moral upas of the age. He was formerly a journeyman printer of New York; but, possessing talents and ambition, and an enthusiasm in a cause which can never fail to draw forth the sympathies and support of the mass of our people, he soon raised himself over the shoulders of other aspirants, and won a seat in Congress.

Last winter Mr. Moore made his debut. Gen. Waddy Thompson, of South Carolina, believing that he saw in the Trades Unionists and the mechanics of the north the two great moving forces of the abolition cause, made some very bitter remarks in the course of one of his peculiarly sarcastic speeches against those interests. The speech was published in due course of time, and possibly had passed out of the minds of those who had heard it; but Mr. Moore had not forgotten, far less forgiven, the attack. The harshness of the charges rang discordantly on his ear, and produced a high degree of mental and bodily excitement. In vain he daily left his sick room, and tottered into the hall, to retort upon General Thompson. The floor at that time was for ever occupied. It seemed to be a springing-board for honourable members. Never before had there been so many to speak. The subject (abolition petitions) had aroused all the passionate, philanthropic, and partisan feelings of the house; the storm raged day after day, and angry glances and fierce words were exchanged on all sides; erimination and recrimination was the order of the day. The Speaker was compelled to bow his head to the howling hurricane, and permit it to rage in its full fury. Every man seemed to grow into vast pyramidal altitude in his own mind; and speak he must, or the country would be ruined.

At length Mr. Moore obtained the eye of the Speaker. There was quite a sensation in the gallery on the announcement. The large white-headed cane stood up with its master. The New York delegation was excited. Mr. Moore's reputation was high as a public speaker. I perceived at once that he was greatly enfeebled, but he seemed to nerve himself for his task. The house danced before his eyes; he saw but one object—the Speaker in his black morocco chair, with his steady and earnest eyes fixed upon him. He commenced. His voice was remarkably strong. He laid down his premises with singular clearness, but wide of the subject matter under consideration in the house. He took a review of the history of past ages; brought back to the mental vision the days of the feudal system—the fortress, the tournament, the plume, the helm, the lance, the gilded spur. His speech seemed to glitter with all the gallant splen-

dour and bravery of the olden chivalry. But, then, his lip curled with indignation, and his voice sunk into a tone of deploring eloquence, when he brought up the other side of the picture—the serfs, with the iron collars around their necks. He pointed to the debased, enslaved multitude; and, passing to a general application of the illustration to our own times, he proclaimed, in a voice tremulous with emotion, his creed to be founded in the equality of man. On this theme he enlarged, with a thrilling power of eloquence rarely equalled in that house. The impetuous force with which his reply bore upon the assailant who had thus drawn him out, will not soon be forgotten. Mr. Moore's language was flowery and rhetorical: he possesses more genius than culture, and to one particular subject he seems to bend his thoughts entirely—that of the equality and rights of man. I understand that he has given himself up, of late, to deep application; and that, when an occasion offers, he will splinter the lance of his cherished principles against the system and mode of government as it is administered in detail.

I observed many among the auditors in the gallery who seemed to hang with rapture on his remarks. The whole house was excited at the novelty and boldness of his democratic doctrines, not less at the extraordinary manner in which he had turned aside from the current of debate, and struck fearlessly forward into a field to which few orators had before ventured to lead the attention of that body. I overheard some gentlemen from the south say that they thought they heard the high priest of revolution singing his war song.

A bevy of members had gradually collected immediately behind the orator, whose voice still rang loud in the hall, in the midst of an impassioned passage. My eye was fixed upon him; I saw him grow paler than ever, till a deadly hue swept over his face; his hands were arrested in the air—he grasped at emptiness—a corpse seemed to stand with outstretched hands before the agitated crowd—his eyes were closed—he tottered, and, amid the rush and exclamations of the whole house, fell back insensible into the arms of one of his friends. Mr. Moore was borne from the hall. His wife had been watching him with emotions that may be imagined, from the gallery. The scene had been worked up into a catastrophe, and never before had I seen the house so agitated as on this occasion."

SPEECH OF MR. MOORE,

Of New York, in reply to the Hon. Waddy Thompson and others, delivered in the House of Representatives, May 5th, 1836.—Mr. Chairman: previous to entering

upon the subject properly before the committee, I shall avail myself of this opportunity—the first that has been afforded me—of replying to certain misrepresentations that have been made, both here and elsewhere, concerning the labouring classes. The committee, I trust, will the more readily excuse this digression, when the relation in which I stand to the working men is considered. Having been long and intimately connected with their cause, and approving, as I do, of their principles and measures, I cannot consent to hear them assailed without making an effort to vindicate them. They have been denounced as agrarians, levellers, and anarchists, and their unions as unlawful and mischievous. I shall endeavour to show, sir, that in all this great injustice has been done them. It is not my intention at this time to notice all the slanders that have been cast upon them, whether in or out of the halls of Congress; my more immediate object is, to reply to the honourable gentleman from South Carolina, whom I see before me, (Mr. Thompson,) or at least to so much of his speech on the

navy appropriation bill as relates to the labouring classes. The honourable gentleman, in the course of his remarks, holds the following language: "I entreat gentlemen to look well to the consequences of the experiment of sending the government there (to the north) as a competitor in the labour market, and under the constraint of positive orders to expend this vast sum, let labour rise ever so high. It is already one dollar a day, when in the south and west it is less than fifty cents. These appropriations are not for this year alone. They are the beginning of a system of lavish expenditure, which will last until 1842; no longer—no, sir, no longer, my word for it. Are the judicious men of the north, the property holders of the north, disposed to organize in their bosom this army of day labourers—men who, all over the world, spend between Saturday and Monday the wages of the week; and who, at the period of their disbandment, in 1842, will be penniless, and who must go supperless to bed, *unless they rob by lawless insurrection*, or by the equally terrible process of the *ballet box*. Let gentlemen look to it; they are in quite as much danger of insurrection as we are."

The labouring classes, the back-bone of the democracy of the country, rob through the ballet boxes! What are we to understand by this? Sir, it admits but of this construction; that government ought to be founded on property; that none but the wealthy ought to be allowed to vote; and that the minority should govern. It recognises a doctrine which strikes at the very root of free government. It is, in fact, the doctrine of despotism itself. No measure, sir, can be carried through the medium of the ballet box but by the majority. It is the political rights of the majority, therefore, which the doctrine of the honourable gentleman would circumscribe and destroy. Let this doctrine be carried out, and the principles upon which the government is founded are utterly subverted.

Mr. Chairman, I regret the attack has been made. It may lead to a controversy from which it will be most difficult to exclude jealousies, heart-burnings, and recriminations. I am not quite certain, however, that it will not, in the main, be productive of good. It may serve to establish more distinctly and more permanently the landmarks which distinguish the two great political parties of this country—the *democracy* and the *aristocracy*. And, sir, it is idle to attempt to disguise the fact, that "the time is coming, and now is," when the political gulf between these two parties must be widened and deepened. The people begin to distinguish between mere *theoretical* and *practical* democrats—between those who but have the doctrine of equal rights on their lips, and those who wear it in their hearts; and hence the days of political amalgamations and of political jugglery are numbered. Henceforth, I trust, the battle will be fought on the ground of principle alone.

Mr. Chairman, it has been more than insinuated, that danger is to be apprehended from the turbulent spirit of democracy; that the signs of the times are portentous of evil; that the fountains of the moral and political deep are in danger of being broken up, and that the waves of anarchy, rapacity, and misrule threaten to burst their barriers, and deluge the land.

Sir, it was with regret that I heard such sentiments uttered. It was with regret that I heard the integrity of the labouring classes and the principles of democracy so unjustly impugned; and if it shall be the last act of my life, I will attempt to hurl back the imputations. Sir, I fear that those attacks upon the people—the democracy—which have become so common of late, are a prelude to a premeditated assault upon popular freedom. Consult the annals of the past, and you will find that

whenever despotism resolved to strengthen itself, or the aristocracy of a country had determined to trench upon the rights and liberties of the people, that the people were first charged with rapacious and seditious designs. The cry of agrarianism, of sedition and revolution, was raised, in order that their calumniators might have an excuse for plundering and oppressing them. Can it be that the new-fledged aristocracy of this country have similar designs upon the people at the present time? I confess there are strong indications of it, not only in that spirit of monopoly and of mercenary ambition which is spreading with such fearful and reckless rapidity, but especially in the calumnies which are constantly propagated against the working men, against democratic principles, and against the advocates of liberal sentiments generally. Nay, to those who have paid any attention for the last few years to the movements of the aristocratic or anti-democratic party of this country, it must be evident that a clandestine, but vigorous, war is waging against popular freedom. Let the people look to it while yet they may. Let them not be deceived neither by names nor by professions. Let them not suppose that all who pretend to be their friends politically, are so in reality. It is not all who cry "Lord, Lord," that are worthy of the kingdom.

The line which separates the friends and enemies of equal rights is broad and distinct, and need not, must not be mistaken. The political principles by which these two parties are governed are utterly and eternally incompatible and antagonistical. It behoves the people, therefore, to discriminate, and to bear constantly in mind, that the friends of pure and unadulterated democracy (as contra-distinguished from the friends of aristocracy) are in favour of a government founded on *persons*, and not on *property*; on equal rights, and not on exclusive privileges. The friends of freedom hold that legislation, to be just, must be equal; that all chartered monopolies are incompatible with the spirit of free governments, and prejudicial to the interests and liberties of the people. They contend for equality of political franchise. They maintain that the only righteous system of government is that which is based on the will of the majority, and administered by persons freely chosen by the people; and that the people are the only rightful sovereigns. Such, then, are the leading principles of the working men; such the principles of democracy; and if these principles are dangerous and mischievous in their nature, and calculated to produce anarchy and sedition, as has been alleged, then is liberty a bitter *curse* instead of a *blessing*; and the founders of our free institutions were the authors of a most pernicious political heresy! But who will assert such to be the fact? Who will affirm, openly and unqualifiedly, that the doctrine of political equality is the doctrine of anarchy and outrage; or that the democracy is the party of sedition, of pillage, and of violence? But few can be found bold enough to make the charge openly and distinctly. No. The sign is not quite right yet. The calumny must be insinuated for the present. The charge must be indirect; the war must be conducted with great caution and circumlocution. The assailants must assume as many shapes as fabled Proteus, and wear as many disguises as Harlequin; they must use secret weapons, deal foul blows, and deal them in the dark. Nothing like daylight and fair play must be tolerated; no outward and evident demonstration must yet be made; the people, the labouring classes, the *democracy*, are first to be slandered and traduced *vaguely*. Something must be hinted about agrarianism, and about the insecurity of the rights of property. But ask these calumniators what they mean by agrarianism, and they are puzzled to explain. Some think that it

is a species of political monster which was created by two celebrated brothers of the olden time; but whether it was by Moses and Aaron, or by Tiberius and Cornelius, they are not quite certain. Others suppose that agrarianism means an equal distribution of property, but are not quite confident of that even. Well, ask them if they ever saw or conversed with an individual holding such sentiments; and they will tell you no, if they tell you the truth. Ask them if they believe that there is any such party in this country; and they will tell you no, if they tell you what they think and believe. Sir, those who circulate such slanders, do so either ignorantly or maliciously; and the greater part because they are *slanders*. The people, the labouring classes, are neither so unwise nor so unreasonableness as to either expect or *desire* a perfect equality of wealth. They know and feel that it would not only be unjust, but that it is impracticable. So long as some are more industrious, more provident, and more frugal than others, an inequality of wealth *must* and *ought* to exist. The people, the democracy, contend for no measure that does not hold out to individual enterprise proper motives for exertion. All they ask is, that the great principle upon which the government is founded, the principle of equal rights, should be faithfully observed, and carried out to the *exclusion* of all *exclusive* privileges. This they do ask, and no more: they will be satisfied with no less.

Sir, can it be seriously and honestly believed by any man, in the possession of his wits, that the principles of democracy, or of equal rights, endanger the rights of property; or that the interest and safety of the state will be plotted against by three-fourths of the people composing the state? The notion is too absurd and ridiculous to be entertained for a moment. There is no danger, sir, that three-fourths of the people will turn political suicides at this time of day. No one believes that the rights of property and the institutions of the country are in danger from the influence of democratic principles, or from the political ascendancy of the people. No, sir, these insinuations against the virtue and intelligence of the people are made for sinister purposes, and are the offspring of political depravity; and, as I have before intimated, are the sure and unerring indications of a vigorous attack upon popular liberty. Again I repeat, let the people look to it.

Public violence and disorders generally, if not universally, have their origin in a violation of the principles of equality and justice; and, when these principles are outraged, it is generally by the *few* and not by the *many*, it being the manifest interest of the majority to preserve them pure and unimpaired. All the horrors, enormities, and abominations consequent upon the French revolution, be it remembered, had their origin in the oppressions practised by the aristocratical few.

In Europe the aristocracy are the Conservative party. The English house of lords was originally composed of men who had associated for the purpose of protecting the property which they had plundered from the people.

The property thus unjustly obtained, and the onerous laws designed for its protection, have been the means by which the people of that country have been so long and so sorely oppressed. It is the consciousness of the injustice which has been done the people that causes the aristocracy of Europe so much dread of sedition and revolution, and so much apprehension about the security of property. In a government where the people are well informed, property can never be respected where it has been obtained in violation of just and equal rights, and used as an instrument of oppression. But, on the other hand, no danger need to be apprehended for the security of property where the people are enlightened,

and where it has been obtained by fair and honest means. The right of property in free and intelligent communities is safe in proportion to the number it has to protect it. Hence in this country, where the people are the *conservative party*, there can be no danger of a violation of this right. It has a protector in every friend of equality and justice. The people, the true source of all political power, are its defenders; it is their interest to be so. If, then, there be a set of men among us who would violate the rights of property, they cannot belong to the real democracy of the country; they can form no portion of, can have no alliance with, the friends of equal rights. No, they must be sought elsewhere. They must be sought among the friends of exclusive privileges, of monopolies, and of aristocracy, but not in the ranks of the democracy. Again, our system of government, being based on the principle of equal rights, claims the friends of equal rights as its supporters. They are, in fact, the party whose interest and welfare are identified with the preservation of the Union, and with the stability and integrity of the government. They are the *conservative party*. Who, then, are the malcontents, if any there be? Which is the party of sedition, if such there be? Not the people, not the democracy. No, but the opponents of democracy, the enemies of equal rights; the champions of exclusive privileges and of monopolies; they are the aristocracy.

What can be more unjust and preposterous, then, than the insinuation of the aristocracy, that there is danger of their being despoiled of their property by the people, the democracy? But what say facts? Why, sir, they tell us, what everybody knows to be true, that where there is one instance where the rights of property have been violated by the people, or popular institutions, there are five thousand instances where the people have been plundered and beggared by the heartless cupidity of the privileged few. Sir, there is much greater danger that capital will unjustly appropriate to itself the avails of labour, than that labour will unlawfully seize on capital. I defy gentlemen to point to a solitary instance where the people, possessing legislative powers, have prostituted those powers to the purpose of plunder. But, on the other hand, where political power has been concentrated in the hands of the few, you will find that the rights of the multitude, whether pecuniary, natural, or political, have been violated, disregarded, and trampled in the dust. And, for the proof, I appeal to the page of history. History, sir, will bear me out in the declaration, that the aristocracy, of whatever age or country, have, at all times, and under all circumstances, invariably and eternally robbed the people, sacrificed their rights, and warred against liberty, virtue, and humanity. I am aware that it is quite fashionable to impute the domestic feuds and civil dissensions which have convulsed nations, to the inconstancy and profligacy of the people. The imputation is both false and insolent. In despotic and arbitrary governments the agitation of the people is but the restiveness of a sick man, who incessantly changes his position, because none of them, which he assumes, will afford him relief. The people generally complain but at the last extremity; for their regard and reverence for the law acts ever as a restraint upon their just complaints while they have a hope of redress. They more readily forgive than avenge their wrongs, and*

are never fickle nor seditious when in the enjoyment of their equal and natural sum of happiness. The true causes of sedition and tumult are too well known to be mistaken. The oppressions of the aristocracy, the insolence of caste, the power of concentrated wealth, the blight of avarice; such are the causes which ever tend to destroy the equipoise of a state, and sow dissensions among its members. Run over the history of nations, and point out a single one which, becoming rich as Carthage, for instance, maintained, like Sparta and Rome in their days of glory, the talents and virtues which are the ground work of republican security. Name a single state, a single kingdom, where the concentration of power and wealth did not generate a spirit of tyranny. Where has concentrated wealth failed to breathe division, injustice, and the consequent contempt of laws natural and political? In what country has it not invited the march of the invader and the yoke of the tyrant? Why did Sparta, enriched by the advice and policy of Lysander, lose the virtue and the power which she had retained during six hundred years of frugal independence? Why did the Roman republic fall to decay as soon as her nobility were cumbered with the accumulated wealth and fatal spoils of conquered nations?

Many of the republics of the middle ages, in the south of Europe, withstood the shock of foreign invasion, and fought with success against the stranger, but to see their liberties cloven down by the blows of domestic tyranny. Why instance the example of Florence—until the thirteenth century the freest republic of the modern era? Why show the people, wronged in their most sacred rights, tortured in their dearest feelings, trodden under foot by the contending aristocratic parties of the day, pouring out their life blood for Guelph and for Ghibeline, till, exhausted by the fruitless contest, they sat down in quiet submission, no longer able to resist the yoke of titled despotism?

Genoa, too, once free, happy, and powerful, paid the forfeit of inequality. The curse of all republics lighted upon her head; and, tossed by passions, begotten of clashing privileges and contending interests, which seemed to grow out of the lust of ambition rather than out of the love of freedom, settled down, after various vicissitudes, into a rigid oligarchy.

The once free and happy Venitians trusted to the hollow promises of the aristocracy, and mark the consequences of their credulity. They continued to sleep over the imminence of danger until awakened from their lethargy by the shriek of expiring freedom and the clank of patrician chains. An unsparing and iron-handed aristocracy gave the charter of their liberties to the winds of the Adriatic; and beneath the ruins of their free institutions sat the dark conclave of a gloomy inquisition and the titled murderers of the secret tribunal.

All states in their infancy had laws favourable to equality; all, however, have been condemned to see distinctions and preferences grow up among their citizens; and, although wealth and dignities were at first but little regarded, so influential were their gradual sway, that they proved all sufficient to undermine the stability of the laws, and subjugate the spirit of the multitude. Consider the length of time which elapsed before the plebeians of Rome could come to the resolve of sharing the magistracy with the patricians. Yet the people were not unconscious of their influence and their power. The exile of Tarquin had inspired them with an extreme love of freedom. The banishment of the lewd tyrant had induced the hope among the people of yielding to the omnipotence of the laws alone. They had sustained a long and obstinate war of principles, which must have elevated their sentiments. And yet we all know how

* We earnestly call the attention of the producing and working classes to the address to the working men of the United States, published in the fourth and fifth numbers of this journal, pages 106 and 147; there they will find not only a complete history of what Mr. Moore refers to, but measures of defence pointed out to cure many of the evils democracy so justly complains of.—ED. D. G.

many indignities, how many exactions, how many tortures—we all know how often the lash of the patrician's taskmaster resounded in the *ergastula*; how often the hard earnings of the labourer were wrung from his toil-worn palms, to dower the patrician wife, or furnish the extravagancies of a patrician bridal; how often the plebeian debtor was limbed joint by joint, to answer the claims of his patrician creditor; how often the Roman gemonia echoed with the agony of a tortured people, before they thought, I will not say to hurl their chains at their oppressors, but to stand on the imprescriptible law of self-protection. Goaded at last beyond endurance by the tyranny of the aristocracy, they secede, and entrench their rights on the sacred mount. They were sufficiently powerful to have crushed their enemies, or at least to have vindicated the equality of the laws; yet I know not what lurking sense of dependence, what lingering habits of deference to the wealthy, arrests the thought of vengeance; all that they ask, all they desire, is, not to be tortured—not to be oppressed. We have eaten of the bread of panda, the bread of communion, with you, they say to the patricians; let not its promise be a lie to ourselves, our wives, and our children! The magistrates whom they appoint to watch over their safety bear no badge of authority, and are content to sit at the outer door of the patrician senate. The tribunes, who knew their power, and exerted every faculty to uphold the dignity of their order, how long was it before they could bring the plebeians properly to value the principle of equality? If the multitude swell around the forum; if it re-echo with their angry murmurs; if they show a disposition to wrest the authority from lawless hands, fear not, it is all a show: a sort of blind and confused instinct, the fruit of habit, holds back the plebeians; and, unconscious of the fact, that very instinct militates against their best and most sacred interest, and calms every burst of indignation into order and peace. They must gradually become familiar with the extent of their rights; and, if in a moment of violence and strife, they assert the privilege of sharing the fasces with the patricians, a whole century will have passed away before they dare fully to enjoy that privilege. So much for the disposition to insurgency against the rich, attributed to the poor or labouring classes. And yet, in the teeth of all these facts, in contradiction to all experience, and in defiance of the concurrent testimony of history, our modern aristocracy have the presumption, nay, the bald-faced impudence, to allege that the people have ever a propension to sedition and plunder. Sir, is it not strange, is it not most marvellous, that the aristocracy of any country should have the hardihood to make pretensions to a higher sense of political justice, and claim to possess a greater share of morality and virtue, than the people, the democracy?

Sir, what is the history of the aristocracy, whether of ancient or of modern times, but a history of aggression, of perfidy, sedition, debauchery, and of moral and political prostitution? What is it but a history of bands of political marauders, whose bond of union was sordid ambition, and whose watch-word and rallying cry was rapine: in a word, what is it but a history whose every page bears the indelible impress of omnipotent depravity. Sir, wherever the power of an aristocracy, especially of a moneyed aristocracy, is fearlessly exercised, the whole moral and political atmosphere becomes so contaminated, that the heart and its passions, life and its purposes, are alike prostituted to lust and infamy, to avarice and ambition. Within the circle of its influence no generous aspiration can spring, no moral verdure can flourish, no virtue can live; honour, gratitude, beneficence, patriotism, all, all perish. The maxim of the Athenian orator,

that action, action, action was the soul of oratory, appears to have been translated by all aristocracies, construing the essence of political power into corruption, corruption, corruption.

Sir, when man becomes so far regardless of the rights and welfare of his fellow-man, as first deliberately to despoil him of the fruits of his labour and of those inalienable rights which God and nature vouchsafe to him, and then deride his misfortunes and exult over his degradation, as is the wont of the aristocrat, he is, and must be fitted for any and every enormity, and would, nay, does, in very deed, spurn the breast that feeds him; "crams and blasphemes the feeder."

Do I speak in terms too strong of the corrupting influence and of the abominations of aristocracy? By no means. Turn to the page of history, and point me to the people whose virtue, or whose patriotism, was proof against such influence, *after such influence had once been felt*. In the footsteps of aristocracies, especially of moneyed aristocracies, ever follows venal and enervating luxury; that common bane of all prosperous governments; that fell destroyer of all manly and patriotic virtue; that seductive syren who sings of glory while she scatters pestilence and withering mildews round the land. Sir, the history of the past is before us; let us be admonished by the lesson it inculcates. Classic Greece and stern republican Rome, those former lights and wonders of the world, in an evil hour, took to their bosoms the serpent luxury, and, ere they were aware, became entangled in its folds; they struggled and struggled, but in vain—its subtle, sickly poison had reached their vitals, unstrung their sturdy nerves, palsied their giant arms, and stretched them helpless and hopeless in the dust.

The dialectics of Aristotle, the philosophy of Plato, and the eloquence of Cicero were opposed in vain to the moral and political pestilence which swept the land. The influence of wealth and luxury not only banished virtue and patriotism from the Grecian and Roman states, but carried vice and corruption into the very heart of Christendom! It not only debased the disciples of Socrates and Seneca, but the vicars of Christ and the defenders of the faith. It triumphed alike over Heathen philosophy and Christian divinity; and, for the proof, I would refer you to both profane and ecclesiastical history. During the first three centuries the professors of Christianity kept themselves comparatively "pure and unspotted from the world," and their consciences innocent from secret conspiracy or open rebellion. When persecuted by their enemies, they retaliated not, but, in imitation of their heavenly teacher, meekly bowed their necks to the blow. But after Christianity had become the ally of wealth and power, mark the change! Behold how soon its whole garb and character are altered! No sooner had it become the favourite of royalty, and the associate of aristocracy, than its professors (the once humble followers of the meek and lowly Jesus) rushed from the cloister and the cell, like lions from their lairs, or rather like wolves from their dens, thirsting for blood and howling for revenge. The symbols of peace and purity, the chalice and the cross, were exchanged for the spear and javelin; the robes of sanctity, the gown and surplice, for the mail of steel, the cuirass and the casque. The clang of arms and the war shout were preferred to the morning hymn and the evening orison; and, instead of singing hallelujahs to the Prince of Peace, those sanguinary heroes shouted hosannas to the Demon of War. The cross was raised in the battle, and glittered on their shields; and corrupted Christianity was spread, by dint of arms, from the Thracian Bosphorus to the banks of the Wolga. But, alas! as it advanced virtue receded!

No sooner were the Pagans repulsed than the spurious Christians turned their swords, still reeking with the blood of the infidel, against each other. The heretics were massacred and their estates confiscated, and some of the penal regulations were copied from the edicts of that very Dioclesian who had dealt destruction among the Christians. "And this method of conversion was applauded by the same bishops who had felt the hand of oppression and pleaded for the rights of humanity." But I will pursue this subject no farther. My object was merely to show that neither the teachings of philosophy nor the inspirations of religion were capable of counteracting or resisting the corrupt and unhallowed influence of associated power and wealth—of aristocracy. And yet, with a knowledge of these facts, with a full and practical knowledge of the immoral and corrupting tendency and character of aristocratic principles, our venal, flippant, upstart aristocrats, with heads thrown back and arms akimbo, presume to prate of virtue and morality, and dare to impugn the integrity and patriotism of their betters, the democracy. Their arrogance and folly can only be paralleled by their depravity.

But, sir, much has been said against associations—not of bankers nor of brokers, but of mechanics and labourers. Why, it has been asked with alarm and indignation, why this commotion among the labouring classes? Why this banding together and forming of unions throughout the country? Sir, these associations are intended as counterpoises against capital, whenever it shall attempt to exert an unlawful or undue influence. They are a measure of *self-defence* and of *self-preservation*, and, therefore, are not illegal! Both the laws of God and man justify resistance to the robber and the homicide, even unto death! They are considered necessary guards against the encroachments of mercenary ambition and tyranny; and the friends of exclusive privileges, therefore, may with propriety dread their power and their influence. The union of the working men is not only a shield of defence against hostile combinations, but also a weapon of attack that will be successfully wielded against the oppressive measures of a corrupt and despotic aristocracy. It is the brand of IOLAUS searing and annihilating the Lernaean monster.

The present indications of disquietude in the public mind excite no alarm among the friends of equal rights. It is proof that liberty is abroad, and that the "bone and muscle of the country" are imbued with its spirit. It is an evidence that the Republic retains a goodly share of its original purity and freshness, and that the blood flows fast, and the pulse beats strongly, in the body politic, denoting *youthful health and vigour*. The friends of equal rights, therefore, I say, are not alarmed at these signs of concert and energy in the ranks of the people. They perceive in the gathering cloud the lightning that is to purify the political atmosphere. Its flashes but terrify the foes of freedom.

And who are they that clamour against the efforts of the labouring classes to protect their rights and elevate their condition? Who that approve of indictments and prosecutions against them for seeking refuge in union and association from combination and oppression, and hold guiltless at the same time the confederates of all conspiracies against them? Sir, I will tell you who they are: they are the sordid champions of exclusive privileges and of chartered monopolies; those cunningly devised substitutes of feudal tenures, and the "insolent prerogative of primogeniture." They are the common enemies of equal rights, and of that just and benign policy which would secure the greatest good to the

greatest number. They are the aristocracy, and, therefore, traitors to the principles of the government which affords them protection.

But it is denied that there are any such party in this country as an aristocracy. The constitution, it is said, recognises no such order. True, sir, neither does the constitution recognise a paper currency; but does it follow, therefore, that no such currency exists? The constitution of the United States positively prohibits the emission of bills of credit by the state governments; and yet it is notorious that such issues, in the shape of bank bills, are made daily, by and with the consent of every state government in the Union. It is absurd, therefore, to argue that there is no aristocracy in this country, because the constitution recognises no such party or order. But as names do not alter the nature of things, it makes but very little difference by what name that political party is called which advocates exclusive privileges or an inequality of rights. Their principles are equally adverse to the spirit of democracy, by whatever name they may be designated.

A purely democratic government must necessarily be opposed in its very character and nature to all monopolies and unequal legislation; and no party, therefore, in favour of charters and exclusive privileges, can, with any propriety, claim to be the party of democracy: it would be equally proper for a disciple of Mahomet to call himself a Christian. Sir, is it not base and horrible mockery, nay, downright perfidy, for any party or individual to profess the principles of democracy, or political equality, and pursue monopoly or aristocratic measures at the same time? Whoever professes to be a democrat, and acts upon federal or monopoly principles, deserves to be stigmatized as a political dissembler and traitor.

Sir, shall I be told that the democratic party numbers among its nominal supporters monopolists or aristocrats? I am aware of the fact, sir, without being advised of it at this time. Nevertheless, I do contend that the democratic party, as a party, have, from the organization of the government to the present time, ever been distinguished from their political adversaries, whether known as federalists, aristocrats, monopolists, nationals, or modern whigs, by their advocacy of liberal or popular principles. The history of the two parties shows this. The first prominent anti-democratic measure proposed in this country was that of the funding or banking system. Alexander Hamilton, the avowed advocate of an aristocracy, was the fit champion of this unequal and onerous measure, and from which has emanated that whole system of monopoly which now overshadows the land, and threatens to subvert the liberties of the people. Of this aristocratic system mark what has been said by one of the most clear-headed, sound, and patriotic men that our country ever produced—I allude to the late John Taylor, of Caroline county, Virginia.

"Thus, (says that distinguished statesman,) while a paper system pretends to make a nation rich and potent, it only makes a minority of that nation rich and potent at the expense of the majority, which it makes poor and impotent. Wealth makes a nation, a faction, or an individual powerful, and, therefore, if paper systems extracted the wealth they accumulated from the winds, and not from property and labour, they would still be inimical to the principles of every constitution founded in the idea of national will; because the subjection of a nation to the will of individuals or factions is an invariable effect of great accumulation of wealth; but when the accumulation of a minority impoverishes a majority, a double operation doubly rivets this subjection.

"The delusion of all paper projects is at once detected by turning upon them their own doctrine; all boast of doing good to a nation. Suppose a nation was to decline this beneficence, and propose to reward it by doing good to paper projects, exactly in the same way they propose to benefit the nation—that is, by taking from the owners of stock their income, and consigning over to them the taxes and the credit attached to the debtor, with the blessing of a paper circulation; the credulity which believes that these institutions do really impose upon nations debt and taxes, direct and indirect, from motives of public good, would be presently cured by the faltering tongues, the wan faces, and the distressing lamentations which a proposition for this exchange would produce. These paper projects, which pretend to be blessings to nations, would be deprecated as curses by themselves, if the case was thus altered.

"It is said that paper systems, being open to all, are not monopolies. He who has money may buy stock. All, then, is fair, as every man (meaning, however, every moneyed man) may share in the plunder."

"Every man may enlist in an army, yet an army may enslave a nation. A monopoly may be open to a great number, yet those who do engage in it may imbibe the spirit of faction; but it cannot be open to all, because no interest, which must subsist upon a nation, can consist of that nation, as I cannot fatten myself by eating myself. If every citizen should go into an army, it would transform that army into the nation itself, and its pay and subsistence would cease; in like manner the profits of paper, were they generally or universally distributed, would cease, because each citizen would be his own paymaster. Had the objection been as true in practice as it is plausible in theory, these answers suffice to prove that it would have converted paper aristocracies into paper democracies.

"The reason, however, for this apparent common power of becoming a stock-jobber consists in the constant necessity felt for recruits by every species of aristocracy. The Mamelukes of Egypt have sufficient penetration to discover this. No individual, nor an inconsiderable number of individuals, can enslave a nation. A despot raises soldiers by bounties. This system is also recruited by bounties. The soldier sometimes deserts, or takes part with the nation after his bounty is spent; but the bounty of paper systems is so contrived that it is perpetually going on, and annually repeated, so that the aristocracy of an oppressive system never deserts, or takes part with the nation, as the army of an oppressive prince has sometimes done.

"Where avarice and ambition beat up for recruits, too many are prone to enlist. Kings, ministers, lords, and commons will be obliged to command the army and share in the plunder, or submit to be cashiered. The makers and managers of aristocracy gamble, with a certainty of winning, for a stake extorted and increased by themselves. If they deposite their penny, they draw a pound, and augment their power. The system of paper and patronage freights annual galleons for a government and a faction, a national mine called industry; and bestows on the people such blessings as those enjoy who dig up the ores of Peru and Mexico. The receivers of the profit drawn from this mine reap wealth and power; the laborers reap armies, wars, taxes, monopolies, faction, poverty, and ten hundred millions of debt." This is an English picture. America hopes that her governors and citizens are neither ambitious nor avaricious; and, upon this hope, is committing the custody of her liberty to the same system. Oh! America, America, thou art the truly begotten of John Bull! It is not proposed to follow this system throughout its deleteri-

ous effects upon the morals of private citizens. But if it is capable of corrupting public officers, or government itself, a remark to exhibit its superior malignity over the aristocracies of the first and second ages cannot be suppressed. The manners and principles of government are objects of imitation, and influence national character. The aristocracy of the first age exhibited sanctity, veneration for the gods, and moral virtues to the public view, not unuseful in their operation, and particularly so in times of ignorance; that of the second, the virtues of generosity, honour, and bravery, not unuseful in softening barbarism into civilization, by the magnanimity, and even the folly, of chivalry. But what virtues for imitation appear in the aristocracy of the present age? Avarice and ambition being its whole soul, what private morals will it infuse, and what national character will it create? It subsists by usurpation, deceit, and oppression. A consciousness of fraud impels it toward perpetration. By ever affecting, and never practising, sincerity, it teaches a perpetual fear of treachery and a perpetual effort to insnare. Its end is distrust and fraud, which convert the earth into a scene of ambuscade, man against man. Its acquisitions inflict misery, without bestowing happiness; because they can only feed a rapacity which can never be satisfied, and a luxury which cannot suppress remorse. In relation to private people, this system may only encourage idleness, teach swindling, ruin individuals, and destroy morals; but, allied to government, it presents a policy of such unrivalled malignity as only to be expressed by saying, "the government is a speculator upon the liberty and property of the nation!"

Such, then, sir, is the character and tendency of the paper or banking system. And with this system is identified the aristocracy: they are, in fact, inseparable. The banking system of this country, be it ever remembered, originated with, and has been uniformly cherished and advocated by, the anti-democratic or aristocratic party. The struggle of the United States Bank (one of the first-fruits of aristocratical policy) was emphatically a struggle for power and privilege, nay, for dominion. Its friends, emboldened by the hope and prospect of success, threw by the mask, and not only avowed, but carried out into practice, the principles which govern all moneyed aristocracies; and arrogance, corruption, oppression, and proscription were openly practised in the face of day.

The aristocracy are not only distinguished by their corrupt and despotic measures, and their penchant for monopolies and exclusive privileges, but also by the virulency and constancy of their animosity toward the advocates of the rights and happiness of the multitude: and hence JEFFERSON and JACKSON, those devoted and efficient champions of *equal rights*, have each in their turn been the objects of their peculiar hatred and unmitigated slanders. In fact, those who most deserve the confidence and support of the people, are ever the most obnoxious to the assaults and denunciations of the aristocracy. Who, for example, have been more grossly slandered and abused by them than MARTIN VAN BUREN and RICHARD M. JOHNSON? And who have stronger claims upon the regard and confidence of the democracy of the country than those gentlemen? Have they not, both in Congress and the Legislatures of their respective states, uniformly opposed chartered monopolies, and all other aristocratic encroachments upon the equal rights and liberties of the people? Have they not at all times, and under all circumstances, openly and unreservedly avowed their hostility to all *exclusive legislation*, and to all measures calculated to prejudice the cause of political equality? Have they not ever

reposed the utmost confidence in the intelligence and integrity of the people, and uniformly exerted their best energies in behalf of the people's rights and welfare? Let the history of their lives furnish the answer.

The aristocracy are also known by yet another characteristic; their *contempt of the common people*. I do not recollect that I have ever met with any production in which this feeling of contempt was so strongly and heartily expressed as it is in the late address of Mr. Biddle, before the Alumni Association of Nassau Hall. Permit me, sir, to call your attention for a moment to the following extract, as a specimen:

*** "From your own quiet elevation, watch calmly this servile route (the people) as its triumph sweeps before you. The avenging hour will at last come. It cannot be that our free nation will long endure the vulgar dominion of ignorance and profligacy. You will live to see the laws re-established. These banditti (the people) will be scourged back to their caverns; the penitentiary will reclaim its fugitives in office, and the only remembrance which history will preserve of them is the energy with which you resisted and defeated them."*

It is difficult, sir, to determine whether *audacity* or *hypocrisy* is most pre-eminent in the extract which I have just read. Sir, must it not strike every one, possessing the least sense of propriety, as very remarkable that an individual in Mr. Biddle's *peculiar situation*, being at the time president of an institution notoriously corrupt and unconstitutional, should presume to make pretensions to patriotism or to political integrity? Why, sir, with about as much propriety might the wanton prate of virtue, or the father of lies of truth and righteousness, as this man of love of country, or of political honesty. In his abuse of the people is exhibited the profligacy of Alcibiades defacing the images of the gods! In his professions of patriotism is manifested the hypocrisy of Clodius dedicating a temple to Liberty! And let it be remembered, sir, that this enemy of equal rights, this contemner and libeller of the people, is the chief priest, nay, the very Moloch of the bank-whig aristocracy. No prince better deserves the homage of his subjects; none so well qualified to direct the councils of that political Tartarus, which he has obtained the empire of, and delights to reign over.

We regret that the severe attack of indisposition of Mr. Moore, while delivering the foregoing speech, prevented him finishing it, particularly so as we do not doubt but that he had in store much additional matter in defence of the character of the working classes and their equal rights, that would have made Waddy Thompson and other *defamers* and *slanders* of the bone and sinew of our country *tremble* for their *cowardly* and *arrogant* attack on the character of the labouring portion of our country. We take this occasion to say, that we trust the time is not far distant when the people of the city and county of New York

will rally, and again send their brother Moore to represent them on the floor of Congress of the United States.

THE TARIFF QUESTION *discussed in a manner that will be found highly interesting to the American*

People.—We had prepared for our journal several articles on the *Tariff Question*, *Home Industry*, &c.; but we are not like journalists generally, prefer our own productions to others on similar subjects; on the contrary, finding that writers on the *Tariff Question*, &c., in the Boston Bay State Democrat, Newburgh Telegraph, and Saratoga Sentinel, have each wrote a series of papers on these important subjects, which we frankly acknowledge we prefer to our own; therefore we have concluded to republish them; and, by way of introduction, we give from the Saratoga Sentinel "the following from the pen of one of the ablest writers in the Union," which we particularly recommend to every thinking and candid man.

Home industry! a captivating name! Who is not in favour of protecting "*home industry*?" Not one. It is our highest boast, that we are in favour of protecting "*home industry*." In what does "*home industry*" really consist? Look abroad over our thousand hills and boundless plains. See the emigrant cutting down the trees, building his log cabin, and turning up the prairie, where golden harvest have slept ever since the flood: there is "*home industry*." Look at the farmer, improving his worn-out fields, feeding his cattle, and taking his crops to market: there is "*home industry*." Look at his wife and daughters cooking his food, making his clothes, doing everything to save what he has earned, and giving comfort to his habitation: here is "*home industry*."

This class exceeds all others in society, both in numbers and importance. It is they who give value to a country. Without them our wide-spread and fertile lands would be as valueless as the deserts of Arabia. Not a house would be built did they not feed the builders. Not a city or village would spring into existence or continue to exist, did they not draw substance and wealth from the farmers around them. Not a ship floats whose freight is not in the first instance the product of his toil, or of the labour of those whom he feeds. The lawyer, the doctor, the divine, the mechanic, the seaman, the soldier, the public officer, the merchant, the banker, the broker, the poet, the painter, the idler, and the knave are all fed from his hand and clothed by his toil. The wealth of the Girards and the Astors is the accumulation of his industry; it is he who fills the treasuries of states and nations, builds navies, and supports armies. Without him society cannot exist, and the world would be surrendered to a few wandering savages.

His is the "*home industry*" which above all others merits "*protection*." But what "*protection*" does it obtain or ask, or what is it possible for government to give? Does the emigrant expect or ask the government to cut down the tree for him or build his cabin, and plough up the prairie? Does the farmer ask or expect the government to build his fences, cultivate his fields, or cover them with manure? Does he go to his government and say, "*My land is poor; I can scarcely get a living: I beg you for protection—I beg you to impose a tax on the produce of my neighbour's more productive lands, that my crops may sell higher, and I may*

* *Query*, where would Nicholas Biddle and a certain "banditti" now be, had they their just deserts? We opine they would be "scourged back to their caverns, the penitentiary," and there fed and clothed agreeable to the "laws." Fortunately for our country—fortunately for the people—fortunately for our "free nation," the "profligacy" and "vulgar dominion" of a late president and company of the late United States Bank, which was well understood by Andrew Jackson, and by whose firmness and prompt decision that late institution, in connexion with British capitalists and domestic foes, was prevented from ruling our country and the people with a rod of iron.—ED. D. C.

get rich?" If he were to approach congress or the state legislature with such a petition, he would be laughed to scorn. He would be told that *he had himself chosen his occupation and selected his home*; that he must encounter the hazards of the one and the inconveniences of the other; that it *would be as unjust to tax his neighbour's crops, to enable him to sell his goods at a higher price, as it would be to take his neighbour's property without consideration, and give it to him.*

"Home industry!" In the tariff vocabulary this is a phrase of a very limited meaning. With slight exceptions, it does not include the great fundamental and all prevailing agricultural interest in the country. That is not meant when we hear this cant phrase. Perhaps some hatter in a city does not make so much upon the hats manufactured by him as he wishes, and he petitions congress to *make the farmer pay a higher price for hats for himself and family.* Perhaps some tailor does not profit as much as he desires upon articles of clothing made by him, and he petitions congress to make farmers and all other classes pay more for ready made clothing. Perhaps some iron master does not make a satisfactory income from his mines and his forges, and forthwith he petitions congress to make the farmer pay higher prices for his ploughs and hoes, his axes and crowbars, his staples and his chains, his sickles and his scythes, his door latches and hinges, his knives and forks, his pots and kettles, and every item of iron or steel used by him in his business. Perhaps the owners of a large manufacturing establishment do not make satisfactory profits on their business, and forthwith they petition congress to make the farmer pay higher prices for his coat and waistcoat, for his pantaloons, for his bed-clothes and table-cloths, for the clothing of his wife and children, for every yard of cotton, woollen, linen, hempen, or silk goods purchased for their comfort or used in his family. Perhaps the glass-maker wishes to increase his profits, and forthwith he petitions congress to make *everybody* pay a higher price for glass. So of every other class of manufacturers and mechanics who meet in our markets competition from abroad. To increase the profits of the salt-maker, every farmer must pay a higher price for the salt he puts upon his meat or gives to his cattle. To increase the profits of a few sugar planters in a single state, the whole Union is made to pay a higher price for sugar.

And this is called "*protecting home industry.*" The industry of THOUSANDS is taxed to swell the income of ONE; but the thousands are forgotten, and the one only remembered! Because the one, in being enabled by law to appropriate to himself in part the fruits of the industry of thousands, *gets rich*, a protective tariff, incidental and direct, is hailed as a happy measure, all important to the country.

There are few men in society who advocate an equal distribution of property through the instrumentality of law, and these are stigmatized as agrarians and levelers. But is not a protective tariff, so called, founded on the same principles? When the law steps in and compels me to pay more for a hat than I should otherwise be obliged to pay, does it not take a part of my property and give it to the hatter? If the law compel the farmer to give five bushels of wheat for goods which he could otherwise purchase for four, does it not take from him a part of his property and give it to the manufacturer? And if government may thus rightfully take one man's property and give it to another, may they not, by the same right, make an equal distribution? The principle is the same; the difference lies only in the extent to which it is carried.

Reflection and an examination into facts will satisfy

the reader that the word "protection" is misapplied when used in this sense. *Taxation* of "home industry" would be a more appropriate phrase: for the industry of all is taxed to build up the fortunes of the few.

THE TARIFF QUESTION—No. 1.

As public attention is now directed to the contemplated revision of the revenue laws, it is our purpose, in as concise a manner as the subject will admit, to lay down what we believe to be correct principles, and observe how far they are supported by experience. The ground taken is this: In favour of free trade, as the ultimate, not the present, policy of the government—a tariff which shall provide means to defray the necessary expenses of the government after the Distribution Act shall have been repealed—in favour of discriminating, *ad valorem*, home-valuation duties—against *protection*, unless it is incidental, believing that it is neither a positive nor implied duty of government to legislate for the sole object of encouraging particular kinds of business.

If we examine the nature of trade we shall perceive that in its free state it is calculated to develop, to the greatest extent, the resources of a country and the energies of a people. Trade has its origin in the diversity of soil and climate with which it has pleased the Creator to bless the world. Some sections can produce particular articles with less labour than they can be produced elsewhere; and we find among all men a disposition to exchange that of which they have too much for that of which they have too little. Hence arises trade. We can readily perceive that, if every man or every community produced all which they desired, trade would be at an end. This result would be alike produced if the protectionists should be able to attain that by artificial means which is clearly opposed to Divine policy and the best interests of society. To "produce all we use" would annihilate trade, destroy those social feelings which are its results, and place the whole commercial world in the present stationary condition of China. Her policy is to sell much and buy little; and under its influence she has remained stationary, or nearly so, for three thousand years.

The policy of China is not essentially different from that of England, or that sought by the protectionists in this country; yet Great Britain is waging a war for the destruction of a system of legislation which she has pushed farther than any nation in the western section of the world.

It is evident that trade is as clearly a result of the operation of natural laws, as the difference in climate or soil in different parts of the world; for, in fact, the former springs directly from the latter. That there is a diversity of soil and climate, is evidence of the intention of the Creator that no man or society of men should be wholly independent of the rest of the world. Mutual dependence is undoubtedly a promoter of peace, harmony, and social progress. Whenever a class of men is isolated from the rest of mankind, the first retrograde step is taken. If we are ever to arrive to a greater degree of perfection than we enjoy at present, it must be by intercourse with each other; and this intercourse must cease, if the doctrine of protection is carried to the extent desired.

The ostensible objects of the protectionists are, to save the American labourer from the condition of the half-starved labourers of Europe; to keep our money at home by restricting or prohibiting importations: to sell much and buy little. If it were in the power of government to accomplish these objects, the question would then arise, how far it would be desirable to carry it.

If a tariff could effect the first object—save the labourer from the condition of the European labourer—England could not boast a happy, thriving, progressive, industrious population; but, instead of this, her shame is her poor, degraded, abused, and starving labourer, made so by her very tariff system, which has placed beyond his reach the necessities of life and the means of improvement.

Whenever government undertakes to carry out the policy of protection, some one interest will inevitably become stronger than any other, and hence will obtain more than its proportionate share of the benefits. This is true of the landed interest in Great Britain, the sugar manufacturing interest in France, the woollen interest in Germany, and, lastly, the corporate manufacturing interest in the United States. It is difficult to conceive that any would be benefited by what is termed protection, if it were equal—affecting alike every department of industry. Experience strengthens this doubt. What is gained by the landholders of England, is lost by the poor operatives in the manufacturing towns and cities. What the sugar manufacturers of France receive from the duty on colonial sugars, is drawn from the people of the colonies, the manufacturers at home, who are deprived of a market for their stuffs, and that worthy class of citizens who had before been engaged in commerce. If protection benefit some branches of industry and injure more, we make the pertinent inquiry, *From what source spring these benefits?*

If there are any persons who desire to reduce the labourers of this country to the condition of the starved labourers of Europe, we have no sympathy with such; our effort has been, and still is, to give to the labourer that position to which he is justly entitled, for we believe him the chief repository of political virtue in this country. In this desire may be found the reason of our opposition to the doctrines of the protectionists; believing that whenever they shall have been established as the settled policy of the country, his relative position will be less desirable than it now is. The boast of our land is its industrious population. Here the labourer is identified with the best interests of society. The very idea of *labour* is associated with health, virtue, progress. In other countries none of these associations cluster around the name. But even here a spot occasionally mars the beauty of the picture. Attempt to disguise it as we may, our manufacturing towns afford numerous instances of vice, of moral apathy, of neglect of the education of youth, and of health destroyed or prematurely impaired. These are the steps which lead the labourer in the mills to forget that he is a citizen, that he has political rights, that he is bound to perform social duties. It is the duty of every government, and peculiarly of our own, to foster such a policy as will induce a vast majority of the citizens to become freeholders. The immense superiority of a community of freeholders over an itinerant one is apparent. Let the citizen feel that he treads his own soil, and he is ennobled and the country strengthened.

THE TARIFF QUESTION—No. 2.

We propose to examine the connexion existing between the price paid for labour, and the cost of production. The theory is prevalent, that the one is entirely dependent on the other. That is, that the cheapness of production is in an exact ratio to the price paid for labour. With this doctrine we have no sympathy. Of course the price paid for labour forms a part of the expense of manufacturing, but we do not deem it of sufficient importance to be considered a criterion. The history of the industry of our own country furnishes an

example in point. The free and well-paid labour of the north has been in competition with the unpaid labour of the south for more than half a century. Does any one say that the northern labourer receives less for his services than he would were slavery abolished? Take the wheat-growing states of the two sections, and observe the comparative prosperity of each. Now, if the cost of production were in proportion to the price paid for labour, the slave states would have an immense superiority; that they have not this superiority, shows that other causes determine the cost of production.

Servile labour is everywhere unproductive. This is the character of most of the labour of Europe. Wherever the labourer is poorly paid, he becomes by degrees degraded and incapable of making progress in the art or business which he pursues. Such a man never rises above the condition of a menial, and it can make no difference whether he be an African on the savannahs of the south, or the degraded and haggard operative of Manchester or Paisley. When the artisan is sufficiently paid to enjoy the luxury of an occasional glance at a work of science, or an hour's attention to improvements which may be going on around him, he partakes of the common feeling, and is, perhaps, the fortunate discoverer or inventor by which the productiveness of labour is wonderfully increased. Thus, in France, where the operative is even more poorly rewarded than in England, the cotton spindle has never been made to perform more than 2,000 revolutions per minute; in England 4,000 revolutions have been attained; while in this country 5,000 revolutions were performed some years since, and a recent invention promises 10,000 revolutions per minute! Here is an evidence of the capacity of well-paid labour to encourage progress, while pauper labour, like a machine, only moves when propelled. Mr. Montgomery, who has for many years been acquainted with manufacturing in England and this country, gives an analytical statement of the expense of making coarse cotton fabrics in the two countries, and proves that the latter has a decided advantage. In this department of industry we observe the superiority of a well-paid labour over pauper labour. It is within a few years that a representation was made by certain manufacturers to Parliament, that, without *protection*, the American manufacturers could throw their cheap cottons into the markets of England and undersell the domestic manufacturer. Here is a singular anomaly; the English and American manufacturer each asking protection of their respective governments against the competition of the other.

It is within the recollection of the present generation that India cottons, now but seldom seen, were once common in all our markets. The labourer in India receives from two to four cents per day for his services, yet he is unable to compete with the American labourer, who earns from one dollar to two dollars per day. Even the females in our mills are paid at least twelve times as much as the full-grown man in India. The British home government has found it necessary to adopt a new policy with reference to its possessions in India—exclude all goods except of British manufacture. Now, if goods could be manufactured in England at less cost than in this country, why interpose legislation?

In England manufacturing is carried on almost exclusively by steam power, which is everywhere more expensive than water power. As every ingredient is taxed by duties in England, unless it is cotton, the expense is considerably increased. By admitting all the materials of manufacturing duty free, the expense is proportionately diminished. We believe it is the opinion of intelligent woollen manufacturers that, were it not for

the duty on wool, they should be able to sustain themselves without any duty on their goods. Yet it cannot be denied that the duty on wool has only afforded a very uncertain protection to the wool-growers, as all wools costing less than eight cents in the countries from where they come are admitted free. If the wool-growers are permitted to buy their woollens, cottons, sugar, molasses, and other necessities of life at their *natural* prices, we have no idea that they will be importunate for the aid of the government.

It is a remarkable fact, worth noticing, that the cotton manufacture in England, which until lately has received the opposition rather than the support of the government, has flourished much better than the woollen manufacture, which has always been the subject of anxious solicitude. In the reign of——— an act was passed making it penal to bury the dead in anything but woollen. The French government, on the other hand, has paid particular attention to the cotton manufacture, and yet it has never been remarkable for its success, but rather for the languor which has always attended the enterprise. The silk culture and manufacture have never received the permanent support of this government, but in several states a considerable profit has been realized by the *unprotected* pursuit of the business. It will be at once recollected that the silk business is pursued in those foreign countries where labour is very cheap—India, China, Italy, and France. In all those countries labour is more poorly compensated than in England. If the cost of production were in an exact ratio to the price paid for labour, we apprehend that American silk would even now be unknown. For seventy years the silk business has been pursued in the little town of Mansfield, Ct., with almost uninterrupted success. There are at present three factories, which annually produce about \$50,000 worth of silk. We were recently informed by an intelligent gentleman connected with the business, that it was as good as other kinds, affording a living profit to the manufacturer and an adequate return to the farmer. A few years since the government of the state appropriated \$15,000, which had been received as a bonus for a bank charter, to the encouragement of the business on a more extended scale. The scheme was an entire failure; thus adding one more to numerous instances of the incompetency of government to superintend or encourage business.

There seems to be in the laws of business a retroactive power, which, like the laws of physiology, punish every transgression.

The most remarkable efforts of the protective tariff system may be found in the history of the attempt which France is making to produce sugar from the beet root. It is now about ten years since the government commenced the protection of the business. The quantity produced since the adoption of this policy is 384,000 pounds, on which the people have paid, in the form of duty, \$15,360,000, more than they would have paid for the same quantity of colonial sugar. More than 400 merchant vessels, employing 6000 men, have been driven from the colonial trade, the colonies themselves have been deprived of the means of purchasing the productions of the mother country, and, while she is enabled to produce her own sugars, a large amount of the trade, causing the destruction of her own commerce, has been thrown into the hands of Great Britain and the United States. Thus we may observe how far a principal object—independence of other states—has been attained in this instance. Another visible effect of this policy is seen in the reduction of wages in France. By prohibiting colonial sugars, the colonists are deprived of the

means of purchasing French manufactures, which must of course injure that branch of industry.

The wages of the labourer are reduced, or he must seek employment in some other channel. But even this alternative cannot be resorted to without inconvenience and loss. He is an apprentice to the new business, and receives only apprentice's pay. View it as you may, the tendency is to lessen the price of labour.

On this point we wish to adduce the Russian policy in the government of Poland, and note its effects. Major G. Tochman, a Polish exile, has published a very valuable letter, which furnishes all the evidence needed.* Interested as this gentleman is in all that concerns his country, and acquainted with her past and present condition, we do not hesitate to give full credence to his opinions. He says: "Poland, before the dismemberment, was an agricultural country in the full signification of the term. Its fertile soil prevented the Poles from becoming manufacturers, and its policy was to adopt the commerce of exchange. Always applying the price of their product to the ratio of the price demanded for their goods, the Poles were happy in their commercial pursuits; and, while foreign merchants drew great profits from Poland, the balance of trade was always profitable to the Poles. *All classes of our people were at ease, and thousands of our merchants and owners of land made large fortunes.* Since the dismemberment of Poland a new commercial policy has been substituted by Russia, Austria, and Prussia; which is, to *export as much domestic produce as possible*, and to receive in exchange nothing but money. Our commerce became now that of our oppressors, and our produce, exported through Dantzic, is now called "*German produce*;" and whatever is exported through Riga and the Black Sea is called "*Russian produce*;" so that our wheat, timber, iron, leather, hemp, flax, honey, tallow, &c., &c., are called either German or Russian, though neither German nor Russian hands till the soil which produces them. The result of this policy has been, that money is very scarce in all parts of Poland, the labouring class is in a wretched condition, and uneasiness is to be seen even in the magnificent palaces built by our fathers. Many a Pole, who possesses thousands of acres of land, and who has thousands of bushels of wheat in his granaries, finds himself often under difficulties to pay taxes and arbitrary contributions. Consequently every thing that the labourer and the soil produces is very cheap, while the foreign articles of all kinds are rare and very dear—the importers of the latter being obliged to pay heavy duties to *maintain this new commercial policy.*" "The price of wheat is from 18 to 25 cents a bushel; while for coffee and sugar we must pay from 18 to 25 cents per pound." "A common labourer gains in Poland from 6 to 12½ cents per day; a mechanic seldom more than 25 cents." "A milch cow sells from \$2.50 to \$8; an ox for labour from \$6 to \$15."

These extracts from the writings of one familiar with his subject, it seems, are sufficient to carry conviction to any person of the impolicy of attempting to *buy little and sell much*. It is by an exchange of those products of which we have a surplus that the greatest amount of prosperity is gained. The *protective system*, as it is termed, has shorn Poland of its few locks of glory which remained to her after the revolution; and her history is now written in the degradation, poverty, and wretchedness of her sons. We have but to turn to Switzerland, a name associated with every thought of bravery and

* This letter may be found in the January number of Hunt's Merchant's Magazine, of the current year. To this valuable journal we are indebted for numerous facts and statistics, for which we here make a general acknowledgment.

freedom, to witness a beautiful contrast to Poland. Whenever our eyes rest on the map of Europe, we invariably turn them to the Alps as the point where the beacon of liberty is yet unprepared to the gaze of despotic Europe. There, and there alone, of all that part of the globe, it is that man makes any approximation to freedom; and there it is that trade is comparatively untrammelled. Though small in territory, the virtue, intelligence, and bravery of her sons are everywhere respected; feeble in arms, she is not without a large influence over the surrounding states. Saxony, one of the smallest European states, has prosecuted various kinds of manufactures with a success which we believe is unparalleled in any country where the protective system has been established. Her goods find their way into the United States, South America, India, and almost every part of the commercial world.

England is often referred to as an example in point, in favour of protection. If a tariff has benefited England, what would have been the condition of her labouring population without it? The three great features of British home policy are, a national bank, national debt, and high tariff; and we believe that neither can exist for any length of time without the others. A national debt leads to this tri-shaped policy; then a tariff to provide means to pay the interest without resorting to the more honest and equitable method of taxation; and, lastly, a bank to negotiate loans, collect and keep the money, and pay the interest as it becomes due. In Great Britain 33 per cent. of the fruits of labour is taken by the government, and chiefly by the aid of the tariff.

It may be an easy matter, but we leave it for those better versed in subtle reasoning, to convince the starving population of that country that all this is done for their good! We are told in this country that the labourer is the object of the efforts of the protectionists; but, we honestly ask, who are the men that parade the streets of the towns in England, and furiously demand the repeal of the laws which impose a duty on corn? Are they not the labourers? Is it the rich or poor which are benefited by the policy which we are now asked to adopt? Let riots, pauper accounts, starvation, men parading the streets, crying "*blood or bread*," answer this question.

The duty paid on corn by the people of England is about \$50,000,000 per annum; on sugar, \$16,000,000; and on meat the enormous sum of \$90,000,000. Here is the secret of the misery of which lamentable accounts are furnished by every mail from England; and here also is the doctrine of protection.

It is not, however, the people of England alone that are thus unjustly taxed; the people of this country pay an annual tax of \$3,195,253 on the article of sugar, of which there goes into the treasury \$1,395,253, showing a loss to the country of \$1,800,000. The quantity of sugar produced in the United States is 90,000,000 pounds, and the same duty is paid on this as on the imported article; yet the grower only gets pay for his labour, because he produces it under peculiar disadvantages. That is, we pay \$1,800,000 on what sugar we use, for the benefit of having one-half of it raised within the limits of the twenty-six states.

THE TARIFF QUESTION—No. 3.

Effects of a Tariff on the Exports of a Country.—This point has been so often and ably elucidated, that we shall consider it briefly. It is a well-settled axiom, that a nation which will not buy cannot sell. This is the result at which protection aims; but, we certainly ask, what is to be the fate of the meat and grain growing sections of the country? Cut off from all foreign

markets, they may seek in vain for a market in our own borders; there is not a state in our Union which cannot produce more than it can consume. The industry and skill of our citizens, and the natural advantages of our country, will always insure a surplus of grain, meat, cotton, many kinds of manufactures, and perhaps wool, for which we must seek a foreign market. Now, if we cut off, or materially diminish, our imports by onerous duties, it needs no extraordinary power to anticipate the condition of our manufacturers, who even now find the domestic market too limited, as well as that of the agriculturalists in the west. As we must always be prepared to export more than we need to import, it should be our aim to offer every consistent inducement to other nations to enlarge in reciprocal commerce. Notwithstanding the enormous burdens which England has imposed on our trade with her, the balance has been in our favour. We now speak of the direct trade between the two countries. Our imports from England, Scotland, and Ireland, in 1840, were \$33,637,699, while our exports to those countries in that year were \$54,192,176, showing a balance in our favour of \$20,554,477. Our exports to Great Britain will continue to increase, while our imports will diminish. The meat of the United States is beginning to find its way to those markets; and, when the tariff laws shall have undergone revision, we may reasonably expect an increased demand for our flour and meat. So great has been the proficiency in the calico manufacture in this country, that Great Britain has almost ceased to forward these goods.

In the manufacture of common cotton fabrics we are without a successful rival in the world. As long ago as 1824, Mr. Webster declared, in the House of Representatives, that he considered "the cotton manufacture not only to have reached, but to have passed, the point of competition."

We are much less dependent on England for cutlery than formerly. The best articles in the department of manufactures are of home production. Iron is becoming one of the staples of our country, not only for domestic use, but for export. We are, then, to become a great exporting country; producing at home all the necessities of life, our surplus will purchase the luxuries of every clime; thus giving profitable employment to our agriculturalists, manufacturers, merchants, and navigators. It will be seen by the statistics of the country that the exports have been in an increase ratio to the tariff. In 1808, when we were without a tariff, as at present understood, the exports were \$13.50 per head. From 1817 to 1823, after the passage of the Revenue Act of 1816, the exports were reduced to \$8 per head; from 1824 to 1833, under the influence of the highest tariff the country has ever seen, the exports were only \$6.50 per head; while from 1833 to 1839, the period of the gradual reduction of the tariff under the Compromise Act, the exports rose to \$7 per head. These facts tend very strongly, to say the least, to establish the doctrine, that a high tariff is unfavourable to exportation.

Effects of a Tariff on Navigation.—If, as we have attempted to show, this policy diminishes exports and imports, it must also injure commerce. Although the commerce of our country has increased since the peace of 1814, it has not kept pace with the general prosperity which has attended other pursuits. The reason is apparent. So far as the production of the country has been changed from its natural to its unnatural state, every interest has suffered. The production of sugar, for example, which must be regarded as unnatural, has injured navigation. An examination of the tonnage of the United States at different periods shows a wonderful

coincidence between its amount and the character of our tariff. In 1814 the registered tonnage was equal to 1 tun for every 6.1-5 persons; in 1820, 1 tun for every 7½ persons; in 1830, 1 tun for 10½ persons; and, in 1838, 1 tun for every 8 persons. We thus perceive that under the highest the amount of shipping has been proportionately small; while under a moderate or low tariff the opposite result is observed.

From 1824 to 1843 inclusive, a period of ten years of high tariff, the increase of the tonnage of the United States was 1½ per cent. per annum; from 1834 to 1839, inclusive, under a more moderate system of duties, the increase was 8½ per annum, and in 1840 it reached 5 per cent.

We think that these facts justify the inference, that a high tariff is prejudicial to commerce. This opinion was entertained and expressed by the earliest opponents of the system; and history now confirms the opinion. Let us present an estimate of the loss to the country in this particular. Taking 4½ per cent. as the probable annual increase from 1824 to 1833, had the duties been moderate, we find that the tonnage of the country was 190,805 tons less at the latter period than it would have been. To have managed this amount of shipping would have required the service of about 6000 men, and would have earned not less than \$11,000,000 per annum! This is one of the many ways by which the true and legitimate interests of the country—interests in harmony with the character of our people—are sacrificed by injudicious attempts at protection. It is possible, though not certain, that, without a tariff which has in many cases amounted to prohibition, the attention of our people would not have been directed to so great an extent to manufacturing; yet in exchange for this our farmers would have found a more constant and better market for their products, our carrying trade would have been extended, and a foundation laid for an effective navy, which would have gained the respect of the world in time of peace, and proved our best defence in war. There is no reason why we should not do a great proportion of carrying for other nations which are not so well suited as the United States; yet the amount of foreign vessels entered at our ports during the last ten years has increased in a greater ratio than our own. Now that England is compelled, by the direful results which the protective system has produced in the condition of her *labouring population*, to adopt a more liberal policy, self-interest as well as justice to every branch of industry seems to require a liberal reciprocity on our part. Many articles which we produce in great abundance, such as beef for example, will soon be admitted into England at a comparatively small duty. The duty on bread stuffs will be materially diminished, and we may promise ourselves a market for the surplus produce of the west. Great Britain has pushed the doctrine of protection till it has well-nigh overthrown her government, and thousands of her children have absolutely fallen victims to starvation; yet we are seized with this trans-atlantic mania, hold “conventions,” form “Home Leagues,” petition congress, threaten the south, talk of dissolving the Union, and all because “*England protects her industry*.”

THE TARIFF QUESTION—No. 4.

Let us here express the hope, that in this struggle the people may not forget that they are *citizens of the United States*, and have a higher duty to perform than to gain a temporary advantage for some kind of industry. A great effort has been made to enlist all the selfishness which belongs to our national character; while politicians have been equally busy in conveying the impression, that the opponents of a protective tariff were bent

on depriving labour of its just reward. By these very men the true question is carefully kept from the public eye. That question is, *Shall every kind of industry be permitted to enjoy its own natural advantages, or shall some be taxed for the benefit of others?*

We are glad to see so general a movement by all kinds of artisans. There seems to be but one exception to this remark—the *farmers*. This class of citizens, content to earn their bread before they eat it, do not seem to be aware that it is equally the duty of the government to protect them as to protect the shoe-makers, paper-makers, glass-makers, carriage-makers, and the various other manufacturers who are so zealous in their efforts. Should the farmers call a national convention, form a “Home League,” and lay before congress the value of their products and the number of labourers employed, it would at once perceive that they should not be overlooked. The safety of the labourer is, however, that so many classes of manufacturers, with greatly diversified interests, have already moved in the matter, so that, like some poisons, which, taken in small quantities, destroy life, but in larger doses are innoxious, they contain their own antidote. Each will combat the too high pretensions of the others, and thus facilitate the settlement of this difficult question.

We ought also to consider the effects which a tariff and a paper currency have on each other. The ground the protectionists have always taken is, that a tariff, preventing importations, effectually excludes any demand for specie. If it did stop importations, then to be sure there would be no demand for specie; but here we believe they are mistaken. Making no allowance for smuggling, which, however, is a commission business in Paris at least, as appears by the curious document lately sent from that city to our congress, it will momentarily diminish importations; then the demands on our banks for specie cease, and there is now no check to the amount of their issues. Money is easily obtained, prices rise, business assumes a more inviting character, and promises a harvest which can never be reaped. This *vivifying* process goes on until the point is reached—and it will be sooner or later—when the nominal value of goods is so enhanced in the country, that foreign goods can be brought here and sold for a profit. Now, the influence of the tariff is reversed, and, instead of affording any relief to business, it hurries on a day of fearful retribution to all business men. First, the banks are called on for specie to pay for the goods which an inflated currency, like a trade-wind or gulf-stream, has wafted to our shores. Now, the banks become unable to take ordinary business paper, and here commences the panic and distress which the country has already seen, and which is sure to follow an increase of the tariff. Such was the origin of the commercial difficulties of 1819, 1828, and 1829.

Although we have not glanced at the major part of these arguments in favour of free trade, we will now give a summary of our views, and close our lengthy article. Entire freedom in business we regard as essential to the moral and intellectual advancement of the race. Freedom in trade we do not regard as an *abstraction* which can never be reduced to practice, but rather as a *divine law*, for every violation of which there is a penalty. Our duty, then, is plain—*Urge the government to adopt a more liberal policy.*

We do not advocate immediate free trade, because our past policy has been different; the wants of the government are imperative, and must be supplied; the people are averse to taxation; the tariff has led some classes of our people into manufactures which, in its absence, might prove unprofitable—therefore an im-

mediate change in our whole policy is not desirable. But we do insist that it is the duty of congress to keep in mind that the tariff should have a distinctive *revenue character*. In *discriminating*—which is proper, so long as the great object of the tariff (*revenue*) is not lost sight of—the labourer should receive special consideration. Not indirectly, through spindles and looms alone, but in some tangible form. In other countries, and to some extent in this, the labourer has been the *victim* of protection.

The wool-growers may have supposed that they were the objects of especial care; yet the law has admitted, *duty free*, all wool costing less than eight cents a pound at the place from which it came! By the aid of fraudulent purchases, false invoices, and the facilities which exist for smuggling, the law has been of very little practical utility. The grovers of cattle, too, have been obliged to sell hides at free-trade prices, no duty having ever been imposed on this article.

In every movement, whether moral, intellectual, or political, we desire that the claims of the working classes may be regarded, not in words alone, as we have too often witnessed, but in a manner which shall render them independent, virtuous, and enlightened.—*Bay State Democrat*.

A UNITED STATES BANK—AND THE TARIFF.

Henry Clay has retired from the United States Senate, and entered upon the course for the next Presidency. The "whigs" of North Carolina have already nominated him for that office. The friends of a United States Bank have not yet given up the idea of the establishment of such an institution; and they will support Mr. Clay, with the understanding that, should he succeed, a bank will be established. Clay will be the bank candidate, "The Home League," "The Protection of Domestic Industry;" these words are rung in the ears of the people by the bank men for the purpose of deceiving them, and are mere devices for withdrawing attention from the real questions at issue, which will be, at the next Presidential election, *Henry Clay and a Bank*, or *MARTIN VAN BUREN* (or some other good man) and *the Independent Treasury*. The rich capitalists may pretend to be the friends of the mechanics, and the advocates of a system of protection that will give the labourer high wages; but it's all sheer pretence, nothing more.

We repeat, the real questions at issue will be, *Bank or no Bank*. The "tariff" is but another name for a bank. Clay will be the bank candidate, and it will soon be said that the times can never be good till we have a protective tariff and a United States Bank.

If we are not right in our views upon this subject, why, we ask, the violent opposition which the Clay whigs manifest toward President Tyler? The bank question is, we solemnly believe, to come up again, and, therefore, it will be well to go back to the origin of the late United States Bank, and briefly exhibit the state of things which followed soon after that institution went into operation.

The bank commenced operations about the first of January, 1817. It branched out and did a large business, discounted liberally, but soon found that it must curtail its discounts, or cease to redeem its bills in specie.

The discounts of the bank, which were less than three millions on the 27th of February, were increased on the 31st of the October following to *thirty-three millions*. In April of 1818 the discounts amounted to upward of *forty-three millions*. These were expansions with a vengeance, and the effects were, over-trading, speculation, extravagance, and bankruptcy.

But the bank had expanded so much that there was great danger of its exploding, and its managers and friends, those who knew its precarious condition, began to look about for the means to save it from utter ruin. One of which was, as stated by Mr. Niles in his Register, "to *prepare* the minds of the members of congress to vote as directed at the ensuing session of congress," ~~to~~ to vote for "the substitution of a *paper currency* as a *LEGAL TENDER* instead of coin."

The bank, however, began a rapid curtailment of its discounts, and now contracted its issues as fast or much faster, than it had previously expanded them, and in the course of seventy days (from the 6th of March to the 17th of May) raised itself from a state of prostration to safety. But, to use the language of Mr. Gouge, in his admirable history of banking, "*the bank was saved and THE PEOPLE WERE RUINED.*"

Mr. Niles, in his Register, August 17th, 1819, gives a deplorable account of the distresses of the people at that time. It was estimated that in Philadelphia 20,000 persons were *daily* seeking work; in New York, 10,000 men were wandering about the streets soliciting work, and 10,000 women were out of employment; in Baltimore the number of men out of employment was estimated at 10,000.

In Philadelphia, on the 30th of October, 1819, in the mechanical and manufacturing branches of trade, which in 1814 gave employment to 9,180 persons, and to 9,672 in 1816, there were but 2,137 persons employed.

In Pittsburgh, on the 24th of December, certain manufacturing establishments that employed 1,960, in 1815 employed only 672.

In Kentucky, Mr. Clay's state, the depreciation of property was immense—the distress of the people overwhelming. A Kentuckian, writing in the *Edwardsville (Ill.) Spectator*, says: "*Nothing is to be seen but a boundless expanse of desolation!*"

The *Kentucky Gazette*, published at Lexington, (of the 9th of October,) says: "A house and lot in Limestone-street, for which \$15,000 had been offered, sold under the officer's hammer for \$1,800." And yet it is stated that Lexington is less afflicted than almost any other part of the state!

A committee appointed by the Senate of Pennsylvania, Dec. 9, 1819, to "inquire into the causes and extent of public distress," reported on the January following. In that report they say: "Your committee can safely assert, that a *distress unexampled in our country since the period of its independence prevails throughout the community.*"

Failures were common to large amounts, and bankruptcy and ruin stalked over the whole country. Niles' Register of September, 1820, says, in speaking of the condition of the labouring classes: "Desire no longer presses on enjoyment with the labouring classes, but necessity presses on necessity, and one by one they give up their enjoyments which they have hitherto delighted to indulge themselves in." "The average price of wheat is scarcely more than fifty cents a bushel;" "a mechanic is hardly half his time employed at reduced wages," &c.

Various measures were suggested for the relief of the country, and among which that of an increase in the duty on imports. Gouge, in his history on banking, says:

"The measure from which most was hoped, and which was pushed with most vigour and most perseverance, was an increase of the duty on imports. The dullness of business, the lowness of prices, and the want of employment, which were produced by the reaction of the banking system, were all urged as reasons why

congress should afford adequate 'protection to domestic industry.'

"It is no part of our plan to discuss the tariff policy. But it belongs to the history of banking to state, that the rising of the duties on imports to a height which now threatens to convulse, if not to rend, our Union, was one of the consequences of the great reaction of 1819. As the effects of the reaction were felt for several years, the advocates of the restrictive system had full leisure for applying all the arguments in support of their favourite policy, which they could derive from the continued lowness of prices, dulness of business, and want of employment."

We are now passing through a similar state of things to that which we have briefly described. The country has been dishonoured, its business prostrated, and the people brought to bankruptcy by a ruinous banking system. And the capitalists who have embarked in manufactures, and are connected with the banking system, wish to withdraw the attention of the people from the real cause of the difficulties, and again, as in 1819, urge "*an increase of the duty on imports.*" "The dulness of business, the lowness of prices, and the want of employment—which have been now, as in 1819, *produced by the reaction of the banking system*—are again, as then, *urged as reasons why congress should afford adequate protection to domestic industry.*" The manufacturers are either deceived by the bank men, or are so connected with the banking system that they cannot break away, and are forced (in many cases, we believe, against their good judgment) to support a system which is more destructive to "domestic industry" than free trade or any other system that could be devised.

So long as our present banking system exists no "protective tariff" will be sufficient to prevent the introduction of foreign goods. The Independent Treasury and the *hard money* system are the only systems which will prove alike beneficial to all classes.

A United States Bank will be, of all things, the most injurious to American manufactures. Such proved to be the old bank, and such will be the new, should one be chartered.

Our imports have been in proportion to our paper circulation. The United States Bank, by its power of expanding or contracting the currency, increased or diminished the amount of imports. The imports of the country in 1819 were ninety millions. From that period up to 1828 the loans of the Bank of the United States remained about the same, and there was no great augmentation in the imports for consumption. In 1831 the bank began to expand largely, and the importations increased in a corresponding ratio.

In 1830, Dec. 1st, the amount of discounts of the bank were forty-two millions, and the amount of imports that year seventy millions. In 1831 the discounts amounted to sixty-three millions, and the imports to one hundred and three millions; and this increase of importations continued afterward in the same, or nearly the same, proportion to the increase of the discounts of the bank—thus showing conclusively that a United States Bank is opposed to American manufactures, by encouraging the importation of foreign products.

We might pursue this matter farther, but will desist for the present. But, in conclusion, we beg all classes and all parties to look into this subject. We believe that the greatest obstacle in the way of the progress and growth of American manufactures is our banking system; that it is opposed to the interests, as well as the liberties, of the people, and that at the head of this system was a United States Bank, and *will* be again, if the Clay whigs are permitted to come into power.

We ask the people, the poor and the rich, all classes and conditions, if they are willing to renew a connexion with an institution which has cursed the country, by causing expansions and contractions in the currency—thereby rendering unsettled the prices and products of labour; which has corrupted the press by its bribes, and congress by its loans to members; which has entered the political arena, and resolved to rule or ruin the country?—*Bay State Democrat.*

TYLER AND CLAY FEDERAL WHIGS.

In the May number of this Journal, page 220, under the head of "*The Signs of Political Affairs, &c.,*" and in the June number, under the head of "*Six Distinguished Democratic Gentlemen,*" page 256, we gave a brief outline of the course being pursued by the Tyler and Clay men, to which articles we refer our readers, that they may the better understand what we are now about to say. In the May number we stated that it was the scheme of the Clay and Tyler parties so to divide the great democratic party, as, in a measure, to leave the battle to be fought between those two leaders; and that we have even now, within our own ranks, those who favour the schemes of Harry of the West on the one side, and Tyler on the other, to carry one of them into the Presidential chair in 1844, by dividing the great democratic party; Clay through, and by, the *Home League humbug* and *desertions from our party.* Tyler and his friends, on the other hand, we stated, would "rely on the removal of Clay men from office, and the appointment in their places of a mixture of Tyler federal whigs, conservatives, and men now in the democratic ranks, some of whom are now office-holders, &c." To meet these desperate games of *brag* playing by the Clay and Tyler parties, we suggested the propriety of calling an early national convention, to nominate candidates for president and vice president; and stated that we believed Martin Van Buren as President, and John C. Calhoun for Vice President, would make such a "strong team" as would effectually defeat the machinations of both Clay and Tyler men: we have seen nothing since to change the views then expressed; on the contrary, much to strengthen them. We also stated in the June No. that several presses would be established to aid Capt. Tyler's pretensions, under the direction of certain officers of justice, law departments, post-office, custom-house, &c., aided by deserters from the democratic ranks. Already has one press been established in this city, backed, we understand, by a subscription of \$14,000, and another in Philadelphia, said to be backed by a similar sum; be that as it may, they are both in full operation, and we have reason to believe that several other presses, now in operation in this city and Philadelphia, will 'ere long put on new *suits* and break ground for "Tyler too," and that an attempt will be made to cast off an *old faithful servant, viz., New York's favourite son*, and the veneration and respect of the American people for that distinguished statesman and patriot transferred to "Tyler too."

We are aware that the portion of the democracy that have become *tainted* with *Tylerism*, and who are seeking offices under him, will say this is all *nonsense*, and, as they now say, "There is not the least wish or intention to bring Mr. Tyler forward for the next presidency;" this slang may answer for those who do not wish to dive into this affair. We say to the people, notwithstanding what may be said to the contrary, it is intended by the leaders of the Tyler party that there shall be only *two political parties*, or, in other words, there shall only be *two candidates* for the next presidency, and one of them shall be "Tyler too;" was this not the case, where would be the necessity of establishing Tyler presses, &c.? there certainly is no necessity for them to support and defend that portion of Mr. Tyler's measures which he carries out in conformity to the democratic principles of Jefferson, Jackson, and Van Buren; on this point Mr. Tyler is defended by the whole democratic press in the country; but, because he *vetoed* certain bills in conformity to the wishes of the democracy of our country, does that prove him a *democrat of equal rights, free suffrage, &c.*? let John Tyler's other official acts answer this question. Had we no other political offence to urge against him, the course he pursued toward the free suffrage party in Rhode Island would be sufficient for us never to cast our vote for John Tyler to be President of the United States: we can never forget John Tyler's promise to *employ the military power* to crush the people of Rhode Island, who were contending for their *equal rights* agreeable to, and in conformity with, the Constitution of the United States; and, if we are not much mistaken, should John Tyler's name be presented to the American people for their suffrage, they will say, John Tyler, we remember that you, in company with the federal whigs, defeated and called the people of Rhode Island *lawless insurgents, &c.*; therefore we will not cast our votes into the ballot-box for you.

We take this occasion to state that we have known Mr. Tyler personally for more than thirty years, and never, until after he joined the federal whigs to head the late administration, did we hear of a blot or stain on his character, either morally or politically; we have often heard him with delight expound and elucidate the democratic principles of Jefferson, both in the Legislature of Virginia and in private circles; indeed we can say with truth that we received much valuable democratic information from the lips of Mr. Tyler: we were also witness to his course during the late war, which was very opposite to that of his now *right-hand man*, Daniel Webster. We make this brief notice of the early character of John Tyler to show that we are not governed by any unfriendly feelings in the remarks we have made.

N. B.—Since the above was in type we find the annexed in "*the New York Standard*," which we recommend to the perusal of our democratic friends;

and, if we are not greatly mistaken, they will learn more of the *schemes* in progress to carry out the views we have expressed, viz., to make "Captain Tyler" the next democratic candidate for the presidency, in preference to our old, tried, and faithful servants, such as Van Buren, Calhoun, Johnson, &c. "Tyler associations," it appears, are, or will be, composed of men "who know how to act efficiently and successfully when occasion requires." We understand this plain language to mean nothing more or less than when the *time arrives* such "an array of numbers" will be in the field in defence of "Capt. Tyler" as will frown down all old, faithful servants who may dare to be offered as candidates for the next presidency. Should this not be the case, we call on the members of the "Tyler associations already organized" not only to come out publicly at once and define their real views in relation to the next presidency, but to pass such resolutions as they will stand or fall by. Until this is done, we warn the real democracy of the country not to be gulled and humbugged by these "*Tyler associations*." That *portion* of the democratic measures carried out by John Tyler are already sufficiently approved of by the expressions of the people and the democratic presses throughout the Union, without resorting to Tyler associations, &c.

Tyler Associations.—At the instance of James Kelly, Esq., the democratic young men of the several wards are organizing "Tyler associations," for the purpose of unitedly sustaining the president in the republican measures of his administration, which have afforded so much satisfaction to the democracy of the city. These associations are already organized in several of the wards in respectable numbers, and composed, too, of the active, intelligent, and energetic young men of the party, who know how to act efficiently and successfully when occasion requires. Other wards are rapidly imitating the example of those now organized, and will, as soon as the organization is completed, present an array of numbers, activity, and strength sufficient for the accomplishment of almost any patriotic purpose. This course has been adopted by the democracy on account of the bitter hostility, dared to be independent, and to refuse his assent to malevolence and abuse lavished upon the president by the leaders and oracles of the whigs, because he has *vetoed* measures which he believed to be injurious to the best interests of the nation. They deem it an act of justice to vindicate their chief magistrate from such unjustifiable and malignant assaults, and to show to his enemies that there is patriotism enough yet left to sustain an honest executive in all his righteous, republican acts. Will those who a few short months ago professed such ardour of friendship, go and do likewise? We should judge from their conduct and conversation they would not.

Tyler Meeting in the Park.—We understand that this *portion* of Tyler democratic men met *only* for the purpose of expressing their approval of President Tyler's course in vetoing, &c. We are told that they hold no communication whatever with the "Tyler association" men, and that they are entirely a distinct

body, so that by this we have two distinct sets of Tyler men. It is said that the park men have no intention whatever of supporting John Tyler for the next presidency: with a view to test this point, our publishing agent was directed to ascertain if a resolution to that effect would be received and acted on at the meeting. The reply was such as warranted a belief that it would not. But be that as it may, the following is a copy of the resolution we wished to offer, viz.: "*Resolved*, That, notwithstanding we highly approve of that *portion* of President Tyler's measures which carry out the democratic principles of Jefferson, Jackson, and Van Buren, yet we wish it to be *distinctly understood* that we will not support John Tyler as the next democratic candidate for the presidency, in preference to a Van Buren, a Calhoun, a Benton, a Wright, a Buchanan, or a Johnson."

If a resolution of this kind had been acted on at the park meeting, we do not doubt but it would in a great measure have settled the question, whether a *portion* of the democracy would support Mr. Tyler for the next president or not. The more we reflect on this subject, the more we are convinced of the necessity of the great democratic party throughout the Union acting on this subject, so important to the cause of democracy, &c., with as little delay as possible: we feel persuaded that an early national convention, to nominate candidates for president and vice-president, would be the best course to settle the question. Whether this course is adopted or not, we strongly recommend to our democratic friends throughout the country to adopt at their primary meetings a resolution similar to the one above suggested. This would test the sincerity of *Tyler association men*, &c., as to their disposition for supporting the next presidential candidate.

THE FARMER OF OLD SCHOHARIE COUNTY.

In the May number of this journal we published an article entitled *William C. Bouck*, giving a brief view of his political character and claims to be the next democratic candidate for the gubernatorial chair of the Empire State. Immediately on the appearance of said article it was met by several of our contemporaries in a spirit not friendly to Colonel Bouck, and doubting the correctness of our statements, particularly in relation to the colonel's views on internal improvements, finances of the state, &c. It affords us pleasure now to state, that, by our exchange papers and other sources over the state, not only is our "brief view" responded to, but that many editors of the democratic papers have transferred our article into their columns, and in some instances have come out in stronger language than we did in favour of the colonel; besides this, several democratic papers, that *lay silent* to see which way the *wind would blow*, have come out in favour of the *honest farmer of Schoharie*.

We published a second article in relation to Colonel

Bouck in our June number; and as we have nothing new to add, we respectfully call the attention of our readers to the two articles above referred to; they will be found on pages 222 and 252 of this journal, where a correct delineation of Colonel Bouck's views of democracy, internal improvements, finances of the state, &c., will be seen. We take this occasion to state, that one of our reasons for preferring farmer Bouck is, that we are decidedly in favour of elevating more of the producing and working classes to stations of honour and profit in our national and state governments, particularly so when we find men in their ranks honest and capable—this we believe we recognise in William C. Bouck. We are aware that the colonel's views in relation to internal improvements, finances of the state, &c., will be fully discussed at the state convention about to assemble at Syracuse: for ourselves we are under no apprehensions for the result; but should it be found that the colonel is wanting, or unsound, on the great democratic principles contended for, however unpleasant it may be to our feelings, we will with all our ability support any other good man the convention may nominate, no matter whether it be a Flagg, a Dix, a Hoffman, a Wright, or a Young; either of them will receive our undivided support.

KINGLY OVER REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT

was evidently the favourite sentiment. An apostate I could not be, nor yet a hypocrite; and I found myself for the most part the *only* advocate on the *republican* side of the question, unless among the guests there chanced to be some member of that party from the legislative houses. In the same connexion we extract what he relates as having transpired at a large dinner party. "After the cloth was removed," he remarks, "conversation was led to the British constitution," on which Mr. Adams observed, "Purge that constitution of its corruptions, and give to its popular branch equality of representation, and it would be the most *perfect constitution* ever devised by the wit of man." Hamilton paused, and said, "*Purge it of its corruptions*, and you make it an *impracticable* government; as it stands now, with all its supposed defects, it is the most *perfect system* which ever existed."

Such were the opinions and principles of this transcendent federalist, the man who unfortunately occupied a position in the cabinet, and, singularly enough, a place in the confidence of General Washington, which enabled him successfully to found that system of political measures which have since inflicted upon the country so much of disaster and misery, strife and party turmoil. We do not question the entire honesty of the secretary of the treasury, neither his sincerity nor patriotism. He became, indeed, the more formidable in the possession of those attributes which won the favour and esteem of Washington. The presiding genius of the cabinet—the influence of Hamilton with the president was omnipotent—and the sagacity and jealous watchfulness of Jefferson, were unavailing to arrest the consummation of designs—tending to transform the character of the government, to impair immediately the popular influence and the representative integrity. A bold measure very early signalized the policy he had already subscribed to, in the avowal to

which we have already called the attention of the reader. In other words, congress was "corrupted" by the following expedient: The country being deeply indebted for many of the necessities to carry on the war just ended, and certificates of its liability still outstanding, they had been bought up at an immense depreciation. The secretary of the treasury conceived the idea of funding *at par* these debts, and presented that proposition to congress. The consequence was, that, just before this suggestion assumed the shape of a legislative provision, the members had speculated themselves into prodigious profits by purchases made in anticipation of the law. A similar movement for a like end, and worse in the example, because of its recent imitation, was his proposition to *assume the state debts* incurred during the revolutionary war, and which had sustained an equal depression. By such means his dominion over the legislation of congress had become supreme temporarily; but, to render it secure and enduring, in the language of Mr. Jefferson, "some engine of influence more permanent must be contrived, while these myrmidons were still in place to carry it through all opposition." The *ENGINE* referred to was the bank of the United States; and in reference to it, after the enactment of the charter, which, indeed, was delayed to the last constitutional second by the hesitation of General Washington, the same authority remarks: "While the government remained at Philadelphia a selection of members of Houses were constantly kept as directors, who, on every question interesting to that institution, or the views of the federal head, voted at the will of that head; and, together with the stockholding members, could always make the federal vote that of a majority. By this combination legislative *expositions* were given to the constitution, and all the administrative laws were shaped on the model of England, and so passed." The opposition, then, to the administration of the first president was directed against the machinations of Hamilton, and its object was "to restrain the administration to republican forms and principles."

As remarked above, it was with the utmost difficulty that Washington brought himself to the determination to sign the Bank Bill. A consultation was held. The members of the cabinet gave their opinions at length in writing; and then was the crisis at which Jefferson and Hamilton, the leaders of their respective parties, encountered each other, and upon the very ground, too, which has ever since been made the theatre of combat between the same parties. The federalists succeeded, and maintained an ascendancy till the middle of the succeeding administration, when the "reign of terror" under Mr. Adams had reached its height. The first session of congress after that gentleman's election was distinguished by the passage of the famous alien law, which empowered the president to expel any alien from the country whenever in his opinion the public good demanded it; and the penalty of disobedience to the order subjected the foreigner to three years' imprisonment. At the same time was enacted the infamous sedition act, by which a fine of two thousand dollars, and imprisonment for two years, was inflicted upon any who should "write, print, utter, or publish any false, scandalous, and malicious writing or writings against the government of the United States, or either house of congress, or the President of the United States." During the reign of terror the standing army was created, direct taxes and stamp duties imposed. The most domineering insolence characterized the conduct of the dominant party; so much so that Mr. Jefferson declares that no one "who was not a witness of the

scenes of that gloomy period, can form any idea of the afflicting persecutions and personal indignities we had to brook."

But we must not extend this article farther at present, in tracing the history of federal measures and proceedings. Upon another occasion we shall renew the subject at the point abandoned, and consider it in connexion with the principles and practices of our own times. We shall then run a parallel between the old federal party and the modern whigs, and demonstrate their close alliance in many respects.—*Abingdon, Va., Banner.*

THE NEW YORK AND ERIE RAILROAD.

Our readers have already been advised of the failure of this rascally concern—this bantling of gambling politicians and thriving speculators.

Three years ago an article, from which the following are extracts, was published in the *Courier* over the signature of "*Mohawk*." It was unheeded, and perhaps unread, at the time; but now, we trust, the subjoined portions of it will at least receive a passing notice:

An Appeal to the People of the Southern Tier of Counties.—In a great railroad convention recently held at Ithaca, those who were delegated or assumed to speak for you, advanced opinions which, on sober reflection, you must decline to endorse.

"The bright track of improvement, extending the achievements of art through a district hitherto little favoured by the genial current of public expenditure." One might pause for a moment to comment upon this flight of eloquence; but the drapery of an idea is too trifling a matter to be here discussed.

"A district hitherto little favoured," &c. The expressions formerly in use were, "neglected counties," "secluded counties"—but these terms must have become trite, and even annoying, to your own ears, and the convention in question have used a new phraseology to give new force to a worn out and untrue position.

"Neglected counties"—"*secluded counties*." It is no wonder that you have dropped these words: they have been ridiculed off the course. The simple truth is, that you have more miles of canal navigation made and making, than would reach the whole length of the Erie Canal; and more money has been expended, and is now expending, upon unprofitable canals for your benefit, than the whole first cost of the Erie Canal. You yourselves know this to be true, and all those in other parts of the state who have looked into the subject, also know it to be true.

But now, when you have carried your points; when you have obtained all the canals you ever desired; when you have drawn the state into heavy debts, which must be paid by direct tax or high tolls upon other canals; when experience, and the testimony of this convention, are clearly showing that these works are of small utility even to yourselves, and are giving the lie direct to all the strong arguments and assertions which were advanced in their favour—like children who have become tired of toys they so fiercely sought, you now fix your eye upon five hundred miles of railroad. You suffer men in your name to clamour for it with brazen lungs, to utter falsehoods more rank than any they employed to aid in obtaining your canals, and in your name to assume positions more dangerous and disgraceful—no, as dangerous and disgraceful as any ever resorted to in this state.

The whig party and presses always advocated a state

loan to this railroad company; but before it could be brought into such a shape as to throw the whole burthen upon the state, some of the democratic party and a few of their presses came in, and, in gambler's phrase, out-bragged the whigs, by urging that the state should build the road as a state work, and not through the machinery of this company. Hence we have men of both parties riding this hobby, John Gilpin like, because they think that they can make political capital out of it—at the same time well knowing that it is one of the most fatal works ever projected in the state. On the other hand, you suffer men to proclaim in your name that there are enough of those in the market with their votes to give the ascendancy to that party which will squander among you the largest amount of the "genial current of public expenditure." In silence you suffer this convention, assuming to speak for you, to embody this threat in a formal resolution.

On the eve of the presidential election of 1832 some portion of the secluded counties were in the market with their votes. Those votes were purchased with the Chenango Canal, and at a cost of \$2,400,000.

On the eve of the presidential election of 1836 some other portions of the secluded counties were in the market with their votes. These votes were purchased with bank charters and the Genesee Valley Canal, at a cost of \$6,000,000.

And now, on the eve of another presidential election, the whole range of the southern tier of counties, or, to express the exact truth, the speculators and gambling politicians of those counties, and of all parties, are in the market with their votes, and these votes can be purchased by making the New York and Erie Railroad a state work, at an expense of \$15,000,000.

Prior to the first of January, 1836, (with the exception of the Chenango Canal disgrace,) the reputation of this state, for skill and judgment in matters of internal improvement, was high and enviable. But 1836 was the year of abominations. The Black River Canal, the Genesee Valley Canal, the New York and Erie Railroad loan, and the excessive enlargement of the Erie Canal, chinked in with bank charters, have disgraced the state, ruined her finances, and sowed the seeds of a fast coming and fatal calamity, which must be reaped in suffering—it may be in tears and in blood. Save us while yet it is not too late.

And now—after having been conducted for three years on a plan of the most magnificent extravagance; after having expended three millions of dollars granted them by the state, and finished only forty miles of the road—this much-vaunted company has finally made an assignment of the whole concern!

The public mind is at present thoroughly awake to the iniquities of men in high places, be they governors, legislators, lobby members, engineers, whigs, or locofocos. They have striven the whirlwind—they must now reap the storm. The black-hearted combinations of the past six years will be probed to the bottom, and exposed to the gaze of an outraged people.—*Mohawk Courier.*

THE RELIGION OF POLITICS.

There are many who believe that most, if not all, politicians pursue a course regardless of principle, and with altogether selfish ends; that a man, to be a politician, must necessarily be dishonest and a dangerous man—dangerous to society, dangerous to his country; that any one who takes an active and earnest part, and manifests a deep and enthusiastic interest in political affairs, is beside himself—possessed of a sort of mono-

mania, or has some selfish object in view, which he is desirous of obtaining. In short, he is an office-seeker, a demagogue, or a madman.

Now, if the word *politics*, or *politician*, means nothing, or if it means what has just been stated, then every man who exhibits an interest in political affairs is a fool or a knave, and deserves to be called hard names.

But if the term *politics* means something; ay, if it means much—imbodies vital principles, in the carrying out of which man may rise or fall; be a slave or a freeman; a moral or an immoral being; and rise from one degree of intellectual capacity to another; from glory to glory, in developing his godlike powers and impulses; or sink deeper and deeper in the darkness of ignorance and spiritual degradation—if, indeed, this term is of such deep import—does express or embody so much, how can a man, who is a *man*, and reflects upon the subject at all, help being engaged in the consideration of political affairs—deeply, earnestly, enthusiastically engaged. A man who thinks deeply, will act earnestly. If his heart be engaged in a work, his hand will not be slow in doing it.

The religion of politics! "Whew!" says one. "Poh!" says another; "Nonsense!" another; and, with a face expressive of the greatest horror, says a fourth, "*blasphemous*." What has politics to do with religion, or religion with politics—it is more than idle, it is irreligious to *talk* of these things in connexion. There is no religion in politics, no politics in religion. "They won't mix any more than oil and water."

Well, let us look into this matter, and see if our friend be right. No religion in politics? We ask again, what do we understand by the word? what is its true definition? Politics, in its true sense, means, or has reference to, all those matters which pertain to civil government. And has the government of man and the government of his maker no connexion?—the government of the children and the government of the father no relation to each other? If they have not, we think it will be admitted that they ought to have. God's laws are equal; man's laws are unequal. Is it a strange thing, then, that a man should desire to see the laws of man conform to the laws of his Maker; and to have civil government conform, as far as possible, to divine government?

It is very common to see men professing religion, and devoting a large portion of their time, day and night, to attending religious meetings, and at the same time neglect the affairs of their town, state, and country altogether, while their neighbours—perhaps themselves—may be suffering from the effect of unjust laws; laws, too, which are opposed to religion, and oppressive to their fellow-men. Now, we do not complain that they have done the former, but that they have left undone the latter. Religious profession is nothing—worse than nothing—unless it be accompanied by *acts*, and shines forth in the characters and lives of professors.

It is time for men—and women, too—to think upon these things; and to understand that there is injustice, great injustice, done by those legislative acts which favour the rich and oppress the poor; that one class of men were not born to be masters, and another slaves; that civil government should be no respecter of persons; and that righteousness in legislation, just and equal laws, exalt a nation; that the voice of the people, expressed through the government, should be as the voice of God expressed in nature, in revelation, and in the human soul.

We know that parties are corrupt. Men who take a conspicuous part in party matters and political affairs are human, possess like passions, and have faults and

failings like other men. This no one will deny. Moreover, men, as notorious for their immoralities as for their genius and talents, have been elevated to the highest places of honour and trust; and moral men, religious men, have aided in their elevation, or have not raised their voices or a finger to prevent it. This is wrong—all wrong.

We have recently witnessed a course of electioneering adopted and pursued with a lack of principle and recklessness of moral consequences never before witnessed in this country; and no one will say there was any *religion* in that. But did all professed Christians condemn it? Let not those professedly *religious* men who took part in the log-cabin, coon-skin, hard-cider campaign, or who uttered no condemning voice, make complaint hereafter of the immorality of parties or the irreligious influence of politics.

And again. How many have cried out against the immoralities of political parties, who have witnessed a system of fraud and plunder pursued by corporations, regardless of the laws and the feelings of injured humanity, without uttering a word of rebuke or raising a voice of warning. The widow and the fatherless, helpless infancy and tottering age, have been robbed of their only means of support by the managers of banks, and *religious* men have been dumb; the same class who have cried out against the immoral influence of political parties! Presidents of banks that have defrauded the public out of millions, and the suffering poor of their daily bread, have been praised by a class of men claiming to be *religious*, while editors of political prints, who have done their duty to their fellow-men and their God, have been branded by the same class of men with all sorts of hard names.

We have, as we well recollect, alluded to these matters before; we have spoken of the *religion* of politics, and may do so again; for we conceive it to be a subject of vital importance to our Union and the world. We believe that the true principles of democracy are set forth in the Bible, with a clearness and force of argument nowhere else to be found; and that the people of these United States are indebted for their present liberties, their glorious constitution, and their free institutions, mainly to the general circulation of the Bible, and the soul-elevating doctrines which it teaches. The pious pilgrim fathers laid the foundation of our republican institutions. It is for the present and future generations to improve and perpetuate them.

Could the real spirit of Christianity be infused into civil governments and made manifest in the laws, oppression could not exist for a moment; no government but a democracy could exist on the globe. There would be no necessity of tariffs for protection—or retaliation; wars and rumours of wars would be heard no more in the land. Man everywhere would constitute one great brotherhood. Then would those doctrines which are now sneered at by some, ridiculed by others, and feared by those who riot in ill-gotten gains, prevail in the land, and the *light*, and *love*, and *justice* of DEMOCRACY be seen, and felt, and acknowledged.—*Bay State Democrat*.

THE PRINCIPLES WE SUPPORT.

It is well, perhaps, to recur often to the cardinal principles which form the main points of our political creed. The advocates of democratic principles have been called "agrarians," "levellers," "radicals," "destructives," "locofocos," and we know not how many other hard names. The number would, perhaps, equal the number which their opponents have assumed in

order to attract attention, gain proselytes, and secure office and power.

But names are of little importance; principles much. A tree is known by its fruit; and it makes little difference what the name of the tree is, so long as the fruit is good. But what are the principles of democracy?—the principles of the democratic party, what are they?

POLITICAL EQUALITY—JUSTICE BETWEEN MAN AND MAN—these lie at the foundation, are the starting points whence the temple of democracy rises, and extends till it covers the whole family of man. Democracy embraces humanity. It regards man as a *soul*, an intellectual being to be educated and elevated, the highest and the lowest; and not as a mere eating, drinking *brute*, to be worked for a season, and then cast aside to perish for ever. It repudiates the idea, that some men are born booted and spurred to be riders, and others to be rode and goaded on by taskmasters, like beasts of burden. It says, and emphatically, too, all men are born *free and equal*; free to breathe the air of heaven, and go forth in the world with an equal chance for the comforts and honours of life, and of enjoying and conferring happiness. Equal before the state, before man, and before God; and only degraded by a violation of the laws of his nature and the requirements of his Maker.

These, we understand, to be the fundamental principles of democracy; and by these do we try all legislative, executive, and judicial acts—all laws, customs, and usages. Whatever conforms to this standard is truly democratic, and whatever conflicts with it is anti-democratic, and opposed to the best interests of the race. All legislation to conform to this standard must be general, equal in its operations and influences, bearing equally on all, and favouring none.

A government founded upon, and administered in, all its departments with strict conformity to democratic principles, like the common air, would sustain alike every man in his true position, erect as he came from his Maker. The mass would not have to *crawl*, as is the case in aristocratical, monarchical, and despotic governments, while the few ride and riot in affluence, and trample upon souls as good, ay, better than their own, with impunity, and as if they were the mere dust of the earth. No, the masses who are down-trodden by unjust governments—every soul, whatever may be its accidental position—may well exclaim with the poet:*

"We were not meant to plod along the earth,
Strange to ourselves, and to our fellows strange;
We were not meant to struggle from our birth,
To skulk, and creep, and in mean pathways range,
Act! with stern truth, large faith, and loving will!
Up and be doing! God is with us still."

Yes, he who first breathed the breath of life into man, and caused him to become a living soul, is still with the humblest of his offsprings. The spark of democracy is not gone out for ever; but by the warmth of love it may be enkindled into a bright flame, and shed light and warmth, and a purifying influence, wherever it moves. The same poet has as truly said:

"Be noble! And the nobleness that lies
In other men, sleeping but never dead,
Will rise in majesty to meet their own."

For the first time in the history of our race we have, in this country, a government which approximates equality. It is not fully and truly equal, but it is more so than any other government of which we have any knowledge, or than some people would like to have it; and there is great danger of our retrograding rather than

* Lowell.

advancing. Hence the necessity of a strict adherence to democratic principles by those who profess them. One might as well expect to gather figs from thorns, and grapes from thistles, as to reap the fruits of equality and justice from monopolies, exclusive privileges, corporations, and all laws which favour the interests of the few, and are calculated to injure the great mass of the body politic.

And these are the principles which we would labour to disseminate: and whoever advocates and supports them, we hail as a brother, a co-worker, and will heartily press forward with him in the good cause. Does he support equal laws? Then he is labouring with us, to a certain extent, whatever may be his party name, or with whatever party he may be acting. Does he favour unjust laws and advocate exclusive privileges, monopolies, and special legislation? Then he is not with us, although he may profess to be, and may claim to be called a democrat or a *conservative democrat*. There is no half-way ground to stand upon. Conservatism is not adapted to our free soil, and will flourish only in a foreign country, under the *smiles of despotism*.

JUSTICE is the foundation of democracy. To this theory no one will object. But it is not enough that we sanction the *theory*. The value of the theory consists in its *practical* bearings and influences. Our political and social condition must be remodelled or modified by it, civilization pushed forward, and the condition of society raised and improved.

What we want—what the country wants at the present time—is, PRACTICAL DEMOCRACY. We have had theory and profession enough—it is time to have practice, action, a conformity on the part of professed democrats to the theory of democracy, both in legislation and social intercourse. Both of the leading parties (all parties of which we have any knowledge) have been guilty, more or less, of inconsistencies; and in too many instances popular leaders have sought their own good rather than their country's glory.

We go with the democratic party; we support its nominations, and labour for its success, because we believe it to be more true to the great principles of humanity, the spirit of progress, and the work of reform, than any other party; because we like its *principles*—not because we like all its party machinery or would-be leaders.

But if there is any truth in our political creed, these matters may be changed for the better. We have faith in the progress of man—in his capacity for greater and better things than he has ever yet achieved; and that these collisions of party and these corruptions of public men and party leaders, which we now witness, will be, by and by, in a measure, done away, and man stand forth as he was intended to be, a better and nobler being—*willing to live and to let live*. To this end shall we labour.—*Bay State Democrat*.

TO THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICANS OF THE UNION.

Fellow-citizens: You are now told by the federalists that a protective tariff is necessary to regulate the paper currency of the United States. Only a short time ago, as you must well recollect, a National Bank was their great panacea for all the ills to which the currency was subject—and especially was it essential to regulate our paper currency. You were then told that a National Bank *ALONE* could control the issues of the state banks, and that, unless that was done, it was impossible that the currency of the United States, consisting of the paper issued by the state banks, and of gold and silver coin,

could become uniform and stable—ergo, a National Bank, and nothing but a National Bank, could regulate our paper currency. This false hypothesis has of late years been attempted to be sustained, too, by assertions of fact equally false. It has been asserted (and repeated again and again, till repetition has procured very general credence for that which is not true) that, during the existence of the late United States Bank, (we mean the National Bank, not the Pennsylvania Bank,) the currency of the United States was at all times uniform, and that exchange between the different states was always at par, or nearly so. Now, if you will turn to any newspaper, or other register, giving a table of the values of the notes of the different state banks at different times, you will find that those values varied as often and as materially during the existence of the late National Bank as at any other period. As you may not have convenient access to any such means of information, we extract from a report of the secretary of the treasury to the Senate in May, 1838, a few of the variations in the values of the state bank notes during a portion of the time when the late National Bank was in full operation, merely as samples of the great vacillations which were then, as now, constantly occurring in the value of these notes. The following are the rates of discount at which the notes of the banks of the states named stood in the different years mentioned: In 1818, New York, 3 per cent. discount; Pennsylvania, 2 to 6; Maryland, 6 to 10; North Carolina, 2 to 6. In 1819, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, 4 to 5; Maryland, 3 to 8; Georgia, 2 to 20. In 1820, New England, generally 2 to 4; Virginia, 1 to 3; North Carolina, 2 to 10; Ohio, 15 to 26. In 1821, Maine and New Hampshire, 2 to 4; Kentucky and Tennessee, 25 to 50. In 1822, Maine, 10; other New England states, generally 2 to 4; North Carolina, 2 to 12; Georgia, 2 to 14. In 1824 and 1825, Maine, 10; other New England states, generally 2 to 3; North Carolina, 3 to 6; Tennessee, 15 to 20. In 1826, New England, generally 2½; New York, (country banks,) 2 to 5; Louisiana, 5; Mississippi, 10, &c., &c. These are enough for our purpose. You here perceive that, during ten years, when the late National Bank was in full operation, the notes of the different state banks varied repeatedly in value, from par to 10, 20, and even 50, per cent. discount. As these notes formed a considerable part of the currency of the United States then, as similar notes do now, that currency was no more uniform at that time than it is at present; indeed, it is believed to have been less uniform, and exchange, if paid for in these notes of different values, was of course no nearer at par than now, throughout the Union. Yet, in the face of these facts, it has been asserted, and you have been induced to believe, that at that time you had a currency perfectly uniform, and exchanges nearly at par; and the attempt has been made to persuade you that a National Bank, which produced these happy effects then, will as certainly produce them again. Indeed, until recently, you have been told that it was the only thing under Heaven that could regulate the currency; that it was absolutely necessary, and alone proper, for this purpose; and upon this very necessity was based the argument in favour of its constitutionality—that it was the only remedy under the sun for the evils of a depreciated currency. Now you are told that a high protective tariff is the necessary and proper means for regulating the currency, and that it is the efficient and complete remedy for these evils of a paper circulation. If so, by the way, what becomes of the argument in favour of the constitutionality of a National Bank?

But we are done for the present with a National Bank.

We congratulate you, fellow-citizens, that your wise political doctors have at last discovered another remedy for these diseases of the body politic; that they have found out another means of curing the disorders of the currency, and rendering it uniform and stable—a high protective tariff. We may now hope at least that you will be permitted to choose between the two medicines prescribed, and not be compelled to swallow both; and if so, we then only have to fear that the last will be found as nauseous and inefficient as the first, and perhaps even more poisonous and destructive. Let us examine it for a moment, and the arguments by which it is recommended.

It is said that a high protective tariff prevents excessive importations; that in this manner we are made to import less of their products from foreign countries than we export of our own products to them; and especially so in reference to Great Britain, with whom our trade is represented to have been particularly disadvantageous to us in this respect; that this operation keeps the balance of trade in our favour, and not only prevents the export of the precious metals, but causes them to be imported into this country; in this way extending the specie basis, securing it against the fluctuations of sudden demands from abroad, and of course preserving the paper currency, which is based upon it, sound and trustworthy, and rendering it uniform and stable. This, we believe, is a fair and correct, though a concise, statement of the argument; and we shall show that it is both false in theory, and mistaken, in fact. It may be admitted, that the effect of a high protective tariff is to diminish importations; though the present secretary of the treasury, in a recent communication to congress, says, "experience has shown that, while this is the first effect of a protective tariff, yet importations very soon regain their former level." But, however this may be, we will admit that the first and last effect of a high protective tariff is to check the import of foreign products into our country; and we affirm that its effect at the same time is to diminish the export of our own products to at least as great an extent. And this results necessarily from an established law of commerce, that trade between nations consists in an exchange of products, and that nations will rarely trade long together, unless they mutually take the products of each other. If we take less of the products of foreign countries, they will, and must, take less of our products in exchange. They will do so, because their ability to do otherwise is destroyed. And thus, if our imports are lessened, our exports are, and must be, diminished at the same time and by the same cause. But a more direct effect of a high protective tariff is, to depress domestic industry in all occupations except in those which are protected; and as the occupations which are not protected furnish the products for exportation, it lessens the amount of those products which we have to export. Hence it diminishes our exports to a much greater extent than it lessens our imports. If this be so, and we think it obvious, then under a high protective tariff we shall inevitably import more than we export; the balance of trade, instead of being kept in our favour by it, will be turned against us; the precious metals be sent out of the country; the specie basis contracted; and the paper currency, resting upon it, be rendered unsound and unstable. It will be rendered no less vacillating than unsound, so far as it is effected at all by a protective tariff, because another effect of such a tariff is, to beget speculation on the one hand and fraud on the other, which know no law, and are governed by no rules. The whole argument of the federalists is thus reversed, as indeed it should be; for it rested on an assumption which reason condemns as

false. We shall see, too, that experience shows it to be untrue, in fact.

Fortunately, fellow-citizens, for our argument, but most unfortunately for our country, we have made one sad experiment of this high protective tariff system. Let us now see what, in fact, have been its effects upon our imports and exports generally, especially with Great Britain, and particularly in reference to the precious metals. We have not before us at this time any table which gives the whole amount of our exports and imports for a number of years past; but we have before us a very accurate table of the whole amount of our exports alone, from the year 1824 to 1841, both excluded, and comprising a period of sixteen years; the first eight years embracing a period of the highest tariffs we have ever had in this country, and the last eight years a period of comparative free trade, under the Compromise Act. It appears from this table that the whole amount of the value of our exports in the first eight years, or tariff period, from 1824 to 1833, was \$469,198,564, being an annual average of about \$58,000,000; while in the last 8 years, or period of comparative free trade, from 1832 to 1841, our exports increased in value to \$768,352,365, being an annual average of about \$96,000,000; showing the enormous increase in the value of our exports of about \$299,000,000 in eight years of comparative free trade, and an annual average increase during those 8 years of about \$37,000,000—much greater than the ratio of the increase of our population in the same time. Our reason led us to believe this would be so, and experience has confirmed it. We have, no doubt, our imports increased during the same period; but it is for our opponents to show that our imports increased during those 8 years to an amount greater than \$299,000,000, before the admission can avail them in the argument. But it is supposed that our trade with Great Britain has, since the Compromise Act, been particularly disadvantageous to us in this respect. We happen to have before us a complete table of our exports and imports to and from the British Dominions from the year 1821 to 1840, both inclusive, being a period of 20 years; the first 12 years embrace the period of the high tariff policy, and the last 8 years of comparative free trade. It appears from this table that, from 1821 to 1832 inclusive, the 12 tariff years, the whole of our exports to the British Dominions amount in value to \$383,146,913, and the whole of our imports to 425,626,422; showing that during the 12 tariff years we imported of British products in value about \$42,000,000 more than we exported of our own products to the British Dominions. It also appears that, from 1833 to 1840 inclusive, the 8 years of comparative free trade, the whole of our exports to the British Dominions amount in value to \$473,223,871, and the whole of our imports to \$459,809,395; showing that, during the 8 years of comparative free trade, we exported to the British Dominions, of our own products in value, about \$13,000,000 more than we imported of British products. If the comparison is confined to the 8 years of the highest tariffs, from 1824 to 1833, the result will be similar; and it is nearly the same if confined to Great Britain and Ireland alone, apart from her colonies. It seems, then, that, in reference to Great Britain at least, a high tariff makes our imports greater than our exports, thus turning the trade and exchanges against this country; while free trade makes our exports greater than our imports, thus turning the trade and exchanges in favour of this country. Experience here again confirms what reason teaches. But, after all, the material fact in this discussion is, to ascertain the comparative import and export of the precious metals during these periods; for upon the result of this

comparison the whole argument of our opponents must stand or fall. We are informed, by the report of the secretary of the treasury, that, from the year 1821 to 1832 inclusive, the same tariff period, the whole amount of specie exported from the United States was \$84,483,414, and the whole amount imported during the same period was \$81,358,094, showing a loss to the United States in 12 tariff years of about \$3,000,000; while in the 8 remaining years, the period of free trade, from 1833 to 1841, (for this report includes the year 1841,) the whole amount of specie exported from the United States was \$50,106,505, and the whole amount imported during the same period was \$99,143,416, showing a gain to the United States, in 8 years of free trade, of about \$49,000,000. No doubt that this great excess in the imports of specie above the exports, during the last eight years, is in some measure to be attributed to the sale of state stocks in the foreign market; but it is believed that, to a very great extent, it is attributable to the increase of the exports of our domestic products during the same time. It is, at any event, obvious that a high tariff neither brings nor keeps specie in the country; for during the tariff years we certainly lost more than \$3,000,000. And now what becomes of this new argument of the federalists in favour of a protective tariff. It rested upon the assumption, that a high tariff brought the precious metals into the United States, or at least kept them here. The fact is, that it sends them away. We respectfully ask for this fact the attention of those particularly who have suffered themselves to be misled by this new argument without a sufficient examination of its truth. They must be satisfied, we think, that there is nothing in this new federal dogma of a high protective tariff regulating the currency. So far as it can have any influence at all upon the currency, it must have an injurious one.

We warn you, fellow-citizens, against being imposed on by any seemingly new arguments, either in favour of a National Bank or protective tariff. Those measures have been thoroughly examined and discussed by men at least as wise and as patriotic as this generation can show. They have been tried by the Union, and condemned. There is nothing new to be said in their favour. They are the same old federal measures, and must rest upon the same old federal principles and reasons. They have been, and are still, recommended to our opponents chiefly because they extend the power of the general government at the expense of all the limitations in your constitution. They unite with that government the great moneyed interests of the country. They make a large class of wealthy capitalists dependent for their dividends upon that government alone; and thus buy their supports for it, under all circumstances, right or wrong. If adopted, they will inevitably convert it into a consolidated government, resting upon a moneyed aristocracy. But we warn you still more earnestly against a high protective tariff; for, while it thus equally tends to strengthen the general government, it weakens the states by arraying them against each other in their contests for their different sectional interests. These contests in 1832 brought your happy Union to the very brink of dissolution. If this measure be persevered in, it will inevitably meet a similar resistance, attended with still greater danger to your peace and liberties. Are you prepared to exchange your confederacy for despotism or dissolution? Can the warmest advocates of a protective tariff pretend that it will afford you any equivalent for either of these evils, no matter in which it may result? These are the questions you have, in reality, to consider, and we cannot doubt how you will decide them.—*Richmond Enquirer.*

LIBERTY.

"'Tis LIBERTY alone that gives the flower
Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume,
And we are weeds without it."

We hear much said about the blessings of liberty, about political and religious liberty, about national and individual liberty, and about liberty of conscience, of thought, and of action.

What is liberty? And what are the blessings and advantages of liberty? Who are capable of enjoying, and who are entitled to, these blessings? Is a freeman more happy than a slave?

Some tell us that men should be free as the hart of the forest wild; free as the mountain bird. Others tell us nay; that man, that the masses, are not capable of self-government, and, therefore, should not enjoy universal freedom. Monarchical and aristocratic governments are based upon this hypothesis. They have not confidence in humanity, and doubt the honesty of the human heart. But the reverse is true with regard to republics. They found government upon the will of the people; acknowledge every man FREE AND EQUAL; believe in the capability of the masses for self-government, and in the power and efficacy of truth, justice, and right over falsehood, error, and wrong; and go for the greatest possible liberty to the greatest possible number.

We, however, do not believe that liberty consists in giving loose reins to our evil passions, propensities, and appetites. Such a course makes us slaves and miserable, and not freemen and happy. Liberty consists in having every man govern himself agreeably to the dictates of that conscience which God has given him, having a proper regard and respect for other men's opinions and feelings.

We are bound to do to others as we would that others should do unto us; and, if we wish to enjoy the blessings of liberty, we must recollect that other men have as good a right to these blessings as we have, and that they are as dear to them as they are to us; no man has a right to rule over, or dictate to, another man. Man is created for society; he is a social being. But no man is a good member of society who does not regard the rights, feelings, and wishes of others; who is not willing to give to other members of the community the same rights, privileges, and immunities which he wishes to enjoy himself.

Our actions, however, should always be regulated by the great principles of right and wrong. This is a point which too many of us are apt greatly to overlook. We are too prone to contend for our own liberty, and for our own rights and privileges, as we understand them, regardless of the liberty, rights, and privileges of others; and this produces tyranny and oppression.

It is not to be expected that all men will or can agree in sentiment, taste, or disposition; and whoever expects this will be sorely disappointed. But this is no reason why they should not exercise the same rights and privileges, and enjoy the blessings of liberty.

If we will watch our own feelings and examine our own heart, we shall discover that it increases our happiness to be kind and obliging to others; that it is frequently more pleasing to do a favour than to receive one; that there is much more pleasurable enjoyment and unalloyed satisfaction in being fair, honourable, high-minded, kind, and obliging, than in taking the opposite course.

And what does this prove? It proves beyond question to our mind, that there is an innate principle in the human bosom in favour of love and kindness; and that

the heart is not entirely destitute of correct and virtuous feelings. In fact, it proves more. It proves that these feelings in man are stronger than the opposite feelings.

It is a great fault of the past and the present age in placing too low an estimate upon humanity. God did not create man to be a fiend. The first natural feeling of humanity is to be kind and virtuous. The opposite feeling is unnatural, and is produced by extraneous causes and circumstances, and not by the natural operations of the heart.

If God is just and impartial; if He creates all men alike, as regards the conscience and the heart, then it most unquestionably follows that all men are by nature entitled to the same liberty and the same rights and privileges. This is a principle absolutely necessary to recognise in the establishment of a republic based upon the will of the people; and this was the great idea that filled the mind of the immortal Jefferson when he said, "ALL MEN ARE CREATED FREE AND EQUAL." And upon this great principle is Christianity founded. It is upon the quality of the Immortal Soul, that every human being is to be recognised and treated as a man.

If these remark be correct, and it seems to us that no man, when he has thoroughly investigated the subject, can doubt this, it follows that the distinctions made in society, with regard to rights and privileges by government and legislation, are wrong and unjust. It will be found by examination that most of the tyranny, oppression, wars, bloodshed, crime, and misery in the world have been caused by adopting the principle, that men are not created free and equal! and that some men are created to rule and be lords, and others to serve and be slaves. If nations will only adopt the principles of Christianity and democracy, that all men are free and equal, entitled to the same rights and privileges, a great portion of the misery and wretchedness in the world will cease for ever.—*New Hampshire Gazette.*

CIRCUMSTANCES ALTER CASES.

When the government was in the hands of the democrats, and the whigs were endeavouring to obtain the ascendancy, it was the policy of the latter to charge the disasters of wild speculation and prostration of business upon the party in power represented at Washington. Every delusion was served up to persuade the country that a change of rulers would relieve all our difficulties. Mr. Clay, in a speech delivered in July, 1840, said :

"The fact of Gen. Harrison's election will of itself powerfully contribute to the security and prosperity of the people. *Confidence will immediately revive; credit will be restored; active business will return, and the prices of products and the wages of labour will rise.*"

From the Newark Daily of Oct. 30th, 1840.

"If we succeed, the 4th of March will begin another cycle of 'old Saturn's golden age.' What a glorious prospect is before us! The refining arts shall flourish. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce shall prosper, one and indivisible. Labour shall enjoy for its reward something more than the sweat of its brow."

From the same paper of Nov. 2d, 1840.

"We declare it to be our full and settled conviction, that a change in the administration of public affairs is indispensably necessary for restoring prosperity, preserving the constitution, and securing the freedom of the people."

At length the people were induced to try the experiment. The whig party was placed in power, and

wonders were to be done to relieve the country from all its troubles; but time has proved the folly of all those arguments, and of the change which resulted from them. The difficulties are not removed—business is still in a state of prostration—there is no change for the better; and, although it was then all owing to a democratic administration, nobody now thinks of charging the continuance of our difficulties to the whig administration. And as to "preserving the constitution," hear what Henry Clay said at the close of the whig extra session :

"Let us superadd to the previous duties which we lay under to our country, that of plucking from the constitution this sign of arbitrary power; (the veto) this odious, but obsolete, vestige of royal prerogative."

When Mr. Clay retired from the senate in 1842, he said, in his address :

"I retire from you, Mr. President, I know, at a period of *infinite distress and embarrassment.*"

Mr. Miller, of New Jersey, who made many speeches in favour of Tip and Ti and a "change," in 1840, in his late speech in the United States Senate, says :

"Never, since the war, was the country in so critical a position as at this moment. Without a revenue, and without any laws by which it can be raised; with a wretched currency vexing and harassing all the daily transactions of commerce and of trade; labour either cheated out of its wages by a vicious circulating medium at home, or bullied out of employment by competition from abroad; specie, deprived of every safe investment, is either flying from, or locking itself up in, the country; banks breaking, states repudiating, and the general government bankrupt. Add to this the total prostration of public and individual confidence. Our government bonds, once commanding the highest premium, and sought for on 'Change' in every commercial city throughout the world, are now begging in vain for a discount in the lowest broker's cellar in the country; and your treasury notes, more dishonoured still, go limping through the streets, crying 'who will buy?'"

The same reasoning which the democrats employed in 1840 in accounting for our difficulties, is now adopted by the whigs themselves. They have entirely abandoned the ground that any relief is to be expected from congress or the administration.

Hear what the Newark Daily now says on this subject :

"Experience is the best of all teachers, if he does charge high for instruction; and his lessons are usually as abiding as nursery influence. Unfortunately they are not readily transferable, and we seldom profit, therefore, by the experience of others. But there is reason to hope that the instructive fruits of the folly, extravagance, and commercial phrensy that have so remarkably characterized our recent history, which we are now reaping, will at least last through the present generation.

"A speedy return to those habits of prudence and economy which are the unchangeable conditions of all sound growth, is undoubtedly the true policy and only hope of the country. Relief from any other quarter is not desirable. Better, far better that we should learn this lesson through still longer and abundant suffering, than that new facilities should be devised only to renew the commercial delirium which produced our present embarrassments.

"We have been engaged in so wild a career of experiment, our understandings have been misled by such wayward notions, that it is a matter of no small urgen-

cy to recall, if possible, the attention of the public to those elementary principles of life which, until of late, were supposed to be irreversibly settled, and to be invested with all the authenticity which reason, and authority, and experience can give. The country has been sadly duped by fanciful speculations in politics and finance, which militate against the universal experience of mankind."

"Retrenchment, to the fullest practicable degree, would speedily place the country on a safe foundation, and a rigid system of economy in the conduct of business and the expenses of living would then enable us to go forward with an assured hope of reaping the reasonable fruits of prosperous industry. Nothing else can give permanent relief, and any other species of help is altogether undesirable. Those who look to any system of public policy as the means of enabling the country to drive ahead in the extravagant style which has prostrated it, will assuredly be disappointed. Nothing is more to be deprecated than such a revival of the commercial spirit. The body politic is thus bloated with a show of health while it perishes."—*New Jersey Eagle*.

THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

They are most auspicious to the democratic party; they are cheering to the friends of equal laws; they are encouraging to those who have fought earnestly against privilege, and in favour of the rights of man; for they are, as the first rays of the morning, indicative of the rising of the sun of democracy, with healing for the wounds of unjust legislation in its beams.

The moral world, as well as the natural, is governed by fixed laws. The hand that rules the destinies of parties is no less divine than that which sustains the earth in its orbit and the planets in their course; and the movements of each are ordered for the best.

To him who is not bound up entirely in the selfishness of party—who is not himself wholly corrupt—it must be pleasant at times to look upon parties and their movements in the light of great agents, which, though sometimes apparently moving wrong, yet, in the end, educing good from evil, and working out, sooner or later, grand and beneficent results. By the collision of parties, the fire of truth is struck out and the stubble of error consumed. No party has all truth; all parties have some truth.

The signs of the times are cheering, for they indicate the advancement of political truth. The democratic party, to a certain extent, had imbibed, by long continuance in power—the tendency of power is to corrupt—error. Many of its members had become more engaged in their own particular interests than in the common weal; and, therefore, advocated public measures which would promote these objects, without considering so fully as they ought to have done the effect which such measures would have upon the whole people. In this way did professed democrats advocate the enactment of laws unequal in their operations and influences, and, therefore, anti-democratic. Hence the origin of conservatism.

The signs of the times are cheering. The winter of our reverses, as a party, is past; and the spring of returning prosperity dawns upon us in numerous victories, betokening a genial summer and a glorious autumn, crowned with the fruits of just laws and equal rights. But the harvest cannot be gathered, unless the seed is sown. Let the democrats see to it, then, that the present favourable time be not wasted in idleness, but by diligent labours in spreading the seeds of democracy broadcast among the people.

The signs of the times are indeed cheering. The democratic party, as a party, not only understands better the nature and objects of its mission, and adheres more strictly to the cardinal principles of its creed, but many, very many, among the ranks of its opponents have imbibed its principles, or are willing to listen to the truth as it is found in democracy, or are less bitter in their denunciations of democratic men and measures.

The signs of the times are cheering. Many, very many, who two years since would not listen to the doctrines declared by the democrats on the subject of the currency, banks, corporations generally, the Independent Treasury, the divorce of bank and state, the exchanges, &c., now admit their correctness, or are willing to look upon them more calmly and in better temper. These, to our mind, are glorious signs. If a man will but keep his temper, and be willing to listen to argument, and to think, although he may be in great error, still there is much hope for him; he will come right. Many of the federal whig party are now in that state which has been not inappropriately called *on the fence*, and we doubt not they will soon be found fairly off, and upon the democratic side in good earnest. We bid them, in the name of the democracy, welcome. There is room enough; the democratic platform is large enough for the whole family of man. The conveniently small doctrine has exploded, with others equally obnoxious: and these we consider not the least flattering of the signs of the times.

The signs of the times are cheering. The people are disgusted with the course which the "whigs" have pursued since they assumed the management of public affairs, and are giving evidence, in the elections which are taking place, that the reign of federal misrule is short, and that the sober second thought of the people will, ere long, replace the democratic party in power, and restore the prosperity of the country.

The signs of the times are cheering. Five large cities have been redeemed from federalism since the presidential election; and eleven states, that gave electoral votes for Harrison, have since turned from the error of their ways, and decided in favour of democracy; among which Connecticut has nobly come forward, and repudiated the federal Hartford Convention doctrines, and decided, in a distinct and manly tone, in favour of the ennobling principles which form the platform of every true democrat's creed.

The signs of the times are cheering—democracy triumphs on all sides. Shall it not triumph here in the old Bay State? Democrats, it is for you to decide. And will not the people, independent of party, also resolve to do the work of redemption? Have the federalists fulfilled all their promises? Have they conducted the affairs of state in the most economical manner? Have they been wise in loaning the credit of the state to corporations? Have the whigs done anything, either in the national councils or the state Legislature, to redeem the loud sounding promises which they made before the last presidential and state elections? Or rather, have they not failed to redeem a single promise? And does not a voice, loud and long, rise from the great body of the people, independent of party, declaring, "*Ye have been weighed in the balance, and found wanting*."

The signs of the times are cheering. No midnight orgies or daylight revelries—no disgusting exhibition of log-cabins and coon-skins—of showy banners with indecent mottoes—no hard cider and strong brandy drinking—in short, none of those demoralizing exhibitions which the federalists resorted to for the purpose of attracting the multitude, are now to be witnessed in the

country; but from all quarters—from even those who were led astray by them—there now comes the united stern voices of condemnation and rebuke. Reason has again resumed her throne; the temporary insanity of the public mind has passed off; the people are not now mad, but of sound mind, and are deciding upon the doings of their public servants like rational, reasonable, and moral beings, who have bodies to be clothed in purity and souls to be exalted to heaven.

THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES ARE CHEERING. Mind is struggling for dominion over matter, and achieving triumph upon triumph. Chains after chains, that have bound the masses to the car of aristocracy, have been snapped asunder, and man everywhere begins to understand his true position, and dares to assume it. Each age, every succeeding year, throws new light on those vast subjects connected with political economy and human rights; and may we not anticipate, from the *signs of the times*, that the day will some time come when the rights of the humblest individual will be respected, every human mind be educated, and ignorance and oppression be swallowed up in a glorious millenium of general knowledge and universal happiness.—*Bay State Democrat*.

THE HOME LEAGUE.

This is the term the friends of protection now give to their high tariff notions. The very name of "Tariff" they know to be unpopular; they know that the people have condemned it over and over again, and they fear to discuss the subject, unless it is masked and covered with some more popular and untried phrase. Hence the term "Home League." When the grand financial scheme of Mr. Clay was brought before congress at the extra session under the flimsy guise of "Fiscal Agent," the whole nation was convulsed with laughter at the idea of the whole plan of the old corrupt bank of the United States being covered up under the name of "Fiscal Agent"—the whigs vainly supposing that if the name, the shadow, was removed, the reality, the substance, might remain and be swallowed by the people at a single gulp. Just so it is with this "Home League." The high tariff folks carry out the wise plan of the ostrich, of hiding his head when closely pursued, vainly supposing that his extremities are safe. But the exposed extremities of these home leaguers are likely to get more kicks than coin. This flimsy covering will not answer. It must be stripped off, and the old, deformed, decayed, and worn-out tariff notions again exposed to the view of the people. A high tariff for protection is a very pretty notion to a little knot of manufacturers; but what say the people to paying this extra tax on all necessities of life, in order that a few already wealthy manufacturers may add a few more dollars to their treasury? The effect of a tariff, we all know, is to raise the price of commodities. The home manufacturer, with this government aid, with the aid of this tariff, compels every man, woman, and child to pay a double, a treble price for all articles that he or they consume. For the purpose of enriching the manufacturer, the government compels every man to pay five dollars per yard for cloth, which, without the tariff, might be obtained for three dollars; and this difference is for the benefit of a few manufacturers.

The manufacturers are enriched by this, but are the people? Suppose we look at the country from which these tariff notions have originated. No country has carried the system of protection so far as England, and what is the result? She has built mighty navies, constructed wonderful works of art, and a few have amassed

immense fortunes of millions upon millions; but the people, the masses, the bone and sinew of the land, how are they? sunk in the most abject poverty; starvation stares them in the face; thousands upon thousands begging to be transported to the convict colonies, to save themselves from a lingering death; and all this is the effect of high tariffs. Taxation treads so close upon the heels of starvation, that death alone can save the victim from its iron grasp. About two hundred million pounds sterling are annually raised by these protective duties, or tax, or tariff, or "Home League," whatever you choose to call it; and, while it assists the government and enriches the manufacturer and land-owner, it grinds to the very dust the whole body of the labouring class—the producers of all wealth. All this immense sum comes out of this class, they being consumers, and constituting nine-tenths of the whole. Every mouthful they eat, and every rag they put on, first pays its duty or tax for the benefit and enriching the corporate manufacturer. Is such a system, producing such results, desirable to be introduced into our country? None would more like to see the arts, sciences, and manufacturers flourish with us than ourselves. But we would have them spring up, and grow, and increase, and flourish like any other department of trade or commerce. We would not grant a manufacturer any privileges or benefits over the farmer or day-labourer. Let each be equally protected in his rights, and then let each select that employment or that business which appears to him most beneficial or profitable. The currency is the only regulator or protective tariff than can be effective, and that can be made to operate equally upon all. High tariffs will always create a redundant and vicious currency; a redundant currency ever creates high prices; and high prices will always bring into our markets foreign manufactures to any extent. No matter how high a tariff you put upon foreign goods so long as we have a paper currency. The more tariff there is, the more revenue it creates; the more revenue created, the more expanded becomes our paper currency; the more expanded that, the higher are prices; and when there is a market paying high prices, foreign goods can well pay a high rate of duty, and still be able to compete with our own pampered and fostered manufacturers. We have all the means for manufacturing; we have all the materials; we have cunning artisans to make the machinery; only let the prices of commodities be brought to a specie standard, and we could soon supply the world with goods; no nation could then compete with us. Scatter the vile paper trash to the four winds; it has ever been, and always will be, a curse to any people who make use of it.

The Creator has furnished us with a better and safer material for a currency; with it all things can be honestly and fairly regulated; all speculations, all expansions and contractions of the currency will cease; no more banks will break; industry will receive its honest reward; the labourer will know at night what he has got for his day's work; and, whatever the amount may be, he will be able to buy just as much pork, or flour, or cloth as he could if a bloated and expanded paper currency existed.

We have certainly all of us seen and felt the evils of our vicious paper currency for the last few years. The system which creates this wrong—radically so—and their is but one remedy for it—sweeps it out of existence. Get rid of it, and happiness and prosperity would be restored to an impoverished and bankrupt people. Get rid of it, and our word for it, no tariff would be called for the benefit of a few at the expense

of the many; for the currency itself would prove a sure protection against all foreign competition. But as for a tariff for protection—a tax upon the mass for the benefit of a few incorporated manufacturing companies—it never will be submitted to in this country, the assertions and exertions of the Home League to the contrary, notwithstanding. The motto of the democratic party is, “Equal and exact justice to all—favours to none.” By that sentiment we mean to be guided. *New Era.*

HOME LEAGUES.

A few weeks since the whole country was resounding with the din and bustle of the anxious and patriotic friends of Domestic Industry; and nothing but the formation of associations for its protection could secure to the labourer, the mechanic, the farmer, and manufacturer the due reward of their toils. These associations were wholly irrespective of party organizations; they looked beyond all party measures, and contemplated the real interests of the people. Is it not passing strange that an object so magnificent and praiseworthy should so soon be suffered to sleep in silence and oblivion? Is not industry as important now, and its protection as indispensable, as they were in the days of the Home Leaguers activity? Or has the great object in view been already secured?

But why do we put such interrogatories? Is it not known to everybody that the same persons who, a short time since, were so active in forming Home Leagues, are now more active and untiring in organizing *Clay Clubs*? We informed our friends months ago what, in our judgment, was the real aim of the Home Leaguers. We then told them that the industry which these men were so anxious to foster and protect was that labour which would secure to themselves the offices and patronage of the government. Our conviction that such was the design of these men was as full and perfect then as it is now, when all disguise and subterfuge are openly abandoned, and the Clay flag boldly given to the winds.

Let it not be supposed that we are at all opposed to “Clay Clubs,” or find the least fault with the persons who engage in them. So far from this, we sincerely tender them our thanks for having, at this early day, the frankness to declare the measures they intend to support and the course they mean to pursue. The whole country is under obligations to them for now doffing their visors and presenting their real features to the public observation. If they shall adhere to this manly course, and shall succeed in the election of their favourite candidate, they will then have good grounds to claim that the country has given its verdict in their favour. Whether our people have become wearied with the experiment of self-government; disgusted with a simple Republican policy which secures and protects every man in the enjoyment of his own earnings; whether the maxims of Jefferson and Jackson are forgotten; and whether the people are now prepared to adopt the glorious Protective System of John Bull—that system which has secured to one-fourth of the whole population of the British Isles all the rare privileges and immunities of absolute pauperism, and to almost the entire remaining three-fourths the high prerogative of labouring sixteen hours in a day for a wretched subsistence on oat meal and potatoes—the issue now making up will fully determine.

For ourselves, we entertain no doubt of the result of the campaign upon which the friends of Mr. Clay are so eagerly entering. Give us a clear field and a fair fight, and we will abide our fate without a murmur or

complaint. If the country shall decide that Henry Clay must be President of the United States; that we must have another mammoth bank to keep and disburse the public treasure; that tea, coffee, sugar, and window glass shall be taxed, and stamp offices again brought into fashion; if they decide that the spoil of the people shall be the patrimony of gamblers and debauchees, we will say amen to it. But in our heart we believe that such a result would be fatal to the purity and safety of this last hope, as a republic, of civilized man throughout the globe. When once the axe is laid at the root of the tree, and a mere coalition of political black-legs is enabled to control the destinies of the country—to prostrate all the landmarks of sound party principle—to scatter the horrid collapse of bank influence through the free hearts and stout arms of our honest yeomanry; when these are accomplished, the case becomes hopeless—past redemption—and the curtain must at once and forever fall over all we hold dear.—*Mohawk Courier.*

“BETTER TIMES.”

The Auburn Journal of September 16th, 1840, in speaking of the revival of business, says:

“It is because the election of General Harrison is now placed beyond a doubt. The certainty of such a glorious event is of itself sufficient to restore public confidence—to inspire them with bright hopes of the future. The whole country now feels that the season of embarrassment and distress is nearly past; that the reign of terror is nearly over; that the day is near at hand when she may cast off her weeds of mourning, and put on the garments of joy and gladness; and when she may take a fresh departure, after a few years of fearful reverse, in the path of her high destiny.”

Yes, in 1840, the bare prospect of the election of Gen. Harrison was sufficient to revive business, if we take the assertions of the federalists editors and federal orators for it. And, when that election was secured, the country was to be rid of all her “fearful reverses,” and “take a fresh departure” “in the path of her high destiny.”

Such were federal promises made time and again, iterated and reiterated from Maine to Georgia. “Two dollars a day and roast beef” under a federal administration, or “ten cents a day and a sheep’s pluck” under democratic rule, were the strongest arguments made use of by the federal party in that celebrated campaign. That these promises had a great influence on the election, no one can for a moment doubt. They probably secured the success of the self-styled whig candidates, and placed the reins of government in the hands of the federal party. The long sought power (that power which they could not obtain in open and fair contest) was secured to them by fraud and falsehood—by means which no honourable men would resort to. Still they did obtain it; and of all their promises they have not redeemed a single one. The price of labour has been constantly decreasing since they came into power. And the better times that they promised us, where are they? Never was there such a universal gloom spread over the country as at the present moment. Ruin and distress stalk through the land with a firm and constantly accelerating stride, and the men in power have not lifted a finger to stay the tornado; but, on the contrary, have, by their action, greatly embarrassed the affairs of the country, rendered the national treasury bankrupt, and sent the once proud eagle of America to the footstool of European tyranny, an humble petitioner for

the means to pay the very men who promised to make the country happy and prosperous.

It cannot be that any party, coming into power as did the federal party, can long retain the confidence of the people. We have witnessed in one short year the total route of that party. We have seen its high hopes crushed, its contending factions waging a relentless and exterminating war against each other; and in another twelve months, in all human probability, the "democratic whig" party, the "better times" party, the "two dollars a day and roast beef" party, will be among the *things* that were.

But should not the public execration rest on those men who have knowingly and wilfully deceived the people? Should such men be trusted in future? And is any confidence to be placed in the statements they may hereafter make?—*Cayuga Tocsin*.

THE WHIGS AND THE WORKINGMEN.

The following resolution was offered by Gov. KENT at a public meeting recently held at Bangor, Me.

"Resolved, That American workingmen, in accordance with the spirit of our republican institutions, are entitled to maintain a high position in society, and to live well, to educate their children, and maintain their families in a comfortable manner, and to receive for their labour adequate rewards which will enable them thus to live; that they cannot thus maintain that position if they are compelled by want of protection to compete with the pauper labourers of Europe, and to work for wages which are not enough to furnish the necessary food and clothing."

Well, why is it that the workingmen do not receive "adequate rewards" for their labour? Were they not, in 1840, promised "two dollars a day and roast beef," in case "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" were elected? and was not the triumph of coon-skins and hard cider beyond the hopes and equal to the wishes of the most sanguine of the *Pipes*? The change has arrived that was to have given high wages to the workingmen, and why is it that we still hear the wail of "low wages?"

The hypocrites, the base hypocrites! By a system of foul deception and falsehood, they induced thousands of the workingmen of the country to abandon the only principles that would ensure them an adequate reward for their labour; and in the flush of triumph, when they thought the realization of their golden dreams of speculation and power was at hand, all their promises to the people were forgotten, and they cared not if the hosts of honest workingmen whom they had deceived was to be reduced *below* the condition of the "pauper labourers of Europe," so that their own hopes of the restoration of rag money wealth would be fully realized.

The evils complained of by the operatives were increased, and they found that the hard times they were taught to *imagine* under the democratic administration had become a stern reality in the very opening of the federal dynasty.

But the federal leaders have been disappointed in their hopes of a National Bank; "honest John Tyler" has deceived the whigs as they deceived the people; and, in order to punish him, and place a more willing tool at the head of public affairs, another effort is to be made to betray the workingmen with false promises, and induce them, by hollow-hearted professions for their welfare, to give their aid once more to the humbuggers of 1840; and hence the affectionate regard of Gov. Kent and his pipe-laying compeers for the "American workingman."

But we think it is a forlorn hope for the federal party

to expect that the workingmen can again be led from their political integrity by hollow professions. So long as the promises of 1840 remain unredeemed, it is folly for them to load themselves with fresh falsehoods, as we cannot suppose that such efforts will have any other effect than to excite the contempt and scorn of every intelligent man.

The people cannot be deceived a second time; the degradation and ruin that has followed the hard cider folly of the last presidential election is too painfully present to their minds to permit them to fall into the snares of the political swindlers who are now in power. They will endure patiently the evils that the ascendancy of federalism has brought upon the land until the proper time for redress arrives, and then they will rise in their might, and crush for ever the unprincipled factions that sought power merely for the sake of the opportunities it afforded to plunder the people.—*Manufacturer*.

MR. VAN BUREN AND THE PRESIDENCY.

We fully concur in sentiment with the Mobile Register, that the nomination of Mr. VAN BUREN by the democratic convention of the state of Mississippi (and, we may add, by the legislature of Missouri previously) is a just compliment to a distinguished public servant, who placed himself, in a disastrous time, at the head of a grand democratic movement, and was overwhelmed by an extraordinary concurrence of adverse circumstances—falling with honour, and bearing with him into retirement the elements of a popularity destined, to grow with the growth of public virtue and intelligence, irrespective of all future contingencies of place or station. Such it is considered by our political friends in Mississippi, who, in making this nomination, have intended no more than to mark their sense of the weight of his services to the popular cause, and the elevation of his character as a sagacious and upright statesman. Should the democratic party, at the proper time, when all the elements for a judicious choice of a candidate are before them, and the period for action has come, unite in placing Mr. Van Buren again before the people for the presidency, none would do political battle in his behalf with more heartiness than ourselves. We should delight, indeed, to aid a great popular impulse in bearing him forward, on a regular tide of popular opinion, to the high station which he occupied with such firmness, ability, and honesty, and from which he was displaced, in an unhappy hour for the people, by the Tippecanoe delusion—the most successful imposture of modern times.

But principles should be, in democratic practice, paramount to feelings and to men; and, however much we may honour Mr. Van Buren, and desire to give him a noble triumph over his foes, the first duty of every democrat is, to maintain the integrity, and consult the common wishes, and labour for the success of the democratic party, in whose success the welfare and honour of the country are deeply implicated. We, therefore, in common with many judicious democrats as warmly attached as ourselves to the ex-president, are afraid that early committals of states and presses to presidential nominations may interfere with the harmonious action of all those who, by principle, are bound to act together in the next canvass; and that we may lose some of the advantages which democratic principles always gain in periods of calm reflection, by hastily plunging into an electioneering fleet for any man, however great and worthy. Let us all consult together in the spirit of patriotic devotion to the public good, (which demands the success of the democracy,) and the

candidate upon whom the party may unite, whether it be Mr. Van Buren as we desire, or another eminent democrat, will be triumphantly sustained. But for a year or two we have more pressing duties to perform; and the pens and tongues of the friends of popular principles will do most good in combating the heresies and exposing the mischievous purposes of an indefatigable and determined adversary.—*Troy Budget*.

HUMBUG AND IMPOSTURE.

One of the most stupid and bare-faced attempts to impose upon a generous and enlightened people is now in progress in this section of the state; it is an attempt to induce the people to believe that Mr. Clay is the friend and great champion of American industry; that he alone is friendly to a wise and due protection of the manufacturing interest. This falsehood is circulated with amazing industry by his friends, because they foolishly imagine they can induce men who think for themselves to believe it, and in this way they hope to get a few votes for the dictator. Now, we assert, and can prove, that Mr. Clay has no claims whatever to the honour they are trying to clothe him with; he is not the friend of American industry; he has proved himself the destroyer of the tariff by the Compromise Act, of which he was the projector, and for which he was proudly denominated by his admirers the "Great Pacificator of the West." It was ranked among his most splendid achievements as a great statesman; but now, when its mischievous consequences are seen, and severely felt throughout the country, his glorifiers have the impudence to deny that he was the father of the "Compromise Bill." Notwithstanding their denial, the record of the senate places the fact beyond cavil.

This mischievous law was partly dictated by his hatred of General Jackson, and partly by feelings of disappointment, on account of the feeble support he received from the manufacturing interest as a candidate for the presidency. He saw he could no longer ride this hobby to advantage; the political capital he expected to make by it had proved of little consequence; and, it being evident no important aid could be derived from it in future, he abandoned it without any regret, and prepared a bill by which the manufacturers were, after a few years, left to their fate; the *principle of protection* was surrendered, and the *ad valorem* system, for which the south contended, was adopted. This was the most mischievous feature of the bill; it was surrendering, not only the out-posts, but the very citadel itself; the vital and important part was thrown to the winds, and that which the enemies of protection had fought for was basely yielded. And it was the hand of Mr. Clay that inflicted the fatal blow; it was not an open enemy, but a pretended friend, that betrayed us. And now can a man acting thus, can a man who has done all the mischief, be justly called the champion of American industry? Mr. Clay is a man of that cast and character that he will sacrifice any interest, however great and important, whenever its friends will not aid in elevating him to the presidency. This is the great object of his ambition, to obtain which, he will enlist the money kings of this trans-atlantic world. He can rely upon their support and influence as long as he advocates a "National Bank" with a capital of fifty millions, and is favourable to a "National debt" as a national blessing. Can a man be a friend of American industry who advocates these measures? It cannot be, for these are the great machines to plunder the people with, and to rob industry of its true rewards.

It is, then, false that he is the friend of industry; he

is the friend of the drones in the hive; all his measures are intended to promote the interests of the Barings and Rothschilds of the world. His policy is incompatible with the interest of the poor man; his policy makes the rich richer, and the poor poorer. Whenever his friends say he is a friend of American industry, set it down as a humbug, and as a base attempt at imposture; nail it to the counter as a counterfeit coin; it is a fabrication, like the thousand that were propagated in the log-cabins of federalism in the hard cider campaign. Heed it not.—*Paterson Guardian*.

The Federal Pipe Layers feel very much alarmed at the idea of the democrats carrying the election next fall. It seems, however, to be the impression, with both the Tyler men and the friends of Mr. Clay, that this will be the case. The pipe layers have lost one great *spoke* in their wheel by the *death and burial* of the United States Bank; they can no longer depend on this gambling machine for funds to buy men "like cattle into the market." There is no doubt now among honest men that this bank contributed very liberally toward the whig electioneering fund, and helped them very materially in the new art of "pipe-laying," a wicked invention of the profligate leaders of federalism. The bank being defunct, whiggery will soon go the same way; the democrats can beat them without much exertion, as General Apathy is destroying them by thousands. We hope, however, our democratic friends will soon begin to gird on their armour and prepare for the contest. Victory is sure; and it will be a very amusing task to dismiss the office-holders who have been so long engaged in the business of pipe-laying and cheating the people out of their just rights. As the whigs have been detected in so many falsehoods, and have so often deceived the people, there is no chance of their being again successful in their old game, even should it be attempted. We have, therefore, only to select good men for our congressional ticket, and, with our usual fair and honourable means, we can beat them by a majority of 3000.—*Paterson Guardian*.

POLITICAL FREEDOM.

"The world is governed too much," says a modern writer, the truth of which no patriot will attempt to deny. All intelligent, thinking persons are willing to concede the point, that men do not depend enough upon their own resources to furnish them with motives for political action. Too often looking at the signs of the times, the probable character and importance of parties, they act without consulting common sense, or at all investigate the subject upon which they are acting. This ought not to be. Men holding rights as dear and valuable as ours, should not suffer any consideration to arrest their progress in such investigations. How important that every person who enjoys the privileges and immunities of a free and enlightened people, should study the nature, import, and meaning of freedom. It is said by a set of aristocrats, political bankrupts, and their paid myrmidons, that it is impossible for the mass of the people to obtain this knowledge. But it is not so. Every person, rich or poor, high or low, distinguished or debased, may learn something of the nature of our government and the principles on which our constitution is based. We regret to say it, but it is too true, that young men grow up and enter the field of action totally devoid of that knowledge requisite to discriminate between right and wrong. It is, then, no wonder that so many are led about by demagogues and aspiring

sycophants; and, until men think and act more for themselves, bribery and corruption will continue to be practised in our country. So long as men continue to be led about, and so long as the people remain in ignorance, so long there will be some to take advantage of that ignorance, and thereby form a stepping stone to popularity and distinction.—*Paterson Guardian*.

Reasons why WILLIAM H. SEWARD, the Federal Whig Governor of the state of New York, is anxious to plunge the state still deeper in debt to complete the Erie Railroad.

We trust that the citizens of the southern tier of counties, at least the democratic portion of them, will pause and seriously reflect on the *fatal* consequences that will most assuredly occur to the state should the wild schemes of Governor Seward and his *company of pipe layers* be carried out in relation to going on with the Erie Railroad, as stated in his extra message to the Legislature. We were inclined to believe that this *precious document* was only intended as a trick to prevent voters at the coming election from casting their votes for the democratic candidates; but, by recent developments of Governor Seward's connexion, directly or indirectly, with the banking concern, viz., American Life and Trust Company, it appears that the distinguished governor and his pipe-laying friends are also governed by self-interest, &c. By the developments just referred to it appears that "Billy Seward" alone owns large tracts of lands and lots in the vicinity of the projected railroad, which, we understand, came into his possession on the *credit system* and wild speculation: be that as it may, it appears by the statements published that the said lands, lots, &c., are *mortgaged* to the banking company above referred to for the small sum of \$210,340. Here, then, we have Mr. Seward's *disinterested motive in a nut-shell*. We hope the democratic voters in the southern tier of counties will see the plan and manner in which they are intended to be cheated out of their votes at the coming election.

RUMOURS! RUMOURS!!

In Relation to the next Democratic Candidate for the Presidency.

We learn, and not from doubtful authority, that John Tyler is to *transfer all his interest, and that of his party*, to John C. Calhoun, to promote his election to the presidential chair in 1844. We also learn that a number of leading democrats and democratic presses will shortly break ground in favour of Mr. Calhoun, and that they intend to place New York's *favourite son* on the shelf; or, in other words, abandon an *old tried and faithful servant*. We must confess that we did not expect such a course from any portion of the democracy of the *Empire State*: but it seems there is no *calculating on trading politicians*. For aught we know, this may be a plan to favour Mr. Clay; for we do know that the federal whigs *calculate mainly for success on the*

division of the democratic party. We repeat our firm belief, that the only course that can be pursued to keep the democratic party together, and *baffle the schemes of the whigs*," will be, to call an early national convention, and nominate a candidate for president and vice-president, of the United States. If this is done, it would still the agitated question of who shall, and who shall not, be the democratic candidates.

The capacity and ability of John C. Calhoun to fill the presidential chair no one will question; but we are inclined to believe that the American democracy are not prepared to cast their votes for a man to be their president who is *opposed to free suffrage*; or, in other words, the *equal rights of the people*. The memorable words of Andrew Jackson on this are ever in our mind, viz., "The blessings of government, like the dews of Heaven, should be dispensed alike on high and low, the rich and the poor." When John C. Calhoun carries out these principles, and not until then, do we believe that he will receive the votes of the democracy of the United States.

That our views on free suffrage may be fairly understood, we contend that citizens of the United States, rich and poor alike, having resided one year in any state in the Union, and a residence of six months in any town or district, shall be entitled to cast their votes for *national and state officers, &c.* This plain republican principle is not only opposed by John Tyler and John C. Calhoun, but by the federal whigs. We might point out numerous instances to prove this fact; but the recent course they have all pursued against the *free suffrage* people of Rhode Island is of itself, we believe, sufficient to prevent the American democracy from casting their votes for any man that is *opposed to free suffrage and the equal rights of the people*. "We are not, thank God, of the number who" wish to see the men that do our *labour and fight our battles, &c., disfranchised*, and rendered little better than *slaves to aristocracy*.

A WORD TO THE PEOPLE.

What have the whig federalists done for the country since they came into power in the national councils?

They have done nothing to relieve the people;

They have done nothing to revive the business of the country;

They have done nothing toward supplying a sound currency;

They have done nothing toward regulating the exchanges;

They have done nothing to raise the price of the produce of the farmer;

They have not only done nothing to raise the wages of labour, but have actually reduced the wages of the workmen employed on the public works;

They have not secured to the labourer *two dollars a day and roast beef*;

In short, they have done nothing since the election of their president to redeem the thousand fair promises which they made before the election, or even a single one of them.

But they have done *something*; and what have they done?

They have bankrupted the treasury;

They have created a national debt of thirty millions;

They have injured the credit of the nation, and have sold its scrip in the market at a ruinous discount;

They have removed from office the brave soldiers who fought for their country, and the honest and faithful public servants who discharged their duties with ability and fidelity, to make room for noisy partisans, who had nothing to recommend them to office but drawing log-cabins ornamented with coon-skins, drinking hard cider, and brawling, to the extent of their lungs, "TIP AND TY;"

They have killed their *first* president by importunities for office;

They have treated their *second* president as if he were a villain, and called him by as many hard names as they would the most abandoned rascal in the country;

They have quarrelled among themselves, both in congress and out of congress, and told almost as many truths of each other's corruption and profligacy as they did lies about Mr. Van Buren's administration—

And they have brought disgrace upon themselves (if that were possible) and dishonour upon the country at any rate.

The people heard the promises of the federal party before election. They have seen what they have done and what they have left undone since, and in nearly all the state elections that have been held have placed their seal of condemnation upon them. In 1844 the whole Union will confirm the sentence as with a voice of thunder.—*Bay State Democrat*.

ALWAYS THE SAME.

The parallel is becoming perfect between the federalism of 1798 and the whigism of 1842.

The federalists increased the public expenditures.

So have the whigs.

The federalists increased the public debt.

So have the whigs.

The federalists increased the people's taxes.

So have the whigs.

The federalists increased the navy.

So have the whigs.

The federalists increased the army.

The whigs proposed to add several regiments to the army, and one thousand men to the marine corps.

The federalists employed the army to overawe and control the people in the exercise of their rights.

So have the whigs.

The federalists passed a bankrupt law.

So have the whigs.

The federalists treated the Declaration of Independence as a bundle of abstractions, not to be regarded in practice.

So do the whigs.

If they have not passed an alien law, it is not from any liking for emigrants from oppressed Europe.

If they have not passed a sedition law, they have introduced new and unheard-of measures to prevent effective debate in the House of Representatives.

What could more effectively show the identity between the federalism of 1798 and the whigism of 1842?

The object and intention of the democrats are—

To reduce the public expenditures.

To pay off the public debt.

To reduce the people's taxes.

To reduce the navy to the limit of 1841.

To prevent an increase of the army.

To employ the army and navy only for the public defence.

To repeal the bankrupt law.

To treat emigrants from Europe as men and brothers, entitled to the rights of men.

To allow full scope to discussion of public measures and the acts of men.

To maintain, in practice as well as theory, the pure and glorious principles of the Declaration of Independence.—*Globe*.

A new Federal Whig Magazine, to be entitled "United States Monthly Review, Political and Literary."

By the prospectus of the above-named review it seems it is to be the *grand organ* of Henry Clay, home league, federal whig principles, &c. It also appears that it is to do battle with the Democratic Review; and that no advantage may be taken of the *weight of metal, &c.*, the quantity of pages and price are to be the same—five dollars a year. Much *political manœuvring* in these rival journals, to see which of them can gain and maintain the weathergage of the other, may be looked for. We have no doubt but that our old friend, the Democratic Review, will give the federal whig review "a good beating:" be that as it may, we will give analysis of the political matter they may contain; and should there be anything unfair on either side, we will not spare them; so that our readers may expect to get the substance of the political matter of both in a few pages of the Democratic Guide.

Thomas Jefferson's plan for borrowing money; a good lesson to all government borrowers, &c.—"It is a wise rule, and should be fundamental in a government disposed to cherish credit, and at the same time to restrain the use of it within the limits of its faculties, never to borrow a dollar without a tax in the same instant for paying the interest annually, and the principal within a given term; and to consider that tax a pledge to the creditors on the public faith. On such a pledge as this, sacredly observed, a government may always command, on a reasonable interest, all the lendable money of their citizens, while the necessity of an equivalent tax is a salutary warning to them and their constituents against oppression, bankruptcy, and its inevitable consequences—revolution."

EQUAL RIGHTS.

More people talk about the equality of rights than are willing to practise upon the principles which the words teach. It is not every man who harps upon the words "*equal rights*" that is willing, or desires to see, social or political equality. What! *all* people equal? Are the poor as good as the rich? Are they entitled to as much influence in the community—in the state? The idea is absurd, say thousands of men who pretend to be the friend of the people—the advocates of political equality. *Equal rights* means, with them, simply this: that a man's rights should be respected and acknowledged in the community in proportion to the money which he possesses; or, as in Rhode Island, to the *land* which he owns; or because he is lucky enough to be the first-born of a *landholder*! It is well enough, think this class of men, and some are honest enough to say so; it is well enough to *talk* about *equal rights*, but to carry out the doctrine would be monstrous! Why, it would

give a poor man as much influence as a rich man; the children of the poor would be on a level with the rich! Out upon such radical, *locofoco* doctrine!

The democratic party stand pledged to carry out the principles of equal rights. The pure principles of democracy teach equality of rights to *every man* in the community, and not to classes. Federalism teaches equality of rights to *classes*; and herein is the difference. The federal party, as a general thing, has been consistent in this respect, under whatever name it may have acted. When was the party ever known to take a stand in favour of equal rights to *all men*? We think it would be difficult to point out an instance.

The right of suffrage the federal party would confine to classes, to those who possess property, and those who happen to be fortunate in the place of their birth or the colour of their skin. The right to hold offices of public trust they would also limit in the same way, or confine the offices to a few families. In short, the true principles of equality enter not into the creed of the whig federal party, never did, and never will, as it is now constituted. Hence, when any question comes up in which the principle is involved, we are sure to find that party, however much the leaders may have pretended to be the friends of the people, on the side of privilege and in favour of monopoly; that is, of having the rich and *well-born* govern the poor, and such as are unfortunate in the place or the time of their birth.

But we are not entirely satisfied with the course which the democratic party have pursued in this respect; not all who call themselves democrats are willing to go *where democratic principles lead*, or carry out fully the principles of equal rights. The party and individuals composing it are guilty of sins of omission and commission. The rights of the whole people have not always been respected by all of the individuals composing the party, or the party itself; and thus has reproach been brought upon the party and the glorious cause. They have done those things which they ought not to have done, and left undone those things which they ought to have done. The democratic party ought to have been more true to the principles it professes, both in opposing the passage of unequal laws, and in correcting abuses. But we look forward to better times, and a more correct and consistent course to be pursued by the supporters of democratic principles. The great majority of the people love the principles of democracy, and will see to it that they are carried out.—*Bay State Democrat*.

THE TARIFF QUESTION.

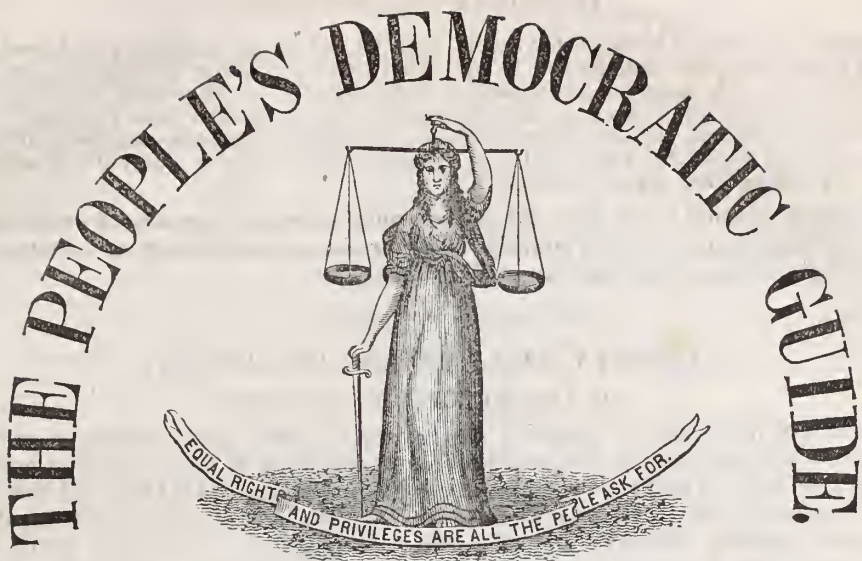
We are glad to see that many honest and sincere advocates of a fair and equitable protective tariff, in the "whig" party, are opening their eyes to the designs of their political leaders on this subject. The skulking of Mr. Clay at the juncture when his influence and services were most needed, and the refusal of the party to act on the subject during a long session of six months, have aroused them to a suspicion of the real designs of the federal wire-pullers, and they are determined to see justice done in the premises, or to adequately punish those who dare to trifle with their best interests for the sake of making a little party capital. If the federalists, with their sweeping majorities in both houses of congress, do not adopt at the present session such a tariff as will meet the approbation of the country, and not endanger its fate at the hands of the executive, the vengeance of the honest portion of their own party will rest upon them. In vain will they attempt to escape by urging an ultra scheme, which they well know will be arrested,

for that will be considered, as it should, as only "adding insult to injury."—*Troy Budget*.

THE STATE FINANCES.

"Spend all you have and borrow all you can" appears to be the motto of a certain class of politicians and economists. Hence the act of the legislature to levy a tax for the payment of our honest debts, is denounced as a piece of outrageous oppression; the efforts of the comptroller to call in, and apply, the resources the state to the same worthy object, is abused beyond measure; and the refusal of the government to go on borrowing after its credit had become alarmingly impaired, and raising money at terrible sacrifices to lend to incorporated companies, is represented as a direct war upon those sections of the state where internal improvements were progressing by means of borrowed capital. Nothing could restore the state government to favour in the eyes of those who hold such language, but following the footsteps of the profligate spendthrift or the unprincipled bankrupt. They appeal not to reason—not to honesty—not even to expediency—but to one of the lowest passions of human nature, the love of money. They speak to the pockets of the people, and incite them against paying a small, but absolute necessary, tax; the debtors of the state are told that it is a grievous hardship that they should be required to pay one-fourth part of their debts after thirteen months' notice; others are taught that the business of the state is to build a railroad to every man's door, and that, if it has no money for that purpose, it should either borrow, beg, or steal it. The last-mentioned doctrine is intended more for the line of the New York and Erie Railroad. There is evidently a new division of parties springing up; old lines are about to be obliterated; the honest men on both sides commend the paying policy; the profligate, and those who have no other motives than self-interest, are for borrowing and never paying. We shall see in the end which will prevail. We are yet strong in the belief, that the Empire State is inhabited by a majority of honest men, who are in favour of paying their debts.

"*Two Dollars per day and Roast Beef*."—This is one of the mottoes inscribed high and conspicuously on some of the federal banners during the campaign of 1840. This was among the means made use of by men in high places to impress the labouring classes with the many blessings which were to follow their triumph! Not satisfied with this, they had written on the same flags, over a caricature of Mr. Van Buren, "ten cents a day and bean soup!" We have recorded these flummeries to remind the honest labourer that it is his duty, when he comes in contact with a noisy whig brawler, to remind him of the "two dollars a day and roast beef!"



The blessings of Government, like the dews of Heaven, should be dispensed alike on high and low, the rich and the poor. JACKSON.

The privilege of self-government is one which the people will never be permitted to enjoy unmolested. Power and wealth are continually stealing from the many to the few. WILLIAM LEGETT.

VOL. I.

SEPTEMBER, 1842.

No. XI.

CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR AND LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF THE EMPIRE STATE.

FOR GOVERNOR,

WILLIAM C. BOUCK,

THE FARMER OF OLD SCHOHARIE.

Those who are not sufficiently acquainted with the political character, &c, of Farmer Bouck, we respectfully refer them to pages 222, 252 and 305 of this journal.

FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR,

DANIEL S. DICKINSON,

OF BROOME COUNTY.

Democrats of the Jefferson, Jackson and Van Buren school, rally and cast your votes into the Ballot box at the approaching Election, for the above named Gentlemen. In 1840, they were both Candidates for the same Offices, and both cheated out of them by fraud, false promises, &c., made by the Federal Whigs. Similar deceptions by these *precious* whigs are already circulating over the States. The following is a specimen from the *Tribune*, son of the memorable Log Cabin. Hear his twaddle.

"Farmers, Artisans and Laborers of New York! the election of Bouck and Dickinson will be the overthrow of the Protective System, and will bring us back to twenty cents a pound for Wool, the Country full of Foreign Goods, no market for Home Products, and no price for Labor. Elect BRADISH and FURMAN and the Protective Policy will be sustained, and the prices of Home Products and your Labor will certainly improve. Act, then, Freemen, for YOURSELVES."

What a *prodigious prophet* this son of the *decayed* Log Cabin must be, to foretell events! "Farmers, Artisans and Laborers of New York," do not suffer yourselves to be gulled again by the *false statements* and *promises* of these Modern Whigs, as a sample of their tricks to deceive the people, and obtain their votes in the fall of 1840, we subjoin an extract from a card or note circulated by them in this City, one of which we received.

"A course of policy has been pursued during the last few years, by the administration at Washington which almost every man in the country, except the office-holder, has found to be not only
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injurious to his individual interests, but hurtful to public and private morals. The *laborer* finds it difficult to get work, and when obtained he generally receives but half or three-quarters pay. The *mechanic* finds that his avocation cannot flourish when *commerce*, its twin-sister, is stricken down. Every man who will reflect calmly and *without prejudice*, must say that we NEED A CHANGE."

"WE WANT A CHANGE, and a change we *must* have, or we shall all be beggars together. If you have been a supporter of Mr. Van Buren, and have felt the general distress, or observed it in others, will you not *try* the candidate opposed to him?"

We might mention many other items that would show the means used to deceive the people, among them a *positive promise* of *better times*, immediately on a change being made, such as *Roast Beef* and *two dollars a Day* &c.

LIBERTY AND LAW ARE IN DANGER!

TO THE RESCUE DEMOCRATS!

There has never been a period in the history of New York politics, in which we conceive it so important, for the preservation of the rights of the people, and our republican institutions, as that the democratic party should achieve a **GLORIOUS VICTORY** at the approaching election. Some of the dearest privileges of freemen are involved in the coming contest. Should the federalists, by supineness on our part, secure the ascendancy in both branches of the Legislature, such a course of legislation would be adopted as would no doubt place the great republican party for **YEARS** in the power of the federal minority, and we know full well what reliance is to be placed in federal honor and federal legislation. A party whose leaders recommend as a part of their political creed to throw "*conscience to the devil*," can have but little regard for the people.

We call upon all democrats—upon all honest American citizens to reflect well and deeply on the necessity of rallying under the **DEMOCRATIC BANNER** of equal rights and equal laws, and frown down all attempts at disunion in our ranks. Let a cordial and warm support be given by every democrat to the **REGULAR TICKET**, as settled by the Delegate Convention throughout the State, and if victory does not crown your exertions, you will have the satisfaction to know you have done your duty to your God and country.

We exhort you all to "charge on the federalists their **FALSEHOOD** of 1840 as to good times, a sound currency, and high wages."

Charge on them their falsehoods, of spending of **TWENTY FIVE MILLIONS OF DOLLARS** (annually) more than they promised!

Charge on them the fact of presenting bills to pay the **Traitor HULL**, when in office, and while aiding the British to conquer Ohio and Michigan!

Charge them with the fact that they have attempted to destroy the Constitution and divert from the President the exercise of the **VETO POWER**.

Charge on them the crime of uniting various bills together to **OBLIGE** President Tyler to *veto* them.

Charge on the canting hypocrites the vile plot to destroy the government: and, by the unrelenting arm of oppression, to drive poor laborers to want and desperation.

Charge upon them that **FACTION** has conspired to caricature Democracy, to paralyze it, and degrade the people.

Charge upon them the *frauds* of 1840, and the *intemperance* of that day.

Charge home on the leaders of federalism, pettifogging knavery, contemptible duplicity and irreclaimable selfishness.

Charge on federalism the fact that it *hates* those whom it has *wronged*.

Charge on the federalists their miserable *humbugs* since 1836, their low cunning and foxlike sagacity.

Charge on the followers of Clay, the fact that our country has most wofully retrograded under their management, to make a stepping stone for their dictator to the Presidency.

Charge on them fraud, midnight caucusses, gag acts, squandering of the public money, bankrupting the country, and plundering the poor.

Charge upon them, that they prate of virtue and follow **DEGRADING** vices and uphold murderers and conspirators; talk of **PATRIOTISM** and foster **TREASON**; make pretence

to wisdom and hug folly to their bosoms, and tyrannical passions. Brand them as Neros, and let the catilines perish in their voluntary debasements?

Democrats! Charge home the corruption of whiggery on its leaders, and go on to reform peacefully all that is wrong in laws, in legislation, courts in banks in social life.

Democrats! Slumber not at your posts in the face of an active, selfish enemy! Be vigilant to do good and persevering in uprooting craft, unhallowed passions, violence and treason! Consecrate your efforts to the improvement of society, and baffle the counsels of the perfidious, the infuriated; the bandit leaders who dupe the ignorant, and foster the profligate in the foul kennels of the land. Put down incendiaries, rioters, conspirators and traitors, and purge your courts and halls of legislation of the vile and abandoned! Teach the rising generation that licentiousness is not liberty; nor cant—religion; nor vice—virtue; nor traitors—patriots! The retributions of a righteous heaven follow ignorance, vice and crime!

Democrats! It is your duty to save the institutions of our country from destruction. *Mothers!*—save your offspring from vice and misery. *Fathers!*—Look well to the example you set your children, or they may bring your grey hairs in sorrow to the grave.

We have taken the above from the Doylestown Democrat, a Pennsylvania paper—with the exception of a few sentences changed so as to apply to the Empire State.—Ebs. D. G.

A few of the Federal Whig principles defined by Henry Clay, in a letter to certain young men in Philadelphia.

Hear what the Home League Candidate for the Presidency in 1844 says for and in behalf of himself and the party of which he is the commander in chief, therefore it may be considered as a general order from head quarters.

ASHLAND, SEPT. 13, 1842.

Dear Sir: I received your favor, communicating the patriotic purposes and views of the young men of Philadelphia; and I take pleasure, in compliance with your request, in stating some of the principal objects which, I suppose, engage the common desire and the common exertion of the Whig Party to bring about, in the Government of the United States. These are:

A sound National Currency, regulated by the Will and Authority of the Nation:

Of course Mr Clay means nothing more or less than a National Bank with a Capital of \$50,000,000, this the Democrats of the Jefferson, Jackson, and Van Buren school oppose,—first, that such an Institution would not only be contrary to the Constitution of the United States, but dangerous to the liberties of our Country. Hear what Harry of the West said on this subject in 1811.

"The great advantage of our system of Government, over all others, is that we have a *written* Constitution."

"I conceive then, sir, that we are not empowered, by the Constitution, nor bound by any practice under it, to renew the charter of this bank."

"The power of a nation is said to consist in the sword and the purse. Perhaps, at last, all power is resolvable into that of the purse; for with it you may command almost every thing else."

"May not the time arrive when the concentration of such a vast portion of the circulating medium of the country in the hands of any corporation, will be dangerous to our liberties?"

"Suppose an attempt to subvert this Government—would not the traitor first aim, by force of corruption, to acquire the treasure of this company?"

"Wealth is power; and, under whatsoever form it exists, its proprietor, whether he lives on this or the other side of the Atlantic, will have a proportionate influence."

"It has often been stated, and although I do not know that it is susceptible of strict proof I believe it to be a fact, that this bank exercised its influence in support of Jay's treaty."

"The power to create corporations is not expressly granted:"

"I cannot believe that this interpretation of the constitution will, in any degree, defeat the purposes for which it was formed; on the contrary, it does appear to me that the opposite exposition has an inevitable tendency to consolidation, and affords just and serious cause of alarm."

We might give other reasons why Mr Clay when a Jefferson Democrat opposed "a National Bank but our limits does not allow it at this time therefore we refer our readers to his memorable Democratic speech on that subject, published in this Journal, page 211. The following are Mr Jeffersons views in relation to a National Bank, which of itself ought to be a sufficient reason for every true American to oppose a United States Bank in any shape or form.

"I deem no government safe which is under the vassalage of any self constituted authorities or any other authority than that of the nation or its regular functionaries. What an obstruction could his bank of the United States, with all its branch banks, be in time of war? It might dictate to us

the peace we should accept, or withdraw its aids. It is the great duty we owe to the safety of our constitution, to bring this powerful enemy to a perfect subordination under its authorities."

"An adequate Revenue, with Fair Protection to American Industry:"

What does Mr. Clay mean by *fair protection* should he mean a *Revenue* to supply the necessary wants of the Government, the Democracy goes with him. But should he mean a *protection* for the few at the expense of the many, Democracy oppose him and all his *clan*.

"Just Restraints on the Executive Power, embracing a further Restriction on the exercise of the veto."

This veto power is a monstrous thorn, in the sides of the Modern Whigs. Two Presidents have by the rejection of National Bank bills, preserved the liberties of our Country, therefore, the Democracy, will cling to the veto power, at least, until it sees good and substantial reasons for a *change*.

"A Faithful Administration of the Public Domain, with an Equitable Distribution of the Proceeds of the Sales of it among all the States:"

On the distribution of the Public Lands to pay the debts created by stock-jobbers, speculators, &c, the Democracy oppose the schemes of "Harry of the West," and agree with Thomas Jefferson, as stated in the following extract from his works.

"In dividing the lands among States, we break the great bonds of a federal union—present opposing *State interests*, and so far destroy that *unity* which is indispensable to our *national* union—in addition to which, a fund is destroyed which ought to pay our national debt. When the States get their portions, they will either fool them away, or make a job of it to serve individuals." How opposite is this language to that master-piece of political Federal Whig sagacity—Mr. Clay's "Land distribution bill"—a bill, so far as its *present* action is concerned, to divide *nothing*; in the face of an empty treasury—we might almost add—of a National Bankruptcy. Yet, on this measure, viz: assumption of the State Debts by the General Government a high protective Tariff, and a National Bank, Henry Clay has staked his chances of success for the ensuing Presidential contest.

On these principles Democracy will do battle with the Federal Whigs.

"An Honest and Economical administration of the General Government, leaving Public Officers perfect freedom of Thought, and of the right of Suffrage; but with suitable Restraints against Improper Interference in Elections:"

The Democracy go with the land marks here laid down by Mr. Clay; but so far as that Gentleman is concerned, he builds on a *sandy* and *rotten* foundation. Witness the course he pursued during the short time he held and guided the *Reins* of *Government*, until poor old Gen. Harrison was killed off. For particular information on this subject see the memorable Extra Session of Congress, page 52 of this Journal.

"An Amendment of the Constitution, limiting the incumbent of the Presidential office to a Single Term."

Democracy has no particular objections to one term; the venerable Jackson recommended one term, therefore it is not an original idea of Mr. Clay's; but he no doubt believes it will operate in his favor at this time, and against Mr. Van Buren, believing as no doubt he does, that New York's favorite Son is the only man that can beat him in the Presidential contest in 1844.

These objects attained, I think that we should cease to be afflicted with bad administration of the Government.

I am respectfully your friend and ob't servant.

MR. JACOB STRATTON.

H. CLAY.

The Equal Rights and privileges of Adopted Citizens, guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States, in danger.

Naturalized Citizens see the degraded position which that portion of the Federal Whig party in Rhode Island wish to chain you down to. This is not only the wish of the federalists of Rhode Island, but of the leaders of that *distinguished* party over the United States unless indeed they can command you to cast your votes for them to press up their *rotten pillars*. This may be plainly seen in the extracts published from the *memorable Sidney*. See page 18 D. Guide.

The adherents of Gov. King of Rhode Island, known as the Charter or Algerine whig party, who have it all their own way in the convention now assembled at Newport to frame a constitution to propose to regulate the right of suffrage in this wise. We ask the attention of our adopted citizens to the facts, that they may know how to estimate the blarney with which they are always approached by the whigs just before an election.

These Rhode Island Whigs proposed to make a distinction between naturalized and native citizens at the polls. That is to give the *native citizen*, if a white man, the right to vote though he may not own a dollar of property—but the *naturalized citizen* is not to be allowed to vote, unless he owns a freehold of the value of \$134. And as if to make the distinction still more odious, the *white naturalized citizen* is put on the same footing in this respect with the *blacks*, who are allowed to vote if possessed of this \$134 property qualification!

What say our adopted citizens to this whig proposition, to place them on a par at the polls with the blacks? To place the *naturalized whites* in the exercise of the great right of suffrage, a grade below the *native whites*!

Thus far the Albany Argus. We add an extract from the Providence Journal, the confidential and accredited organ of the King party in that little Chartered Aristocracy, that our adopted citizens may have tangible evidence of the superior respect held by the federalists for the *blacks* over *white naturalized* citizens. The Journal contends that *adopted citizens*, without a freehold, should be disfranchised, but it has this opinion for its "*colored brethren*."

"Public sentiment in this city IS DECIDEDLY IN FAVOR of ADMITTING COLORED PEOPLE TO THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE."


HERE IS THE PICTURE!

"IN FIGURES THAT CANNOT LIE."

"We have at length, in a form, and from a source, that the federalists themselves will not attempt to question, a development of the "economy, retrenchment, and reform," of the immaculate whig Congress elected in 1840. The last National Intelligencer contains the official report of the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the Appropriations made during the second session of the 27th Congress. We give the summary:—

Civil and Diplomatic List,	-	-	-	-	\$9,363,293	53
Army,	-	-	-	-	6,405,280	36
Navy,	-	-	-	-	6,774,405	42
Fortifications,	-	-	-	-	278,000	00
Pensions,	-	-	-	-	730,776	00
Indian Department, Treaties &c.,	-	-	-	-	1,300,077	47
Private bill, H. Representatives,	-	-	-	-	37,585	01
Private bills, Senate,	-	-	-	-	62,773	03

Total,

 \$24,952,190 83

At the outset, let it be remembered, that "Tyler too"—however much cheating-whiggery may endeavor to blame him for their other evil doings—cannot be responsible for appropriations by Congress.

TWENTY-FIVE MILLIONS of DOLLARS (short a fraction) *spent during a SINGLE SESSION of a Congress that sacredly promised to bring the expenses of Government down to thirteen millions*, is indeed doing pretty well! What think the people of of this? Is it in accordance with their promises?

But this is not the whole of the record, by a large amount. To it must be added the round sum of nearly TWENTY MILLIONS, (\$19,799,277 78) appropriated by the extra session.

Nor has the whole yet been named. When the federalists took the reins of Government, their friends in Congress demanded and secured an appropriation of over TWENTY SIX MILLIONS OF DOLLARS, for the expenses of 1811---

Making a grand total of expenditures for the two years of more than SEVENTY MILLIONS of DOLLARS, or over THIRTY-FIVE MILLIONS *per annum*!

And added to this, they have meanwhile, saddled upon the country the monstrous DEBT of FIFTEEN MILLIONS of DOLLARS, in addition to the three million of obligations left by the former administration, which, however, were provided for by that administration, but even the means left for that object were also squandered.

Rolling up together the whole amount, we have as a monument of "whig" false promises and professions, profligacy and extravagance, during *only two years*, EXPENDI-

TURE and DEBT amounting to some EIGHTY-FIVE MILLIONS OF DOLLARS! EXPENDITURES, SEVENTY MILLIONS,---ADDITION TO DEBT, FIFTEEN MILLIONS!"

DEMOCRATS READ THE FOLLOWING CHARGES AGAINST THE FEDERAL WHIGS.

Charge on the treacherous crew that they have done nothing to relieve the people; that they have done nothing to revive the business of the country; that they have done nothing to raise the price of the produce of the farmer; that they have done nothing to raise the wages of labor, but have actually reduced the wages of the workmen employed on the public works; that they have not secured to the laborer "two dollars a day and roast beef; in short they have done nothing since the election of their President to redeem the thousand fair promises which they made before the contest of 1840, or even a single one of them.

Charge upon them the fact that Henry Clay---notwithstanding his predilection in 1840, that the "bare knowledge of Harrison's election would revive confidence, restore credit, and increase the price of products,"---now declares that our condition is one of *unexampled* distress and embarrassment, as universal as it is intense, pervading the whole community---property everywhere falling in value; agricultural produce of every description at the most reduced prices; money unsound, and at the same time scarce; all the departments of business inactive and stagnant; exchanges extravagantly high and constantly fluctuating; credit, public and private, at the lowest ebb, confidence lost, and a feeling of general discouragement and depression."

Charge upon them that they have bankrupted the Treasury; that they have created a national debt of *twenty-five millions of dollars*; that the annual expenditures of the government are *twenty-seven millions of dollars*, or nearly FIVE MILLIONS more than they were the last year of Mr. Van Buren's administration.

Charge them with the fact that they have attempted to destroy the constitution, and divert from the President the exercise of the Veto Power.

Charge upon the Whigs of New York, that in the short space of three years they have bankrupted the State: sunk our stocks twenty-three cents below par, and fastened upon the people a debt of TWENTY-SEVEN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS!--that our public works were stopped under the inexorable law of *necessity*, long before law declaring that fact was passed by the legislature, and long before the democrats were restored to power.

Charge upon them the fact that, to promote the interests of a few scheming demagogues, they are pressing the State to the very verge of a frightful precipice; that they are striving to increase the public debt, which is already so large as to be nearly unmanageable; that they are in favor of appropriating moneys derived from general taxation to enterprises of a merely local or partial character; that they would plunder the many to enrich the few, and employ the treasure of the people to pension dependents and bribe supporters to their rotten cause.

Charge them with waging a protracted war for privileges, monopolies and fraudulent systems, against the natural equal rights of man.

In fine, charge home upon the leaders of whiggery their sinister designs and corruptions, and go on to reform all that is wrong in laws, in legislation, in courts, in social life.--*Mohawk Courier*.

[*Charge* them with being opposed to *Free Suffrage*--witness the course they have pursued towards the free suffrage people of Rhode Island while struggling to free themselves from under the yoke of a British charter, &c.

Charge them that notwithstanding they have *usurped* the name of whigs, that they are the same *identical* old Hartford Convention Federalists, &c.--*Eds. D. Guide*.]

"DON'T FORGET TO REMEMBER.--When the whigs growl about the public works being stopped, and laborers getting no employment, that these same whigs spent all the money, went on tick as long as they could, and were forced to stop the public works for want of *money* and *credit* both, and were then turned out of office, leaving the State "without a brad." And that the democrats are still paying off the *whig debts*, and will go on with the works whenever they can get means. Don't forget it."

SELECTED FROM AN ADDRESS, DELIVERED BEFORE THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION AT TRENTON, NEW JERSEY, SEPTEMBER, 1842.

LET EVERY DEMOCRAT READ IT.

"The history of the success of the Whig party is a history of fraud and deception. Of frauds upon the elective franchise the most stupendous, as is abundantly proved by the disclosures of their own instruments and agents. But the pipe-laying exploits of their Glentworths and Badgers were innocent in comparison with that wholesale system of deception, in which, as an entire party, they engaged throughout the whole country. Our institutions are founded upon the theory that the people are capable of self-government—that *capacity*, if it consist not in reason and intelligence, is the idle dream of fanaticism. Yet we ask you, people of New Jersey, if the appeal of the Whig leaders has been to your *reason and intelligence*? Has it not rather been made to every other principle of action. The intemperate have been lured into their ranks by the profuse supply of hard cider, displayed in ostentatious pomp in their processions and at their feasts—and recommended by their orators as "a cure for hard times." Instead of *facts* for the sober and reflecting mind, the public eye has been saluted with gourds and coonskins. Instead of *reasons*, the public ear has been dinned with senseless songs, appealing from *reason* to the *duty* of submissive vassals who were required to vote their ticket "without a *why* or *wherefore*." Instead of the calm discussions of patriotic assemblies of freemen—the hypocritical display of log cabins and coal wagons, only preceded the hypocritical professions of the aristocratic leaders of this dance of dupes.

What, we solemnly ask, is the influence upon the country, upon our institutions, upon society, of measures like these, sanctioned by men who assume the garb of morality and even of religion? Is it not to fill our land with drunkards, to demoralize the middle-aged and the young, to bring contempt upon the doctrine of popular intelligence, and uproot the foundations upon which all our theories of self-government rest? It may, leagued with fraud and artifice, and bribery, carry an election, and transfer to a few hungry leaders, a few loaves and fishes; but the wound it must leave in the bosom of the body politic, will fester there, long after these ephemeral and miserable fruits have been forgotten. And then the success of such a mode of carrying an election presents the inducement to every unprincipled demagogue to rely for success upon a repetition of the same acts of deception and of bribery. And we already hear of mass meetings of patriotic Whigs drawn together by the *noble* inducement of "free fare and provisions found;" a custom borrowed from the feudal age of England, in which the lords called their vassals to their aid when danger threatened, with the promised supply of *meat and drink*.

Nor were the *professions* of the leaders of the Whig party at the election of 1840, less insincere and hollow than the *devices* to which we have alluded. They loudly denied, in all their public addresses, that they were the advocates of a *United States Bank*—yet their first measure in Congress was to pass a bill chartering such a Bank! They denied that any portion of their party were in favor of the assumption of State Debts, yet one of their principal leaders, W. Cost Johnson, has already introduced in Congress the project of assuming those debts to the amount of *two hundred millions of dollars*—a project which is known to be one of the favorite measures of their party, and which is only postponed until another election can be secured; when, if they succeed, we shall be literally buried beneath a debt as crushing as that of England. They denounced most emphatically, the doctrine of *proscription* for opinion's sake, and averred that they would proscribe proscription—yet the moment they had the power, they commenced and carried on the most merciless and unsparing proscription for opinion's sake ever witnessed in the country. In the Post Office Department alone, Mr. Granger declared on the floor of Congress, that during his brief administration, he had removed seventeen hundred of his political opponents, and that had he remained a little longer, he would have removed just three thousand more. And his course was but a fair sample of that pursued in every other branch of the government. They came into power declaring that they were the friends of *reform* and an economical administration, and in little more than 18 months they have involved us in a debt of near thirty millions of dollars, and completely bankrupted the Treasury. They came into power professing a sacred regard for the *inviolability of contracts*—and passed a Bankrupt Law whereby the speculator in trade or politics may repudiate his debts by a solemn mockery of legal forms.

1) Their patriotism has been exhibited in the attempt made by their leaders in the Senate to bestow a large sum upon the heirs of general *Hull* for his salary as Governor of Michigan, after he had traitorously surrendered the territory, his army, and himself, to an inferior British force, for which act he was afterwards sentenced to be shot—while, at the same time, they refused to refund to General Jackson the fine imposed upon him by a Federal Judge for defending New Orleans from the enemy, in the memorable winter of 1814 and 1815.”

During the ascendancy of the Democratic party in this State a munificent system of internal improvements was carried on, and a number of important works were put in successful operation and rendered productive to the State Treasury, without incurring any obligations beyond those clearly warranted by our resources. On the coming in of the Whig party they found a full treasury, an unimpaired State credit, a trifling debt, short of, seven millions of dollars, as stated by Governor Seward in his message of 1839, a number of works in full and profitable operation, and others in the course of gradual completion, carried forward no faster than the accruing revenues flowing into the treasury would warrant. In verification of this we have the official representation of Governor Seward and his councillors, and the statements of the Whig press of this State.

In an evil hour the people entrusted the reigns of government to the whigs, and behold the result: in three short years a State debt of *twenty-seven millions* of dollars had been rolled up, our credit depreciated to 22 per cent below par, and in fact so exhausted that money could not be obtained, except on temporary loans, at any price, the treasury emptied, a large amount of pressing obligations falling due without means of payment, the public works virtually stopped and no provisions made for opening the canals, from which the revenues of the State are drawn. Such was the State of our financial affairs last winter, when the democratic legislature assembled for the first time in three years. They found it necessary to raise immediately five millions of dollars to pay the interest of the public debt falling due, to meet short loans at the banks, to pay the contractors and laborers whose dues had been long withheld, and to open the canals for the spring trade. The credit of the State had been so abused under a whig rule that it was impossible to obtain money except at a vast sacrifice, without a substantial guarantee for its payment. The sanction of law was therefore given to the suspension of the public works, which had been stopped nearly six months previous for want of means to carry them forward; and a slight tax was levied upon the people, the proceeds of which, together with the surplus revenues, were sacredly pledged for the redemption of the loans thus obtained.

This is a plain and unvarnished statement of the condition of the finances when the whigs came into power and when they were superseded by the popular verdict: for the truth of which we appeal to the records of the legislature, the reports of the whig public officers made before there was an inducement to falsify facts, the message of a whig Governor and the contemporaneous testimony of the whig press. They found a full and unembarrassed treasury, and the credit of the State unimpaired, and they left the one empty and the other completely prostrate.—*Ulster Republican*.

ORGANIZE! ORGANIZE!

Democrats of New York, arouse! Commence your county, town, and school district organizations. The enemy is in the field. Be you up and doing. Now is the time for action. Attend your party meetings. Distribute party papers. Look out for the thousand and one plots and lies that will be attempted by the federalists. Your property is at stake,—your character is at stake—the future prosperity of your children is at stake. Is this a time to be indolent and inactive? Is this a time to indulge in any personal prejudices—to foster any private interests? No. Let all minor questions be surrendered at this time, and let all democrats move as one man, in the support of democratic men and democratic measures. In union alone there is strength;—let then the whole democracy of this State—in every county—in every town, and in every neighborhood, be united. Let nothing divide us. The true interest of one is the interest of all—no matter what his occupation or condition. Let this truth be remembered; and let every man also realize, that by a firm and unwavering support of regularly nominated candidates alone, can the interest of any democrat be advanced. A severe battle is soon to be fought, but by proper exertions the victory is certain.—*Seneca Falls Democrat*.

RHODE ISLAND!

Extracts from the Constitution of the United States, and the several States.

The recent proceedings of the free Suffrage people of Rhode Island having been, and still continue to be misrepresented by the Federal Whigs, in relation to the right of the people of Rhode Island to alter or amend their form of Government, &c; under these circumstances, and viewing as we do that it is of the highest importance to place on record in a compact manner such portions of the Constitution of the United States and of the several States in sustaining the people in asserting their *rights* to self Government, &c. In addition to which we give the communications of Governors Hubbard and Morton, Martin Van Buren, Hon. Jas. Buchanan, and Hon. Levi Woodbury's letters; all of which we do not doubt will tend to prompt the Free Suffrage people of Rhode Island to new exertions to gain their Independence.

UNITED STATES.—"The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government."

MAINE.—"All power is inherent in the people; all free governments are founded in their authority, and instituted for their benefit: they have, therefore, an unalienable and indefeasible right to institute government, and to alter, reform, or totally change the same, when their safety and happiness require it."

MASSACHUSETTS.—"The people of this commonwealth have the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves, as a free, sovereign, and independent state."

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—"The people of this state have the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves as a free, sovereign, and independent state."

VERMONT.—"That the people of this state, by their legal representatives, have the sole, inherent, and exclusive right of governing and regulating the internal police of the same."

"That all power being originally inherent in, and consequently derived from, the people, therefore, all officers of Government, whether legislative or executive, are their trustees and servants, and at all times in a legal way, accountable to them."

"That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit protection, and security of the people, nation, or community, and not for the particular emolument or advantage of any single man, family, or set of men, who are a part only of that community; and that the community hath an indubitable, unalienable, and indefeasible right to reform or alter government, in such manner as shall be, by that community, judged most conducive to the public weal."

RHODE ISLAND.—"*A Charter, granted by King Charles 2nd to a Company by which Rhode Island is ruled.*"

CONNECTICUT.—"That all political power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their benefit; and that they have at all times an undeniable and indefeasible right to alter their form of government in such manner as they may think expedient."

NEW YORK.—"WE, the people of the state of New York, acknowledging with gratitude the grace and beneficence of God in permitting us to make choice of our form of government do establish this constitution."

NEW JERSEY.—"WHEREAS, all the constitutional authority ever possessed by the kings of Great Britain over these colonies, or their other dominions, was, by compact, derived from the people."

PENNSYLVANIA.—"WE, the people of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, ordain and establish this constitution for its government."

"That all power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their peace, safety, and happiness: For the advancement of those ends, they have, at all times, an unalienable and indefeasible right to alter, reform, or abolish their government, in such manner as they may think proper."

DELAWARE.—"We the People, hereby ordain and establish this Constitution of Government for the State of Delaware."

"No convention shall be called but by the authority of the people."

MARYLAND.—"That all persons invested with the legislative or executive powers of government are the trustees of the public, and, as such, accountable for their conduct; wherefore, whenever the ends of government are perverted, and the public liberty manifestly endangered, and all other means of redress are ineffectual, the people may, and of right ought to do, reform the old, or establish a new government. The doctrine of non-resistance against arbitrary power and oppression is absurd, slavish, and destructive of the good and happiness of mankind."

Maryland was under a Charter granted by King Charles the 1st but shortly after the Declaration of Independence of the United States, followed that noble example, while Rhode Island is still chained to the British Crown, comment is unnecessary.

VIRGINIA.—"That all power is vested in, and consequently derived from, the people; that magistrates are their trustees and servants, and at all times amenable to them."

"When any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, unalienable, and indefeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal."

"That no man, or set of men, are entitled to exclusive or separate emoluments or privileges from the community."

"That no free government, or the blessing of liberty, can be preserved to any people, but by a firm adherence to justice."

NORTH CAROLINA.—"That all political power is vested in, and derived from, the people only."

"That the people of this state ought to have the sole and exclusive right of regulating the internal government and police thereof."

"That no men, or set of men, are entitled to exclusive or separate emoluments or privileges from the community, but in consideration of public services."

SOUTH CAROLINA.—"We the delegates of the people of the state of South Carolina, in general convention met, do ordain and establish this constitution for its government."

"All power is originally vested in the people; and all free governments are founded on their au-

honor, and are instituted for their peace, safety and happiness."

GEORGIA.—"We, the underwritten delegates of the people of the state of Georgia, chosen and authorized by them to revise, alter, or amend the powers and principles of their government."

KENTUCKY.—"We, the representatives of the people of the state of Kentucky, in convention assembled, to secure to all the citizens thereof the enjoyment of the right of life, liberty, and property, and of pursuing happiness, do ordain and establish this constitution for its government."

"That the general, great, and essential principles of liberty and free government may be recognised and established, we declare:

"That all free men, when they form a social compact, are equal; and that no man or set of men are entitled to exclusive, separate, public emoluments or privileges."

"That all power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their peace, safety, and happiness: For the advancement of these ends, they have at all times an unalienable and indefeasible right to alter, reform or abolish their government, in such manner as they think proper."

TENNESSEE.—"That all power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their peace, safety, and happiness; for the advancement of those ends, they have, at all times, an unalienable and indefeasible right to alter, reform or abolish the government in such manner as they may think proper."

OHIO.—"We, the people of the eastern division of the territory of the United States do mutually agree with each other to form ourselves into a free and independent state, by the name of *The State of Ohio*, to effect these ends they have at all times a complete power to alter, reform, or abolish their government, whenever they may deem it necessary."

INDIANA.—"We, the representatives of the people of the territory of Indiana, in convention met, in order to establish justice, promote the welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish the following constitution or form of government, and do mutually agree with each other to form ourselves into a free and independent state, by the name of *The State of Indiana*."

"All power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their peace, safety, and happiness: for the advancement of these ends, they have at all times an unalienable and indefeasible right to alter, or reform, their government, in such manner as they may deem proper."

LOUISIANA.—"We, the representatives of the people in order to secure to all the citizens thereof the enjoyment of the rights of life, liberty, and property, do ordain and establish the following constitution or form of government, and do mutually agree with each other to form ourselves into a free and independent state, by the name of the State of Louisiana."

MISSISSIPPI.—"That all political power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority and established for their benefit; and, therefore, they have at all times an unalienable and indefeasible right to alter or abolish their form of government, in such manner as they may think expedient."

ILLINOIS.—"The people of the Illinois territory,

do, by their representatives in convention, ordain and establish the following constitution or form of government; and do mutually agree with each other to form themselves into a free and independent state."

ALABAMA.—"We, the people of the Alabama in order to establish justice, insure tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure to ourselves and our posterity the rights of life, liberty, and property, do ordain and establish the following constitution, or form of government; and do mutually agree with each other to form ourselves into a free and independent state, no man or set of men are entitled to exclusive, separate public emoluments or privileges."

MISSOURI.—"We, the people do mutually agree to form and establish a free and independent republic."

MICHIGAN.—"All political power is inherent in the people."

"Government is instituted for the protection, security, and benefit of the people; and they have the right at all times to alter or reform the same, and to abolish one form of government and establish another, whenever the public good requires it."

"No man or set of men are entitled to exclusive or separate privileges."

ARKANSAS.—"We, the people that all power is inherent in the people; and all free governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their peace, safety, and happiness. For the advancement of these ends, they have, at all times, an unqualified right to alter, reform, or abolish their government in such manner as they may think proper."

People of Rhode Island! although your onward march to *Freedom, Self Government*, and the *rights of the people* as enjoyed by the other States of the Union, have been impeded by John Tyler and acting Governor King, &c, yet we hope and trust that you will not cease to *Agitate—Agitate—Agitate*—the subject until you obtain free suffrage, on the *broadest* Democratic principle, and also have *reinstated* "one Thomas W. Dorr" to the station the people of Rhode Island recently elevated him to.

Should the people of Rhode Island require an additional stimulus to assert their Equal Rights, &c, we respectfully refer them to "Observations accompanied with a few extracts from Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry" page 251 of this Journal.

GOVERNOR HUBBARD'S LETTER.

To Samuel W. King, acting as the Governor of the State of Rhode Island.

As the Governor of the State of New Hampshire, I have received this morning, from you by Lemuel H. Arnold, a communication under the date of the 15th inst., purporting to be a requisition upon me to cause *Thomas W. Dorr*, who is charged with the crime of treason, against the State of Rhode Island, who is represented as "a fugitive from justice," and who is supposed now to reside within the limits of New Hampshire, to be delivered to the said Lemuel H. Arnold, appointed by you as an agent to receive him, that the said Dorr, may be "brought into the State of Rhode

Island and dealt with as to law and justice may apportion."

To this communication I have given all the consideration which the limited time allowed, would enable me to bestow upon it, and which its importance would seem to demand. This exciting subject which has for a few months past greatly disturbed the order and tranquility of the State of Rhode Island, has not been regarded by *other members of the confederacy* with indifference, or unimportant as connected with the principles of popular liberty and with the inalienable rights of man. The State of New Hampshire, ever sensitive upon these subjects which affect the independence, freedom and sovereignty of the people, has through her legislature, at its late session, expressed opinions relating to this very subject matter. And standing in the relation which I do to the people of that State, I am happy to add, that I fully concur in the sentiments contained in the report of our legislature touching this subject, a copy of which report I have placed in the hands of Mr. Arnold, your appointed agent. In the emphatic language of that document "the great question presented is, which is the true and legitimate government" of Rhode Island, that which derived its existence from the Charter of Charles the II, or that which emanated from the Constitution, recently adopted by the sovereigns of the Commonwealth. "The Rhode Island controversy has started several questions not new in the days of our forefathers, but apparently forgotten by us, which can only be solved by the application of ultimate principles." It is not my purpose to incorporate into this communication, a statement of the events in the order in which they transpired, having a relation to or connection with that controversy. The public mind cannot be enlightened by any re-statement of these facts. They have become matters of public history. And it is well known that the necessary result of certain preliminary proceedings induced the sovereigns of Rhode Island to appeal to what they conceived to be the "ultimate principles of American freedom," and the consequences of that appeal was the adoption by the people of a constitution for the people. And it is also matter of public history that this whole proceeding on the part of the people, has been denounced by those pretending to constitute the government of Rhode Island as "revolutionary and illegal," and the authority organized under the Charter of Charles the Second, was induced to pass an act declaring the "exercise of any of the principal offices under the People's Constitution an act of treason," and subjecting the offenders to punishment. Under that Constitution made and ratified by the people, a State Government was organized in conformity to its provisions. Those charged with the public duties were elected and sworn to the faithful performance of their respective trusts. And it is no less a matter of public history that Thomas Wilson Dorr, a citizen of Rhode Island, was, agreeably to the requirements of the people's Constitution, elected to the office of the Chief Executive Magistrate. That he accepted that office and entered upon the discharge of its responsible duties, and there is no room to doubt that this is the same Thomas W. Dorr, to whom you have reference in your requisition, and that "the crime of treason" which you have alleged to have been

by him committed against the State of Rhode Island, in your same communication, was deduced from those public acts *which*, "in the exercise of the office" to which he had been thus elected by the people of that Commonwealth he had publicly performed.

Having made these preliminary remarks, and having as briefly as possible, for a full understanding of the subject alluded to the character of the political contest now going on in your State, and to the principles involved in that contest, I will proceed to make such an answer to your request as I shall consider will be justified by the Constitution. I may, however, premise, that I cannot fail to regard the duty devolving on me by your requisition one of the greatest importance, as going to show what the political rights belonging to man in this country and what political powers he can rightfully exercise in his sovereign capacity. In other words, "in whom does the sovereignty reside," in the people or in the government? In the sovereigns or in the agent? My answer to your requisition must conform to the opinions which I entertain upon the question just stated. I cannot admit that I am precluded from examining the authority from whence a requisition emanates, or the grounds upon which such requisition is based. I do not believe that the provision of the Constitution of the United States, relating to that subject should be considered as one having an absolute obligation upon the Executive of a State. That he is bound to comply with a requisition at all events. Such a doctrine would destroy the independence of a Chief Magistrate, and make him (perhaps against his own judgment) a mere instrument in the hands of another for the execution of his purposes. This point I shall further consider in the course of the answer.

Believing, then, as I most conscientiously do, that the people are the source of all political power in this republic; that they have "an indubitable and indefeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish government as they shall judge most conducive to the public weal;" that this right may be and should be exercised by them whenever they shall consider its exercise necessary for their protection and safety, in their independent and sovereign capacity, uninfluenced by the authority of existing government; and believing that the people of Rhode Island, in the adoption of a Constitution and in the consequent organization of a State Government, acted in accordance with these great principles, I cannot but regard the Constitution they adopted, and the government they constituted, obligatory upon the people of that State; and they should be respected by the authorities of the other States accordingly. "If the people of Rhode Island possess any power—if they have any political rights—if they may in fact live under a government of their own choice—then the proper and legitimate government of that State, is," in my judgment, "that emanating from the will of a majority of her citizens." From the earliest history of our republic to the present time, the abstract doctrines for which I contend, have been approved by the friends of free government.

In the language of the great charter of American liberty we find these sentiments: "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed with certain *inalienable rights*; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;

that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the *consent of the governed*; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of *the people* to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." In perfect accordance with this right of freemen, the people of Rhode Island in 1790, adopted a Bill of Rights in which she declares "that all power is vested in and derived from the people," and "the power of government may be re-assumed by the people whenever it shall be necessary to their happiness."

This is the true American doctrine, and is the chief corner stone upon which rests the superstructure of popular liberty and of equal rights. It was the doctrine of those venerated patriots who laid the foundation of this republic. It was the sentiment of Washington himself, who declares in that rich legacy which he bequeathed to freemen, "that the basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and alter their Constitutions of government." In the organic law of my own State are incorporated sentiments honorable to her patriotic sires, and to which her sons will cling with unyielding pertinacity. They embrace the great principle of popular sovereignty. It says "All men are born equally free and independent; therefore all government of right originates from the people, is founded in consent, and instituted for the general good."

This same principle is interwoven in all our constitutions. It has become the common sentiment of the freemen of this free country. It was the natural fruit of the revolutionary contest.—Speaking of civil government, Roger Williams, the great apostle of liberty, says that "the sovereign and original foundation lies to the people—whom they must needs mean distinct from the government set up, and if so, then a people may erect and establish what form of government seems to them most meet for their civil condition. It is evident that such governments as are by them enacted and established, have no more power and for no longer time than the civil power, or *people* consenting and agreeing betrust them with. This is clear not only in reason, but in the experience of all commonwealths where the people are not deprived of their natural freedom by tyrants." The Supreme Court of the United States recognizes the same principle, when it says, "A Constitution is the form of a government delineated by the mighty hands of the people, in which certain first principles of fundamental law are established. It is paramount to the power of the Legislature. The Legislatures are creatures of the Constitution. They derive their power from the Constitution. The Constitution is the work or will of the people themselves, in their *original, sovereign, and unlimited capacity*. *Law is the work of the Legislature in their derivative and subordinate capacity*."

Such are the authorities which I have considered necessary to present in this answer, going to show what are the political rights and what are the political powers of the people—emphatically the sovereigns of this country. They seem in my mind sufficient to justify the conclusion I have

expressed. But it is objected that although the people possess the power "to alter, amend, and institute government," yet they cannot exercise this power without leave asked and obtained from the existing government. I cannot consider this objection well taken. If this be true, the words "original" and "unlimited," as quoted from the Supreme Court, can have no meaning. If the power be "original," it cannot certainly be derived from the existing government. If the power is "unlimited," then the existing government can have no power to enforce any limitation upon its exercise. It would be a contradiction in terms to say that the people have the right, but are not to exercise that right but at the pleasure of the government. This would be to nullify the right itself—to limit its exercise would be to destroy it—to transform liberty into slavery—to break down the dearest rights of freemen, and place in their stead the debasing doctrine of slavish dependence.

If we cannot abolish tyranny in this land of popular liberty, until the tyrant grants permission, we, in effect, give to tyranny an unlimited duration. Such a doctrine is anti-American. Here we hold that liberty is derived from the grants of no government, but is inherent in the people. As a nation we practised upon this principle when we recognised the independence of the South American republics and of Texas. Those governments came into existence without leave asked of the existing government. The people of the old American States formed governments for themselves independent of other authority. In more modern time the State of Michigan was admitted into the confederacy of States by the independent and sovereign act of her own people without the sanction of her then existing government. And so it was with the people of Rhode Island. They acted as they had an inherent right to act in their independent and sovereign capacity. They first held a Convention of delegates chosen by the people. That Convention called another to form a Constitution; a Constitution was formed and submitted to the people, and was accepted by a majority of her adult population.—When the people passed upon the Constitution, they passed all the preliminary steps by which it was brought into existence. When they adopted the Constitution, they adopted the manner, mode, and the whole process used in its establishment. It has thus become obligatory as the organic law of that Commonwealth. They not only established their form of government, but they rightfully designated their agents to put that government into operation.

Believing in the correctness of the opinions herein before advanced, notwithstanding the objections made against them, the conclusion of the matter is, that no requisition can rightfully be made on me by any individual acting as Governor of Rhode Island, for the surrender of Thomas Wilson Dorr, who is, in my judgment, its Chief Magistrate *de jure*.

The acts which he did while Governor, were not in violation of any existing law in force, and in no constitutional sense can he be considered as a "*fugitive from justice*." It has been well said that, "A law which punishes a citizen for an innocent action, or in other words for an act which, when done, was in violation of no existing law,

is contrary to the great principles of the social compact and cannot be considered as a rightful exercise of legislative authority." The fact that Governor Dorr was prevented by circumstances beyond his control, from continuing to exercise the functions of his office, cannot change his relation to the people of that State, or make those acts criminal which were innocent and rightful at the time. I cannot, for the reason assigned, comply with your request.

It may, however, be said, that in complying with the second section of the fourth Article of the Constitution of the United States, a Governor of any State, on whom a requisition may be made, is only to inquire who is the *acting Governor* of the State making such requisition. This position is unsound. In such a case the most notorious usurper who should happen to get the control for a time of any State, must be recognized by the Governors of other States, and thus they might become his instruments to aid in executing his vengeance against those who have dared to oppose his usurpation, and who have fled from the State for safety. I am aware that among independent powers a government "*de facto*" is recognized as representing the nation for the time being. This principle rests on the necessity of the case, and on the ground that one nation has no right to decide whether the government of another is lawful or not. But, in my opinion, a different rule must apply to the States which are part of one confederate republic. The entire theory of our system rests on the principle that all authority is to be rightful, and derived from the people—the acknowledged source of all political power. Any pretended government in any one State, not derived from this source, is no government at all, and cannot be recognized either by the federal authorities or those of other States. The lawfulness or rightfulness of political power in this country cannot be separated from the existence of such power. If it be not rightful it does not exist. So far, then, as the Constitution of these United States has required the authorities of one State to do any act in pursuance of a requisition of the authorities of another State, it imposes upon the former the duty of deciding who are the rightful authorities of each State.

I have further objections to a compliance with your request. That provision in the Constitution of the United States in regard to requisitions, does not, in my opinion, embrace *political offences* committed in other States. The language of that part of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution is, "*a person charged with treason, felony or other crime.*" Treason here means treason against the United States, which had been defined in the last section of the preceding article—and felony and other crimes means offences known as such at common law and excludes the idea of mere political offences. Would not the consequence of applying this provision to political offences have a direct and inevitable tendency to involve one State in the controversies of another? Should it so happen that a faction in any one State, by fraud or violence gets possession of the Government in palpable violation of the Constitution, and should pass arbitrary laws making it penal and even a capital offence to call in question their authority—and should their opponents flee for a refuge to a neigh-

boring State, and should a requisition be made for their surrender, would it be proper to comply with such requisition, and thus aid in carrying into effect the purposes of such a faction? I think not. We were near witnessing such a state of things in Pennsylvania, but a few years since. And it may happen again whenever in this free country an attempt shall be made to set at naught the voice of the people constitutionally and lawfully expressed. Suppose the majority in a State becomes so exasperated, that in a period of great excitement, they pass severe laws against the opposing party, who to escape persecution flee to other States. Are they to be surrendered upon a requisition, and that upon the Executive of a sovereign State in whose jurisdiction they have taken refuge? Can this be the meaning of the Constitution of this free republic? Can the liberty of the American people rest upon such a principle? I think not. I can give no countenance or support to any such doctrine.

It cannot be that the Supreme Executive of a State, when called upon to exercise his authority to remove a person who is within his jurisdiction, is to disregard the essential principles of civil liberty. That he is not to enquire whether the person to be sent to another jurisdiction is to be punished for actual crime, or merely for his opposition to the will of a dominant and successful party. I think it is not only his right, but his duty so to enquire, as it is the first and highest duty of every Chief Magistrate to uphold the principles of liberty, not only in his own jurisdiction, but in other States, so far as he may be called upon to do any official act that may affect them or their people. I cannot, therefore, with that propriety which I hope ever to maintain, and with that regard to the Constitution and the law which I purpose scrupulously to observe, surrender Governor Dorr upon your requisition, for the purpose of having him taken to your State for trial upon the charges made against him. I deeply regret the unhappy controversies which have for some time past existed in the State of Rhode Island; and I earnestly hope that the time is not far distant when there shall be a restoration of entire tranquility and order among her people.

Dated at Charlestown, this 19th day of August, A. D. 1842.

HENRY HUBBARD,
Governor of the State of New Hampshire.

GOVERNOR MORTON'S LETTER

To the Suffrage Clam Bake Committee.

TAUNTON, Aug. 27, 1842.

GENTLEMEN.—In declining to join "*The Friends of Equal Rights*" from Rhode Island in their gathering at Medury Grove, on Tuesday next, I beg leave to tender to them my hearty thanks for their obliging invitation.

No man has interfered less, in the recent affairs of Rhode Island, than myself. I have had no communication in relation to the great questions which have agitated and distracted your State, with any of its inhabitants, unless a very little conversation with some of the friends of the old Charter Party be an exception. I have, I trust, been an *impartial* observer of the passing events; but it would be worse than affectation to pretend that I have been an *indifferent* one. Every man alive to

the welfare of our common country, must feel a deep interest in the occurrences which have there transpired, and the principles which they have developed. They have given rise to questions of portentous import to our democratic institutions, and brought to light doctrines which strike at the foundation of all free government.

But what magnifies their importance, and renders them of common concernment to the whole country, is the part which a great party, powerful by the wealth and talents of its leading members, now in possession of the government of the United States, has taken in relation to them.

The people of Rhode Island, acting in their original sovereign capacity, without the aid of governmental regulation, but in a peaceable manner, and with all the formality which their circumstances would admit, called a convention, founded on an equal representation of their numbers, to form a constitution for their adoption or rejection. This convention performed the duty required of it, and submitted to the people a frame of Government, tending to secure equality of representation and universality of suffrage, which was adopted by the votes of a large majority of all the adult male population of the State. The validity of this constitution is denied by most of the inhabitants who exercised exclusive rights and privileges under the old Charter. Officers were elected and governments organized under both. It became an interesting question which was the valid instrument, and which the legitimate government. This has assumed a party character, and may be considered indicative of the political principles of the two great parties into which our country is divided.

The Whig party justifies the proceedings and defends the principles of the landholders' party of Rhode Island. The Whig President, doubtless with the advice of his Whig Cabinet; the acknowledged leader and supposed dictator of the Whig party; the Whig Governor of the greatest State in the Union; other Whig Governors and leaders; and all the Whig papers, with a very few exceptions, have taken the side of the old Charter and those who act under it; while all the Democratic papers, and, as far I know, all the influential men of that party who have expressed an opinion, have advocated the validity of the new constitution. Indeed, no Democrat in principle, can deny to the people the right to form their own government, or justify that *rotten borough* system of unequal representation which gives to men in one town *ten* or *twenty* times the weight the same number of men in another possesses; or defend that restricted system of suffrage, which excludes one half of the people from its exercise.

The questions, therefore, which are involved in this controversy, though local in their origin, have assumed a general interest, and are brought home to the breast of every citizen for his conscientious decision. Now, without intending to interfere with the transactions of the people of another State, or to give an opinion upon the proceedings of the two contending parties there, any farther than the examination of general principles renders necessary, I feel not only at liberty, but called upon boldly and frankly, to discuss those principles.

It is neither my province nor my intention to judge of the constitution of another State. If a majority of the people of Rhode Island are satisfied with their new Constitution, no Democrat will deny

their right to adopt it, or attempt to infringe the free exercise of that right. But in advocating its legal validity, I do not mean to be understood as approving of all its provisions.

But the enquiry presents itself, in the outset—what does this constitution contain so extremely objectionable and pernicious, or what is there in the old Charters so very excellent and desirable, as to justify and requite an appeal to arms to annul the one and sustain the other? If the Constitution be substantially wise and just, why should not the minority, who had not voted at all, have tacitly acquiesced, and suffered it to go into operation by general consent? If it contained defects it also contained provision for future amendments. The only reasons which can be found for resistance to it, must consist in objections to its adoption, or to the principles which it contains. It cannot be presumed that the men in office would expose their State to civil war for the sake of retaining the power.

But what are the great questions involved in this controversy? and what are the vital principles of government which the one party is supposed to maintain and the other deny? They are,

I. THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO GOVERN THEMSELVES, AND TO ESTABLISH THEIR OWN FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

II. FREE SUFFRAGE.

III. EQUALITY OF REPRESENTATION.

The friends of the new constitution *necessarily* maintain, and its enemies necessarily oppose these principles. I can see no escape from this conclusion. Let it not be denied that a majority of the people voted *for* the constitution. The returns show about *three-fifths*. They have been in the power of the opponents of the new constitution. Doubtless errors were committed, but they have been pointed out; and it would be unreasonable to suppose that they existed to the extent of the *thousands* which composed the majority. Besides, it is a common presumption, that those who omit to vote intend to acquiesce in the decision of those who choose to exercise that right, and this is believed to be the first instance in which a majority of all the qualified voters ever was required or obtained in favor of any constitution. If a majority of all the people were opposed to the adoption of the new constitution, why did they not turn out and reject it? This would have saved much of ill-will, confusion, expense and bloodshed. No. It cannot be so. The circumstances necessarily lead to the conclusion, not only that there was a large majority in favor of the constitution, but that its opponents well knew it to be so. Do they contend that the will of the *minority* should prevail over that of the *majority*? Do they maintain that there is a favored class who possess greater political rights and power than their fellow men, and that they cannot be deprived of them without their own consent? *This is the rankest doctrine of ARISTOCRACY.*

Let it not be pretended that the new constitution was not adopted "*according to the form of law.*" Substance, rather than form, is now sought for. The *pettifogger's* plea in abatement, and the *special pleader's* special demurrer, are, in the light of the present day, discountenanced alike by legislative actions and judicial decisions. "*FORMS OF LAW!*" Constitutional questions are not to be embarrassed by legal quibbles and technical objections. They look through forms to the substance. But what are the forms prescribed to regulate the action of the

people in the exercise of their highest sovereign power? Who can establish forms to govern their proceedings?

When the people have adopted constitutions, and in them provided the manner of making further alterations, some persons contend that they and their successors are bound by the regulations which they have made for themselves, and can make amendments in no other manner. Without admitting or stopping to discuss this position, I think that every believer in the doctrine of delegated power must admit, that, in the original formation of a government, the people must, as they proceed, determine their own forms of proceeding. The same rule applies where there is an existing form of government, which contains no provision for amendments. If this be not so, no new government could be formed, and no such old one could be amended.

If the community be so large that the people cannot meet and discuss the subject all together, some persons must *assume* the power to introduce and bring it, in some way, before the people for their action. Such was the case in the old thirteen States, in the formation of their constitutions; for whether conventions, for the purpose, were proposed by the spontaneous action of the people, or by the recommendation of their Colonial Legislatures, they were alike unauthorized. The several charters never contemplated the establishment of independent governments, and never authorized the charter officers to take any steps towards the formation of democratic constitutions. But however a constitution is proposed to the people, it derives all its force from their action upon it. If they reject it, the proposal becomes a nullity. If they adopt it, it becomes the supreme law of the land. The mode of bringing the proposal before the people is not the most material part of the transaction. That which gives them the fullest opportunity for the fair expression of their opinions is doubtless the best. I am not aware that it has ever been objected against the new constitution, that every inhabitant of the State had not an opportunity to vote upon its adoption.

It will not be pretended that the Rhode Island Charter conferred upon the legislature the power to propose a constitution, or to call a convention for that purpose. It contains not a syllable to that effect. If they did either, they must *assume* the power. As no constitution could be formed without the exercise of this power, no very strong objection could exist to its assumption by the legislature; yet as they held unequal and unjust powers, which were the subject of complaint, there could be no peculiar propriety in their doing it rather than a meeting of the people themselves or their delegates chosen for the purpose. But the assumption that the legislature alone can initiate proceedings for the formation of a constitution, and that none can be formed without their consent and preliminary action, seems to me to be founded in the most palpable usurpation. This, instead of keeping pace with the progress of the age, is retrograding some six hundred years into the dark ages—dark indeed for political liberty and the rights of the people—when British Kings undertook to *grant* to their subjects *charters* of their rights and liberties. One man *grants rights* to millions! *Liberties* depending on the *Charter of a King*! Do we derive our rights immediately from our Creator? or do we depend on

rulers, pretending to be ordained of God, to dole them out to us at their discretion, and according to their good pleasure? Will the American people, or the friends of free government any where, acknowledge the principle that the people can *only* make or amend their constitutions by the permission of their rulers?

But to recur to the great principles, opposition to which is implied in opposition to the people's constitution.

I. THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO GOVERN THEMSELVES AND TO ESTABLISH THEIR OWN FORMS OF GOVERNMENT. This is declared to be a self evident proposition, in the Declaration of Independence; is recognized as such in every constitution which has been formed under it; and has been acknowledged to be an unquestioned and fundamental principle of free government, by the most eminent statesmen, civilians and jurists of our country. This is now, for the first time, brought in question, by maintaining, that the people, can make, alter, or amend their constitution *only* through the action of the legislature, and that too, whether the legislature has any constitutional power to act or not.

II. The doctrine of FREE SUFFRAGE is a *corollary* or rather branch of the last proposition. The right of self-government is inherent in *all men*, and not in a *part*; and should be secured to *every one*, unless he forfeit it by his own acts. Although this doctrine is not universally admitted, in its fullest extent, yet few heretofore have carried restrictions upon suffrage so far as to require *freehold* qualifications. This excludes more than *one-half* of the people from any participation in the government under which they live. And they, who are governed by laws in the making of which they have no voice, may be defined to be political slaves.

The revolutionary axiom that "*Representation and Taxation are inseparable*," though sound and true in itself, has, I fear, had too much consideration given to it. By placing too great reliance upon it, we magnify the importance of property at the expense of moral and intellectual worth. No one holds the right of property more sacred than myself. But I am not willing to put them in the balance and make them preponderate against man, the noblest creation, and the express image of his Almighty Maker. The higher and more difficult duty of government is the protection of personal rights and the liberty of thinking, speaking and acting our own thoughts. Of what use is property if our persons are insecure? And why should not those who have personal rights to protect, have a voice in the government whose duty it is to protect them?

But the above axiom is as broad and extends as far as the warmest advocate of universal suffrage could desire. Who is there exempt from *taxation*? If such a person can be found, it must be one "who neither sweetens his tea nor salts his porridge."

What is there in the possession of land which confers superior intelligence and moral dignity?—What talismanic influence does it possess to inspire its owner with qualification which depart the moment he parts with his land? May not the learned President of Brown University exercise the elective franchise as intelligibly as the most ignorant landholder in the State?

I well know that many who pretend to advocate free and representative governments are in favor of very restricted suffrage. In France only *one* person

in *two hundred* is entitled to vote, and in parts of England the disproportion is quite as great. In our country many desire to restrict rather than extend the elective franchise. But I can see no cause for doing it, and believe they mistake both the genius and the principles of Democratic governments. The right of self-government belongs to *man as man*; and does not depend upon the accidents of birth, or of real or personal estate. And I have seen no reason to believe that power is more safe in the hands of the *rich* than the *poor*, or that the *former* are more honest than the *latter*. I should not, for the highest degree of perfection, look to either.

III. *Equality of representation* is a fundamental principle of our government, and without it we have no guaranty of its just, equal and beneficent operation. Unequal representation is but one grade better than no representation. Why should men residing in one town have greater weight than the same number of men in another? Let the advocates of the old charter of the new convention, which give a disproportion of ten or twenty to one, answer the question.

I have now offered my views of the great principles which seem to be involved in the contest which has been carried on in Rhode Island, and which, theoretically at least, seem to have spread over the country, being maintained by those who advocate, and impugned by those who oppose the new constitution, wherever they may be. I have brought to the discussion no personal feeling, and I trust no bias or prejudice. My private friendships are altogether with the officers and members of the Charter party. I have endeavored, as far as practicable, to confine my remarks to the principles discussed. Their application to parties and individuals have been frankly made so far and no farther than was necessary for their explanation and elucidation. I have neither the means nor the inclination to judge of the various acts of the contending parties. Without, therefore, intending to impeach the motives of any one, or wishing to express any mere opinion, I cannot conceal, if I would, that the principles for which I have contended necessarily lead to the conclusion that the new constitution is the supreme law of the State, and of course that the success of the Charter government against it has been the triumph of *unauthorized power*, and of *military force*, over *political right* and *constitutional law*.

It is one of the beauties and excellencies of our admirable system of government that it provides for the redress of all grievances and the settlement of all controversies without a resort to physical force. And no one has less confidence in the justice of decisions by arms, or a greater abhorrence of an appeal to them, than myself. I yield to no one in respect for the civil authority, or (for reasons which will at once occur) in deference for judicial decisions. I cannot adequately express the depth of my regret and grief at the military movements which have occurred, and the demoralizing and distressing consequences of them. They certainly have added nothing to the happiness of the people or the reputation of the State. They seem to me to have been as needless and uncalled for as they were unwise and injurious.

The unhappy controversy might have easily been settled without bloodshed or a resort to arms. There were at least two ways obviously open for a civil decision; and assuming as I do, that the great

mass of both parties were honest, and actuated by good motives, it seems marvellous strange that the one or the other was not resorted to. Either would have produced a decision more satisfactory to honest minds than an appeal to the "God of Battles."

If either of the members of the United States Senate had resigned his seat, then the election of a successor by each of the Legislatures would have brought directly before the Senate the validity of the new constitution. Surely such a step would not have required a very high degree of patriotism in the resigning Senator, when thereby he might avert civil war, especially if he, who doubtless would have been re-elected, had confidence in the unimpaired validity of the old charter.

But a better mode of settling the question would have been by an appeal to the highest judicial tribunal of our country. A mutual arrangement might have been made between the contending parties, by which a suit, putting directly in issue the validity of the new constitution, might have been commenced; carried in the most expeditious mode to the Supreme Court of the United States, and the earliest possible decision obtained. That the judgment would have been in favor of the new constitution I can entertain no doubt. But whatever it might have been, it would have commanded the acquiescence of the whole country, not excepting the people of Rhode Island.

I have learned from published statements, by both sides, that the friends of the new constitution were not only desirous of adopting this course, but willing to suspend all action under the new constitution until a decision could be had. This certainly was meeting their opponents more than half way and seeking an amicable adjustment at the extremest verge of honorable concession. If this proposition was made and rejected, whichever party may be in the right upon the constitutional question, the whole responsibility of the appeal to arms, of the loss of property, of blood and of life, and all the other physical and moral evils resulting from the military movements and government, rests upon the leaders of the *Charter party*. I hope their refusal to accede to this most conciliatory, just, and reasonable proposal, did not arise from an apprehension that the decision would be against them, and a desire, by military operations, martial law, and other arbitrary and oppressive measures, to overawe the people into the substitution of a less free and Democratic constitution for the one heretofore adopted by them.

I must apologize for the length of this communication. It contains the substance of my remarks upon the same subjects made to an assembly of my fellow citizens at Somerset, the only instance in which I have ever fully expressed my opinions.—And you would not now have been troubled with it but for the gross falsehoods and misrepresentations which have been circulated in relation to those remarks, and especially their reference to certain distinguished individuals in this State, in yours, and at the seat of government.

I am gentlemen,

With respect,

Your obedient servant,
MARCUS MORTON.

P. W. Ferris, Esq., and others, Committee of Arrangements.

KINDERHOOK, Aug. 27, 1842.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 17th inst., containing an invitation from the Committee of Arrangements, of which you are the Chairman, to meet the Democrats and friends of Suffrage in Rhode Island, at a Mass Clam Bake, in Seekonk, Mass., on the 30th inst.

Although I have to regret that it will not be in my power to be present on the occasion, I must beg you to convey to the meeting my acknowledgements for their friendly remembrance of me, and to assure them of my most hearty sympathy with them in their efforts to secure for the people of Rhode Island the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and which are enjoyed by their fellow-citizens in the other States of the Union. While I regard the obstructions so long and pertinaciously offered in your State to the establishment of the sacred institutions of free and equal suffrage as alike impolitic and unjust, I am happy to believe that they will yet be made to yield to the persevering demands of the masses, and that the principles of equal rights and democratic liberty must ultimately prevail in Rhode Island as elsewhere.

Be pleased to express to those for whom you act, and to accept for yourself, assurances of my respect and regard.

Your most obedient serv't,

M. VAN BUREN.

P. W. Ferris, Esq., Chairman, &c. &c.

WASHINGTON, August 18, 1842.

Gentlemen,—Yours of the 16th inst., has been received, and has my thanks for its kindness. The suffrage party in Rhode Island advocate principles which lie at the foundation of all our highly prized institutions. The final overthrow of these principles would be the death of those institutions. I trust, therefore, ere long to witness among you the establishment of those equal rights, equal privileges, and equal laws, which are the birthright of every American citizen. Liberty without these is but license or usurpation—character is at the mercy of courts martial—property is as insecure as pillage in Turkey, and life in more jeopardy than under the Star Chamber tyranny of the Stuarts. Do not despond then of sympathy and co-operation in support of such principles. And while you lawfully devote all your energies to secure their triumph—being cautious against their perversion and abuse—the liberal, the enlightened, and brave in Europe as well as America, will vindicate your cause.

I fear it will not be in my power to attend your next meeting, but be assured that you have my most hearty wishes to cheer onward every constitutional effort in favor of popular rights, and against that oppressive oligarchy, under which you suffer such inequalities and persecutions.

Your, with much respect,

LEVI WOODBURY.

P. W. Ferris, Chairman.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 22, 1842.

Dear Sir:—Please to accept my grateful thanks for your kind invitation, in behalf of the committee of which you are Chairman, to unite with "the Democrats and friends of Free Suffrage" of Rhode Island at their "Mass Clam Bake," on the 30th inst. I can assure you that it would afford me great pleasure.

sure to be with you on that occasion; but engagements both of a public and private character render this impossible.

I most sincerely sympathise with the suffrage party of Rhode Island; but their sufferings are destined to have a speedy termination. Public opinion; in this country is more powerful than the sword—more terrible than an army with banners. Millions of brave and free hearts throughout the Union beat responsive with your own—in the cause of your political emancipation. Your gallant little State is now the only spot in our favored country where freeholders and their eldest sons constitute a privileged class, and where the natives of other lands, who have fled from oppression at home and become American citizens are denied the privilege of voters. This will not—cannot long continue. The march of free principles is onward, and their progress cannot be much longer arrested in the land of Roger Williams. Universal suffrage, and representation according to numbers, are the pillars upon which American freemen must repose. Persevere, then, in your righteous cause; and by a firm and energetic, but peaceful contest, conquer from your oppressors the rights and liberties of freemen.—Your victory is certain.

Yours, very respectfully.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

P. W. Ferris, Chairman.

"RICHARD IS HIMSELF AGAIN."

To the Public.—Here we are again, amongst the living things of the times, refreshed by a long slumber, and wide awake to the best interests of the suffrage cause. We resume our stand as advocates of the people's rights, and reiterate the political axiom that the sovereign power is in the people, and not in legislatures or governments. The will of the people is the law paramount of the State, to which its creature the legislature must yield obedience. It will be our endeavor in succeeding numbers of the paper to inculcate doctrines consonant to this axiom and to the principles embodied by our patriotic forefathers in the Declaration of Independence; and so long as we continue to pursue that course, we confidently appeal to members of the suffrage party for a restoration of that patronage which once buoyed us up on a sea of troubles, and sustained us in perilous conflicts with power.

Our last number was issued on the 28th day of June last, and it is an act of justice to ourselves as well as to our readers, that we should briefly state the causes of the suspension of the paper at the time, and of its tardy re-appearance. The political principles which it disseminated were inimical to those in power under our charter government; to those who were educated in the doctrine that the object of all municipal laws is the protection of wealth only; and to a minority party who had always controlled the majority. From such, hostilities were to be expected, and were soon openly declared. The foes of a free press were soon aroused and busy, and aided by an established press, which had grown into consequence by its parasitical course, and arrogating the right of monopoly in the daily news, they commenced open and covert attacks upon this establishment, with a view to its destruction. Many of our subscribers and advertising patrons

were threatened by the wealthy and influential with a withdrawal of their business, their favor and their friendly intercourse, if they should continue their patronage on the Daily Express and New Age; and the College street press, urged by mercenary feelings, gladly seized every opportunity, by misconstruing our motives and our remarks, to create a prejudice against the paper, and to condemn it as a dangerous misssive amongst the landholders of Rhode Island.

By these unworthy means on the part of our opponents, much patronage was withdrawn, and much more which had been promised, was withheld. While numerous subscribers and advertisers, not professing to be of the Suffrage party, were thus in a measure compelled to withdraw to avert the threatened anathemas of vindictive and unprincipled partizans, some of our own suffrage friends were driven by similar threats to forego their countenance and support of a press which advocated the principles and doctrines which they revered. By these dastardly acts of an enemy "whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of" every obstacle in their way to power and pelf, we received much injury, but still were determined to persevere in our course, and vindicate the cause of the people: when, lo! another unforeseen embarrassment occurred. The owner of the building in which our office was located, peremptorily ordered his rooms to be cleared. Some time was granted to allow of an opportunity to obtain other rooms which would accommodate the office, but all attempts to procure them in any central or convenient situation were in vain. The buildings in Market Square and in the adjacent streets were in the ownership or under the influence of the Landholders, and by no persuasion could they be induced to lease them for such a purpose. Still the landlord's order to depart was reiterated from time to time, and notwithstanding our inability to procure a place for our press and materials, he was inexorable, and in order to give us "the ocular proof" of his inflexible determination to eject the Suffrage press from his building, he issued a written mandate and sent it by one of the officers of the law. We were informed that if we did not voluntarily quit, we should be put out by force, and that large numbers of "law and order" men in the street stood ready to lend their aid in such an undertaking.

While in this unpleasant situation, martial law was put in operation; and on that day of vengeance, Sunday, June 26, our markets and stores were open by municipal authority; our streets were swarming with armed men; and civil officers, under appointment of the city, the State and the U. States, were officiously threading every avenue, arresting their fellow citizens for treason, and forcibly entering their dwelling houses to take arms and other property. On that memorable and desecrated Sabbath, as one of the persons attached to this office passed out of the door into the street, he was accosted by one of the most respectable men of the "law and order" party, and told that it was time that that press was put down by force and its materials scattered around Market square. He was a man of sixty-five years of age, and hundreds of the same party, younger and more active than he, then within the hearing of his voice, would have gladly seconded his views

and "suited the action to the word," could he have succeeded in provoking an altercation. He was disappointed in his object; and the only replies he received for his abuse of the press, and his inflammatory appeals to the mob, were the words "law and order," emphatically pronounced in his ear.

Under the operation of the law martial, which is as indefinite in its powers, as is the authority of the charter legislature, our office was subject to visits of the military, who at one time took away a musket, and at another time had the "modest assurance" to demand a view of the proof-sheet, before the paper went to press, which however they did not obtain. Here we were, threatened with immediate and forcible expulsion by our landlord within, menaced by a "law and order" mob without, and embarrassed by a partial military *surveillance*, and believing "discretion to be the better part of valor" in a case of such peculiar perplexity, we determined to suspend the publication of the paper, and notified the public of such determination.

Since that time we have been indefatigable in our attempts to procure a suitable place, and it might be amusing to detail the various embarrassments which have been thrown in our way by individuals of the law and order party; but we forbear. Sufficient is it for our present purpose, to say that the foes of free discussion did succeed in retarding our progress, but not in terminating it. They can rejoice in the pecuniary losses which they have occasioned us, but they cannot exult over our destruction. They did succeed in causing our temporary prostration, from which recumbent posture, we hope that we have risen with renovated strength to combat error, and to spread far and wide those principles on which our democratic republican institutions are founded. Within the walls of a building on Canal street, on the same lot of ground on which is the spring of ROGER WILLIAMS, the early apostle of liberty, we have now located the printing office of the Daily Express; and may that chrysal fountain inspire us with the same just and elevated and fearless views of human rights, as were proclaimed to the world by that illustrious pioneer in the cause of freedom.—*Providence Express*, Sept. 13th.

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE SYRACUSE CONVENTION, 7th SEPT. 1842.

To the Republican Electors of the State of New York.

Your representatives in Convention, having designated candidates for the station of Governor and Lieutenant Governor, avail themselves of the occasion to address you touching our public affairs, and with immediate reference to the approaching election.

A similar contest, two years since, resulted in bringing the opponents of the democratic party into power in both the Executive and Legislative branches of the National Government, and in apparently confirming the ascendancy which the same party had already obtained, in the government of this State. The present seems a favorable and proper occasion for a brief examination of the practical consequences which have followed this determination of that popular will.

In making this examination we cannot fail to

be forcibly struck by the marked contrast which is exhibited in the professions and the practice of those who were thus brought into power; that while during the canvass every thing was lavishly promised, since that time every thing connected with the interests and honor of the country has been signally neglected by the successful party.

It will be remembered that among the reforms which it was asserted would arise out of the overthrow of the republican administration of the general government, we were promised a better method of collecting, preserving and disbursing the public revenue, a uniform currency, and such a change in the management of our fiscal concerns as would bring abundance into the public coffers, as well as plenty and prosperity in every department of life.

The earliest public act of this reforming administration was to repeal the law organizing the Independent Treasury; thus leaving to the executive officers that control of the public money, which our opponents being the judges, constitutes the essence of despotism, by uniting in the same hands the purse and the sword. Their efforts to reform the currency have expended themselves in two abortive attempts to create a National Bank, to be controlled by the government officers; and the public and individual prosperity, which a change of rulers was to have brought about, exhibits itself in a government without adequate revenue, and under protest for its current expenses, and in a state of remarkable depression in every department of industry. We would not intentionally follow the example of our adversaries in charging upon the party in power, because it is opposed to us, every adverse change in affairs, which the fluctuations of commerce, or other causes beyond the control of any government, may bring upon the country, but the present financial difficulties of the general government are distinctly traceable to the partizan movements of the federal majority in congress. How could it otherwise happen that the government of one of the chief commercial countries in the world, having an unlimited power to impose duties upon imports, should be without an adequate revenue? We ask your deliberate attention to the recent proceedings which have for a considerable period, left the government without resources, and the country without that aid and incitement to active efforts in business, which a tariff imposed for purposes of revenue, but with a just discrimination in favor of our own industry, would not fail to afford.

By the operation of the compromise act, the diminution of duties which took place on the 30th day of June last, left the revenue quite too small for the wants of the government. In the opinion of the federal leaders in congress, that act is so framed as that no duties whatever can be collected, and none have been paid except under circumstances, which will permit the party paying to recover the amount from the government officers, if the construction relied on is well founded. The only other resource which the national government possessed to enable it to fulfil its duties to the country, were the proceeds of the public lands. But among the earliest acts of the administration, was a law to take these monies from the treasury and distribute them among the states, with a provision, however, by which they were to remain in the national treasury, for their legitimate purposes,

whenever congress should raise the duties upon imports beyond the lowest scale fixed by the compromise act. The President early communicated to congress his determination to adhere to the provisions by which the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands was to cease upon the passage of a higher tariff, and he subsequently refused to approve a law for a temporary suspension of the provision in question. It then became entirely certain that the nation must be disgraced by the want of means to fulfil its pecuniary engagements, and that the important interests connected with a proper adjustment of the duties on imports must be prostrated, unless the scheme of distribution should be abandoned.

But in the face of these facts, we have seen with surprise the federal majority wasting the time of congress and protracting the session, already extended beyond all former usage, for the purpose of passing a revenue bill, containing a clause to preserve the distribution law; with a perfect understanding by every one in and out of congress, that it would meet the executive veto; and with a determination equally well understood, of the more prominent of the whig leaders, that after the bill should be thus defeated, congress should adjourn without making any provision for the pressing wants of the government, and the languishing industry of the country. We need not add, that after the passage of the bill through the two houses, the veto was applied, and that the majority, fearing to carry out their expressed determination, at the latest hour, after the mischief had to a great extent and in mere wantonness been accomplished, have hastily passed an act so objectionable in its details that very many friends of a moderate and judicious bill, found it necessary to withhold their votes; and that if left to themselves, without the votes of democratic members, these professedly ardent and exclusive devotees of the honor and interest of their country would have left both in the melaucholy situation to which we have referred.

The alleged excuse arising out of a conflict between the Legislature and the Executive will hardly be accepted, when the difficulty is seen to have arisen not so much from any discrepancy of views touching principles, or the policy of public measures, as out of strife for office, and a struggle between the different aspirants for place and power.

We congratulate you, fellow citizens, on a better state of things, which is opening upon us. A people who are never twice deceived by dishonest professions, are awakening to their real interests; and it seems now as certain as anything of such a nature can be, that these unfaithful stewards of the national household, will be dismissed from their posts, as rapidly as the provisions of the fundamental law present the proper occasions for a change. State after State has evinced its sense of the broken promises and falsified professions by which the people have been deceived, and renewed confidence in republican measures and men, is evidently the prevailing sentiment of the times.

The approaching election will afford another opportunity to New York to raise her voice in favor of her cherished principles; and we look with great interest upon the event of the contest, in respect to its influence upon the affairs of the na-

tion. Questions, however, of a very interesting and momentous character, peculiar to our own State, upon which we now propose to touch, will justly claim a large share of the attention of its republican citizens.

We hold it to be the first duty of a State, to guarantee to its citizens, at all times, the perfect security of their persons, and the most ample protection of their rights, of individual property, of opinion and of conscience. These indispensable rights secured, and the inestimable interests of popular education duly provided for, we know of nothing more worthy of an enlightened government, than those enterprises which facilitate communication between different sections of the country, and open to their appropriate markets the produce of agriculture, commerce and the mechanical arts, and the wealth which is dug from the earth or heven from the forest. As these objects cannot always be carried on, to the proper extent by individual enterprise, or private means, the resources of the State are indispensable to their accomplishment, and may in proper cases, and with suitable limitations, be safely used in the construction of such works. These are principles which the Republican party has invariably professed, and what is more, upon which it has at all times steadily acted. The result of these principles, honestly carried out, exhibit themselves in works of improvement, unequalled in their productiveness to the State, by any similar enterprises of which this continent can boast; and they were accomplished and paid for, or funds accumulated for their payment, prior to the time, when in an evil hour, as we believe, our opponents acquired an influence in the public counsels, without taxation for that purpose, and without, at any time becoming borrowers to such an extent as to impair our credit, or to disturb the monied facilities of our citizens. Such was the spirit of economy and the prudent forecast with which these enterprises had been conducted by the republican administration which preceded the advent of the federal party into power, that the present Governor, in his first message to the legislature, felt constrained to say that our achievements in these respects were without a parallel in history. During the whole of the construction of these improvements, it never happened that the citizen who had expended his money or labor was suffered to rest unpaid, or was obliged to besiege the public officers or the legislature for the compensation which he had earned.

It is the present policy of our adversaries, which they have pursued through all the forms of covert insinuation and open assertion, to charge the republican party, not only with indifference, but actual hostility to public improvements; a charge so entirely unsupported by history and the facts of the case, as to require a large share of charity to believe that it is credited in the slightest degree by those who make it.

But let us examine how the cause of improvement has prospered in the hands of those who claim to be its peculiar and exclusive friends.—When the people at the last election again chose a democratic legislature, and through them installed republicans into the principal offices of administration, the whole of the State had for two years been wielded by our opponents, and their majority in the popular branch for the preceding two

years had given them a powerful influence in the management of public affairs. When the Legislature assembled on the 1st of January last, they found the various public works in effect at a dead stand. To a great extent the laborers had been discharged, and where that was not the case, they had been laboring without pay, or the contractors had raised the money out of their own resources or on their private credit. The creditor to whom the debts thus contracted were owing, who were entitled to regular and prompt payments for what they had done, and whose means had become exhausted in their unrequited efforts to carry forward the public works, were knocking impatiently at the door of an empty treasury. In addition to all this, a large amount was found to have been borrowed by the State officers, for short periods, which was rapidly falling due, and without any means of payment provided. The permanent debt had been augmented to a sum never before approached in this State, and to fill up the measure of embarrassment, the credit of the State had sunk so low that it could no longer borrow money upon any terms. What was a republican Legislature in this posture of affairs to do? It was easy for the architects of the mischief, having ceased (as they supposed) to be immediately responsible for the ruinous condition into which they had plunged the State, and who were apparently indifferent to the result, with the reckless profligacy to urge that we should go in that career of expenditure without the least regard to providing the means necessary for that purpose. But the Legislature had in truth, no choice. Had they been disposed to have floundered still deeper in embarrassment, creating a fresh load of debt, the lenders could not be found. Acts might have passed and loans might have been *authorized*, but the days when the credit of this State could, like a magic talisman, bring gold from the vaults of whoever possessed it, in the old world or new, had gone by; or if one more conclusive effort could have been made, it would have sufficed only to place us by the side of those now bankrupt States, whose prodigal course our opponents have so long been desirous of following. We confidently submit to you, fellow citizens, that the course pursued was the only proper, nay, the only possible one, if we would avoid an immediate resort to repudiation.

The suspension of further expenditures on the public works, which had taken place in fact, was declared by law, except so far as it was necessary to preserve the work already done from dilapidation.

This course was inevitable; not indeed as a permanent measure, but until the resources of the State could be called out and its prostrate credit invigorated and restored. But those who had expended their labor and private means must be paid, and the honor and interest of the State concurred that the temporary loans should be discharged and the interest on the permanent debt be promptly met. This could not be accomplished by loud words or high sounding resolutions. Several States had dishonored their solemn engagements, and others were upon the brink of the same unhappy gulf, into which they have since fallen.—The Legislature had the courage to pursue the honest course. They imposed a tax, not to an extent to relieve us at once from the embarrass-

ment, but enough to restore such a measure of confidence as would enable us to raise the means to meet these pressing engagements. A steady perseverance in this course, dictated alike by the soundest morality and the most enlightened policy, it is confidently believed, will gradually and at no distant day, raise us to that proud position which New York once occupied, and which we have seen once commanded the admiration of our now retiring Chief Magistrate.

We are aware that there are portions of the State which the existing state of things and the policy which we have indicated will, for a time affect in an unfavorable manner, and our opponents do not conceal that their only means of success lie in appeals to these districts where the unfinished works are situated, and in charging the democratic party with a settled hostility to all further internal improvements. This charge lacks even the merit of plausibility. It is not believed by those who make it, and is directly contradicted by the facts to which we have referred. The democratic party is the friend of internal improvement as an *end*. It favors them because they develop the riches and resources of the State, promote individual and public prosperity, and advance the State in its career of civilization. We appeal to the history of the last few years and to the experience of the present moment, whether the vaunted friendship of our opponents is not mainly based upon a different and much lower motive; whether the topic is not regarded by them, as chiefly valuable as a *means* by which to regain the power which they have justly forfeited.

We invite your attention to the message lately sent by the Governor to the Legislature while assembled to organize the congressional districts.—With scarce a reference to the resources of the State, or to the debts by which her energies are crippled, he urges the immediate abandonment of the prudent policy adopted by the Legislature, and that the State proceed at once to borrow more money and complete the works in progress. Assuming that the Legislature has only to issue its mandate to insure the accomplishment of those objects, and keeping out of view the difficulties of our situation, and affecting to believe that the increase of our debt has had no agency in diminishing our credit, and that the works in progress will yield a revenue to an extent to make it an object to complete them for that purpose, he draws a moving picture of the consequences of suspending the public works, which he impliedly charges as a wanton wrong done by the Legislature to the people.

This document having been put forward at a time when no legislation upon general subjects was expected, and having been received, if not with applause, without any marks of disapprobation by the party of which the Governor is a distinguished leader, we presume that no injustice will be done in considering it, what in truth it was manifestly intended to be, the manifesto of that party upon the topic of internal improvements.

If sincere, it is a voluntary pledge of what that party will undertake if restored to power. Money is to be borrowed upon any terms, and debt is to be heaped upon debt, until New York, degraded from her high position, is placed by the side of Pennsylvania, whose solemn engagements, by a

similar course of conduct, have been dishonored, and her people condemned to indefinite taxation.

It is no extermination of the gross folly of these recommendations, that they are not made in good faith. We sincerely believe that there is not a man in the state, of reasonable intelligence, and in a sane state of mind, who entertains the slightest belief that the policy recommended could be pursued six months, if indeed the means could be procured to enter upon it. If such a thing were practical, why was it that, with authority to borrow money at the highest interest the state had ever paid, the whig administration, at the close of the last year, were unable to effect permanent loans, but were compelled to fill the banks with their temporary engagements, for which they provided no means of payment, and yet leave the contractors unpaid?

We appeal to our fellow republicans in districts peculiarly interested in unfinished works. The pretences of the opposition of special friendship to these enterprises, are put forward mainly with a view to your suffrages, and you are asked to change your political associations to promote your local interest. Aside from the dishonor implied in the request, we submit that no advantage could possibly be realized by the success of that party. A premature effort to resume the public works would render their condition far worse than it now is. The state must have time to recruit its strength. Confidence in its engagements, so rudely shaken by the rash and reckless conduct of the last administration, must be made for the debt due and soon falling due. This, though not the work of a day, can at no very remote period be accomplished, and then it will be seen whether the true friends of internal improvements are those who use them as a political stalking-horse, or whether they are not rather to be found in the ranks of that party which possesses the honesty and the courage to look difficulties in the face, and apply a salutary corrective, even under a threat of temporary unpopularity.

We have dwelt upon this subject at some length, on account of its transcendent importance to the best interests of the state, and because of the unparalleled efforts of our opponents to place us in a false position. We feel the utmost confidence that these efforts will be unavailing. We have an abiding reliance upon the integrity, the good sense, and the cool judgment of the people, and with a full trust that our controversy is just, we anticipate nothing less than a decisive victory.

We have recommended to your renewed support as a candidate for Governor, a gentleman well known in every part of the state. For twenty years prior to his dismissal from the post of canal commissioner by a federal legislature, WILLIAM C. BOUCE was a practical laborer in the cause of internal improvements. Charged with duties of great responsibility, and with the disbursement of millions of public money, the accusation of maladministration, or of misappropriating a single dollar, was never made against him. With business talents of the highest order, untiring industry and devotion to the public weal, unbending democratic principles, and such manners and address as becomes a republican in a land of freemen, he has deservedly won from every class of our citizens, entire confidence, and generally a warm sentiment of personal friendship.

The support which he received at the last gubernatorial election showed him a peculiar favorite of the people, and demonstrated, in the opinion of all sagacious men, that he was destined under more favorable circumstances to fill the highest situation in the gift of the people of this State.

In again presenting DANIEL S. DICKINSON for your support as Lieutenant Governor, we have only followed the clear indications of public opinion. Mr. Dickinson, by the force of superior talents, great energy of purpose, and such moral qualities and political principles as commend themselves to a discerning public, without the aid of any adventitious circumstances, has raised himself to a distinguished position as a jurist and statesman.

His able and brilliant career in the senate, and the discrimination and eloquence with which he was accustomed to analyze the executive communication of that day, and expose their disingenuous and partizan character, early called the attention of the republicans of the state to his distinguished merit, and induced a spontaneous wish, that he might be called to a still more elevated department of the public service.

In conclusion, fellow citizens, we exhort you to vigilance and unanimity. Our opponents, by their efforts to nourish a local opposition, impliedly concede, what no one can well dispute, that the good sense of the state at large is against them. Unite cordially in dismissing from power the remainder of those men who have brought our noble state to the threshold of bankruptcy and dishonor, and confide in the wisdom and integrity of that great and honest party, which, though it may have been deceived, has never knowingly committed injustice, and which, pledged to no particular interest or section, is prepared to render full justice to all.

THE ISSUE.

The people, the grand inquest of the State will proceed in a few weeks to pass judgment upon the principles and measures of the two parties. While preparing for the trial, it is all important, to the end that a just and true judgment may be given, that every voter should take a calm, clear, and impartial view of the case, and should distinctly understand the issue to be tried. Happily for us there is little difficulty on this occasion, in defining the issue. For once, both parties stand in the open light of day.—There can be no concealment of principles from “the public eye,” no skulking, no bush-fighting. Each party is so unequivocally committed; its line of policy is so strongly marked, that there can be no evasion—no acting upon the cowardly motto “*in medio tutissimus ibis*.” The “fence” is fairly broken down, and there can be no sitting on it or hiding behind it. Each party must show its hand, and each voter must decide in favor of one or the other. We may add that the candidates on both sides, are, personally unexceptionable. Messrs. Bouck and Dickinson, as men, have always maintained pure and spotless characters; so we are happy to admit, have Messrs. Bradish and Furman.—The contest is, therefore, emphatically one of principle.

The fundamental doctrines of the Democratic Party—those for which they have contended, from the foundation of the government—are, it is true, involved in this, as in all other political contests;

but it is not of these, that we now speak; our object in these remarks, being to confine attention to the particular and immediate issue raised on this occasion in reference to the financial policy of the State. Let us proceed to present that issue plainly. We might describe it in a word by saying that the Democracy are in favor of the paying, and the Federalists in favor of the borrowing policy. But we choose to put the pleadings and documentary proofs upon record, so that both sides of the case may be fully and clearly understood.

We will first present the Federal side of the question, and will take for that purpose, the following passage from Governor Seward's late Message:

“I recommend that the legislature rescind the law directing the discontinuance of the public works:—render to the New York and Erie Railroad Company the aid necessary to enable them to recover their credit and resume their operations; and direct the fiscal officers of the State, instead of reserving surplus revenues from the canals for the payment of debts due at distant periods, to apply such revenues, with the proceeds from the national domain, to the prosecution of the public works, upon the plan before submitted, until the works shall be completed and become productive, and provide other and additional temporary means, if necessary, for that important subject.”

We ask every candid man, whether Whig or Democrat, to read this extract. There is no mistaking its purport. It recommends the immediate prosecution of the public works, until they shall be completed. There are no exceptions or reservations. All the wild dreams of the Ruggles' Report, are to be carried out, and the State thereby plunged into a debt of not less than fifty or sixty millions of dollars! This is the Federal Whig position, it is fully and broadly recognized by the address and resolutions of their State Convention, and by the language of Mr. Furman, their candidate for Lieutenant Governor, who, in his last speech in the Senate, exclaims: “Repeal your law suspending the prosecution of the public works—issue 6 or 7 per cent stock—send an agent to Europe,” &c. &c. The Federal Whigs, therefore, fully and unreservedly commit themselves to the borrowing policy, and virtually pledge themselves to involve the State in a debt of fifty or sixty millions of dollars, if the people will give them a chance.

Let us now turn from this revolting and startling side of the picture, and take a view of the honest, manly, and noble ground taken by the Democracy. Their views upon this point are clearly put forth in the two following resolutions, adopted by their State Convention:

“Resolved, That in view of the rapid increase of our State debt from SIX to TWENTY-SIX MILLIONS of dollars, during the few years of Whig power; the decrease, since the last year, of our canal tolls, of more than \$200,000, the melancholy and disgraceful spectacle of the rich State of Pennsylvania and several other States of the Union neglecting to pay the interest of their debts; the Democratic party is admonished that if they would continue the policy recommended by JEFFERSON and JACKSON, for States and nations to be scrupulously honest, it is imperatively necessary that the debt of the State of New York be not increased without providing specifically at the time for the prompt payment of the interest and the redemption of the principal.

Resolved, That while the credit of the State and the exemption of the people from long continued and onerous taxation, imperatively required the temporary suspension of our system of internal improvements, yet it is the deliberate opinion of this Convention, that the prosecution of those great and important State works should be resumed, and steadily continued to their final completion, whenever the finances of the State shall be so far recovered from the embarrassment occasioned by the Whig ascendancy, as to justify it."

Here is the issue briefly and distinctly stated:—We call upon every tax-payer and every voter, to examine both sides of it, and compare them with the state of facts now existing.—What are those facts? Why we already owe a debt of nearly twenty-seven millions of dollars; we cannot pay the interest on this and pay our current expenses without the aid of a direct tax; to complete the public works as proposed by the Whigs, would double the debt and more than quadruple the tax; to launch out upon the borrowing policy again, would violate our faith pledged to those who have already lent so largely, and would cause our credit and our stocks to fall to such a degree as to render borrowing impossible without ruinous sacrifices. These are truths which cannot be denied. No rational man will be so foolish as to shut his eyes against them, or to countenance for one moment, the mad and more than desperate schemes of the Federal Whigs.

They complain that the Democratic Legislature suspended the public works. But this is not true. They suspended themselves for want of funds. Had the steady and honest policy of the Democracy been pursued, the works would never have been suspended at all, nor would our debt have been more than half as large as it now is. When the Erie and Champlain canals were completed, in 1825, the amount of the State debt was \$7,737,770 99. From that time until 1833, a period of thirteen years, the Democratic party was in power, and carried on a safe, prudent and judicious system of internal improvement. Within that period no less than five new canals were constructed and made productive; one of them (the Chenango) costing between two and three millions of dollars: and yet when the Whigs came into power in 1833, the debt was but \$7,954,114 45—a trifle more than it was thirteen years before. This shows how the Democracy carried on improvements, and carried them on triumphantly, too, paying as they went along, and avoiding oppressive debts and taxes. But no sooner did the Whigs obtain power than all prudence and frugality were at once discarded; millions upon millions were borrowed, without any provisions for payment; the debt was increased eighteen millions of dollars in four years, and yet not a single work was finished or rendered productive; the Stocks of the State were depreciated to thirty per cent below par; her credit was blasted and her arm paralyzed; her works stopped because they *could not go on*.

The people, disgusted with the short and profligate reign of whiggery, last fall restored the Democracy to power. Measures were at once taken to rescue the State from impending ruin—to arrest the wild career of debt—to raise our credit and re-establish the safe and sound old Democratic policy in regard to internal improvement. Those measures, although they could not immediately revive the dead works which had been strangled by Whig profligacy, were nevertheless completely successful in restoring

the credit of the State, and saving her from dishonorable bankruptcy. If faithfully carried out, they will, in due time, enable her to resume her works, and go on with them in a safe and prudent way, as the Democracy always conducted them.

The issue and the facts are thus placed before the people, and it is for them to say which shall prevail. But can any man contemplate the possibility of Whig success and a renewal of the borrowing and spend-thrift policy, without alarm and dismay? Who can look upon the bankrupt and dishonored States that lie around us, and fail to see where this policy must inevitably carry us? In the earnest and impressive language of the giant minded Hoffman, we say, "go, look at these forlorn examples of dishonored States, before the attempt is made to follow suit here. It is time we began to curtail our expenses, and to pay something towards our debts. You are yet on solid ground, dangerous as your course has been. Still your industry produces—merchants keep above water—your navigation swims—your carriers forward—you have some revenue. Be firm in your faith. Adhere to your position—curtail your expenses—cease to borrow as soon as you can. The vast crop now ready for the market throughout the State, may yet find its way to the seaboard and across the Atlantic. But if you take advice of the Executive, as embodied in this document,—borrow all you can, spend all you can obtain, pay as little as possible and leave the future to take care of itself—your credit must perish, and with it sink currency, trade, business, character, greatness and wealth."—*Catskill Recorder*.

STATE CREDIT.

"Resolved, that at the time of laying said Tax, the stock of the state was in the hands of wealthy Bankers, Brokers, and Capitalists, and that therefore, if the tax operates to raise the value of the stocks, it operates directly to make the rich the richer, while it in no manner tends to benefit the People at large, by whom the stock is eventually to be redeemed."

Such is the dictum of the Whig or Federal Party, as promulgated in the recent federal state convention of young men. This was one of the resolutions adopted on that occasion.

In no respect is the distinctive difference between the two parties more marked, than in relation to the financial character and condition of the state. We ask the serious and candid consideration of every citizen to the subject.

Heretofore it has been the pride and glory of the state, that its faith was preserved inviolate, and its credit maintained, not only free from suspicion, but upon high and commanding ground. Under the former democratic administrations, neither was sullied for a moment.—When the whigs came into power, they found the treasury unembarrassed, and the state stocks at a premium. Under these auspices, with the impress of the sound management of the state finances by the democrats all around them, the whigs found no difficulty in the outset, in calling in the aid and money of capitalists. Until their reckless and extravagant course became apparent, and its effect in exciting the fears of capitalists induced them to pause, the state stocks found a ready market. And they were issued not only with a lavish hand, but every means were resorted to by the whig state financiers to induce capitalists to become purchasers. And finally, when excessive issue

produced its natural effect,—doubt and depression,—the capitalists hesitated or declined to risk farther sums upon the faith and promises of the state, the whig state officers entered the field, besought them in nearly every form of supplication, were unbought in their assurances of the honor, faith and fidelity of the state—proffered the most voluble resolutions, denouncing repudiation—and declared to the world, with the strongest protestations, that it was the wicked and traitorous design of the “destructive” loco-focos to prostrate the state credit, reduce the value of the state stocks, and prevent capitalists from bringing their money to the relief of an embarrassed treasury—while it was their high object, to uphold and sustain the state credit, and reinvigorate and advance the value of the state stocks.

But what have we now? The startling declaration that it is *desirable* the state stocks should be depressed in value, not because it is just and honest in itself, but because they are in the hands of the rich. The flagrant immorality of having induced capitalists in this and other countries to invest their money in our stocks, by appeals to their interest and the implied pledge of good faith and honest dealing towards them, and then turning upon them when we have exhausted our credit and their ability, holding them up to the world in an odious light, and with shameless profligacy proclaiming that they are not entitled to the consideration due to every creditor of the state, because in some instances they are “wealthy bankers, brokers and capitalists.”

Heretofore, before this bold and shameless doctrine of the whig school had been avowed, it was urged against the profligacy and ruinous tendency of the whig policy of debt and expenditure, had alarmed capitalists, had weakened our credit, and would, if persisted in, bring us to the condition of the defaulting states. And this was then denounced as the climax of incendiarism and destructiveness. The Eve. J. and the federal state officers professed not to see the declining credit and prostrate means of the state, as an inevitable result of their own recklessness and folly, but were noisy in imputing it to the “loco foco” publications and statements, and imputing it as a great and fearful evil.—Now, however, that which was denounced as an evil and ascribed to the democrats, is a desirable result—is commended by some five thousand whig young gentlemen—is formally proclaimed as a cardinal rule of the whig policy (it is at least a natural concomitant).—viz., that the stock of the state *should* be depressed and its credit prostrated, because, in the language of the whig resolution, “to raise the value of the stock, operates directly to make the rich richer, while it in no manner tends to benefit the people at large.”

We do not stop to enquire how much of our large debt was taken by capitalists at par, and before the state stock had suffered serious depression under the financial management of the whigs—nor how many millions of a *six per cent.* stock, were negotiated by the whigs themselves at par. At least it is a very large sum. But large or small, a grosser act of perfidy to the state creditor can scarcely be conceived, than the policy now urged by the whigs; nor can any thing be more suicidal, if it shall be thought expedient ever again to go into the market with state stocks. If the success of the federalists could be feared, what might not be expected by

every man who holds a dollar of the state stocks? What depression and prostration, jointly from a return to extravagant expenditure, without the remotest provision for payment, and proclamation at the same moment that it is sufficient that he is rich, to disregard the just claims of the stock holder? Fortunately, there is little fear of a result, that would promise so disastrously for the honor, the character and financial prosperity of the state.

So long as this open and profligate leasure of the whig policy was confined to the columns of the Eve. J., and one or two kindred sources,—and was denied by many of the reflecting men of the whig party, as not in accordance with the views of that party generally—we were led to regard it as *ad captandum* merely, and for the immediate occasion. But it comes now in a form that must claim for it more consideration. It must be regarded as an acknowledged “principle” of the whig party, that the public faith is to be violated, the value of the state stocks depreciated, and the just claims of the public creditor to an honest observance of good faith to be disregarded, because the holders of our stocks are rich, and the maintenance of our faith and credit and the arrest of the downward tendency of our state stocks, may make them richer.

This is the federal doctrine. We are bound to believe that Messrs. Bradish and Furman, if elected will act upon it. Let it be understood by every friend of the reinvigoration of the state credit, through an adherence to the tinking and paying policy, as the ultimate means of prosecuting the public works, that it is the whig policy to depress the value of the state stocks, and to prevent capitalists from ever again relying upon the faith of the Empire State, however solemnly pledged by legislative enactments, and the promises and appeals of state officers.

THE NEW TARIFF.

Although, as we have before said, the tariff law just passed by Congress, is better than no law at all, yet there are parts of it, which so distinctly mark its aristocratic origin, that like all the enactments of whiggery, it is destined to be the subject of perpetual strife and confusion. The most valuable feature of the whole of it, is that which tears out by the roots the germ of corruption which the extra session enacted, in the name of a *distribution* law. We would submit almost to any thing rather than such a corrupting scheme as that; and we rejoice that the tariff law has killed it.

The great fault of the new, as a whole, is that it is intended for the *law*, instead of the many—for the “lords of the loom,” as if they were all creation, while the masses of their fellow men, the farmers and common mechanics, are considered of no account. Hence it is, that while such nabobs as Abbott Lawrence, who is said to be worth some three millions of dollars, who employs some fifteen hundred “operatives” at Lowell, and who has had a half million of dollars legislated directly into his pocket by the rise of goods which the new tariff produces while such “lords” as he is, have a protection awarded to them, of forty per cent, on woollen goods, and from thirty to one hundred per cent. on cottons, (through the deceptive minimum principle,) the great class of producers, the farmers, the *wool growers*, are only protected by a paltry duty of *five per cent.* on common wool. Why is this? The wool growers out number ten times, the woollen manufacturers. Why

then have these farmers been thrown entirely in the shade? The reason is, that the "lords of the loom" wish to make up their fabrics of *foreign* wool, because they think they can get it cheaper than our farmers can raise it; but they are unwilling that any one should buy foreign cloth for his jacket, though cheaper than the "lords" can turn out from their establishments. They demand *protection* against that. They tell us, that the duty on their cloths will not enhance the price; that in the long run, cloths will come the cheaper to us, in proportion to the height of the duty. But see how unwilling they are to take their own prescriptions. Why don't they cheapen the raw article, the wool, by the same process? Do they think that the great body of intelligent farmers can be humbugged in this way? Are the "lords" to compel the farmers to wear their cloths, made of *foreign* wool, and then coolly turn round and tell them to make mutton of their sheep? As Daniel Webster said in the beginning of the war, "is this the entertainment to which we were invited?" Forty per cent. for the woollen manufacturer, and five per cent. for the wool grower?

Now let us look at some other parts of the bill, and see how the laboring many fare, as compared with the privileged few. Take the article of salt, which every man uses as an article of the first necessity. We have by this new tariff, a duty of eight cents a bushel imposed on that, which as compared with the price in Turks Island, would be from 60 to 80 per cent. on the foreign cost.

We have on common brown sugar a duty of 21.2 cents a pound, equal to at least fifty per cent. on the foreign cost. These are articles which all, however humble, use in their families, and cannot dispense with. But see how the "lords of the loom" who decorate themselves and their families in gems and diamonds, are taxed on such articles of luxury. The bill reads on "gems and pearls" seven per cent. only! and on "watches and diamonds" seven and a half only; while "rattans" for dandies, and gold epaulettes, are to be admitted duty free!!! There is whiggery for you in perfection. The salt which every laborer puts in his meat barrel, and every farmer feeds out to his cattle, is taxed from 60 to 80 per cent. and the common brown sugar which every poor man buys for his family, is taxed at fifty per cent; while "gems and pearls," "diamonds and watches" are taxed only seven and seven and a half per cent.—and "rattans" and "gold epaulettes" are permitted to come free!!!—*Columbian Register*.

THE NEXT PRESIDENT.

The *New-York Morning Post* has led off in a discussion as to the most suitable candidate among the great statesmen of the democratic party for the next Presidency. That paper has avowed a high opinion of the qualifications and worth of JOHN C. CALHOUN, and will, no doubt, unwaveringly and ably advocate his nomination. Several able writers through the columns of the *Evening Post*, have also joined in the discussion, and the names of VAN BUREN, CALHOUN, CASS and BUCHANAN, have passed in review. But it is conceded that the question after all, narrows itself down to Van Buren and Calhoun—both men well known to the people, because of their long connexion with the political affairs of the country. Of these two distinguished individuals, we would, with one of the writers, say, that "that man must be ignorant of their past history,"

who doubts that they are both gentlemen of the highest order of intellect. Mr. Calhoun has more theory, and is more strongly wedded to abstraction. Mr. Van Buren is more practical, and possesses the safest and soundest judgment. The former is apt to seize a favorite theory, and push it to most impracticable extremes. The latter equally firm in his adherence to the cardinal principles of democracy, never rides hobbies, and regards and uses theories as the mere means of producing useful and practical results. Mr. Van Buren possesses the most knowledge of men, and is less apt to be caught, ensnared or duped, by cunning, art or flattery. To say that the author of the independent treasury message of 1837, and that the subsequent state papers that emanated from his pen, does not possess enlarged, statesman like views, and talents of the first order, would be denying what Mr. Calhoun himself would be most ready to admit. Both then, are by intellect amply qualified for the highest station in the gift of the people."

Yet, notwithstanding his great and brilliant powers, there are, in our judgment very serious objections why Mr. Calhoun should not be the democratic candidate for the Presidency. His nullification doctrines, his casting vote in favor of the rejection of Mr. Van Buren as Minister to England, his vote in the Senate in favor of a repeal of the specie circular, a measure which was one of the proud trophies of Gen. Jackson's administration, and his impulsive rather than firm temperament, are all calculated to lead the people to distrust him as "just the man" to wield the executive power of this great confederacy. His friends cannot claim that his course has been a steady one. The spokesmen only of a single state, his principles of political action have not been sufficiently broad and comprehensive to subserve equally the interests of the whole country.

But Mr. Van Buren remains (to adopt the language of one of the writers of the *Eve. Post*) in the deliberate conviction of immense masses of our citizens, the man most fit for the emergency—of tried firmness, he has passed through the most critical period of our history, without a breath of suspicion resting upon his political truth—of long experience—popular at the south as well as the north, there is no man so well calculated to blend and bind together the diverging opinions of different sections of the democracy.

If ever personal considerations should enter into such a question, it might be said, the nomination is due to him. He risked every thing and lost every thing, in support of his political principles and his political adherents. A little yielding, a little wavering and the democracy would have been split into a thousand fragments. The people are wont to be generous as well as just, they are wont to adhere to their faithful servants through evil as well as good repute; and it is not to be credited that they will leave Mr. Van Buren's political life to be closed by a record of defeat.—*Newburgh Telegraph*.

THE PRESIDENCY.

Since the defeat of the democratic party in 1840, until within a few weeks, the undivided sentiment of the democratic press and party was that the subject of a candidate for the next Presidency should not be agitated or discussed, until about the time agreed upon for a National Convention. It was properly said that the first, and for the present, the

only, object should be the upbuilding of the principles of the republican party and the promotion of the cause of the democracy, until that period, with the well-grounded supposition that, by that time, these more essential matters would attain into their former stature and growth throughout the republic. To the accomplishment of these purposes, almost the entire and undivided energies of the press and party have been devoted. And the universal hope appeared to be that their efforts would not be distracted by any premature departure from the general course and feeling, in raising the question of candidates. Unfortunately however they have been disappointed. Our New York friends, with a zeal and impetuosity, worthy, as usual, of all praise where they are found not wanting in discretion, have seen fit to confine themselves no longer to the (apparently to them) uninteresting and unexciting discussion of principles, and more than one of the leading democratic papers there have brought their candidates into the field, and are marshalling their forces for a struggle for men and place.

We shall not dispute with those of our friends who have set forth the "claims of candidates," for upon the individuals named the country (in that they upon the country) has high and strong claims. One of the papers alluded to names JOHN C. CALHOUN as the proper candidate for the democratic party. We are frank to say that we regard Mr Calhoun as one of the most enlightened and far-sighted statesmen of the age. He would fill the Presidential chair creditably to the nation and honorably to himself. Still we are by no means prepared to say that if we were to indicate our favorite for the next Presidency, he would be the man. There are acts of Mr. Calhoun's public life, in which he may have been actuated by none other than the most elevated and conscientious motives: but which although we are bound to forgive, we cannot forget, and must in connexion with the peculiar position of the democracy in reference to this question, displace the distinguished South Carolinian from the first in our preference of a candidate for the next Presidency. Yet if he should be the choice of the Democratic National Convention, we would be the last to withhold from him a cordial support.

The next name of which prominent mention is made is MARTIN VAN BUREN,—this day not less "*New York's Favorite Son*," than before the first distracted thought of the people, temporarily displaced him from the highest place in their affections. In reference to his name on this question, the democracy of the Empire State are bound to speak with delicacy and reserve, and not in full accordance with their hopes and sympathies. Before Mr. Van Buren's defeat, the democratic party never failed to re-elect their candidate. Yet no republican will say that the candidate in this instance, was the cause of the party's misfortune. The day of Mr. Van Buren's Defeat was a day of turbulence, all but a chaos of reflection—a triumph of riot over reason. No act of his, however, we repeat, contributed to such a state of public sentiment; indeed, it has been universally admitted, that the name of no prominent man in the democratic ranks could have offered better resistance to the tide of infatuation which carried our adversaries into power. There is, moreover, no act of Mr. Van Buren's administration to which the democracy of the entire Union cannot point with satisfaction and pride. In view of facts like these, (and they are only a selection from many that

have a like bearing,) and when it is considered that Mr. V. B. is in the vigor of his intellectual powers, can a single reasonable objection be raised to his nomination? Other men there are in the democratic ranks, we admit, full as competent for the station as MARTIN VAN BUREN; and when he shall have been called to fill the measure of every republican President's glory, (if that may ever be,) we shall be proud and happy to see the country equally honored and benefited by their services.

Mention has also been made in some of the papers of the HON. SILAS WRIGHT, jr., the HON. JAMES BUCHANAN and the HON. THOMAS H. BENTON, as proper names for the same honor. We appreciate their exalted intellectual and political worth. Should either of them be the choice of the democratic national convention they would be supported with all the alacrity and zeal that a first choice could command.

In these few suggestions on the Presidential question, we wish to be understood as not making a nomination, even "subject to the decision of the national convention." In view of the agitation of the subject in other quarters, we have designed merely to adventure a hint as to what we deem the proper position of the republican party generally on this question, and particularly the Democracy of New York. Our opinion is that the selection of names for the convention should be left until the time before designated. Meantime we have much to do in discussing and promoting the more weighty matters of principles and measures. When the triumph of these is secure, there is no danger that good men and true will not be found ready and able to serve their country.—*Northern Budget*.

THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

It is evident that the Democracy of the country is beginning to be alive to the question, who is to be its candidate for the next Presidential election. Discussion is going on in various parts of the Union in relation to that subject, and public sentiment is beginning to assume a tangible form in different parts of the country. We have already expressed our preference upon this question, and have had the satisfaction to find that our sentiments have been responded to not only by the Democratic press pretty generally throughout the State, with but one or two exceptions, but have met with the approbation of one of the leading political journals of New York. It is true, we were the first paper in this State, if not the first in the South, that we know of, to come out openly in favor of Mr. Calhoun for that office, and we did so, because we thought it time that the question should be discussed, in order that public sentiment, throughout the whole country, might have time to develop itself before any Convention should be held for the purpose of selection. Otherwise, a name might, by the partiality of personal friends, or the influence of interested intrigue, be imposed upon the party, which could neither embody the sentiments nor combine the strength of the majority of the people of the Union. Open, fair, candid, liberal, free discussion, is what we go for, we have no fears as to its results, and are willing to abide by its issue.

For the course which we have adopted on this question, we have been taken to task by the Tuscaloosa Flag of the Union. The expres-

sion of our preference was denounced as *premature*, and the object of it as one who could not embody the strength of the party. As to the first charge, the course adopted by the friends of Mr. Buchanan, the favorite of the Flag, long before we ever wrote a line upon the subject, relieves us from the necessity of saying a word in reply to it; as to the second, public sentiment, in this State, has already, as we believe it will throughout the whole Union, vindicated us.

At first, we thought it unnecessary to reply to the article in the Flag, but from the course which it appears to be marking out for itself, we deem it necessary to do so now.

When the Flag denounced our movement as too premature, did it not remember that the Legislature of Missouri, immediately after the last Presidential election, nominated Mr. Van Buren again? Was not the same thing attempted in Michigan and Mississippi last winter? Did it not remember that Col. Johnson's name has already, more than once, been put forward before the people of the West and in Pennsylvania?—But more than all, has the Flag *really* forgotten that the name of its own favorite, Mr. Buchanan, has been put in nomination at various meetings and conventions in Pennsylvania, and that an address from one of these to the people of the State, has been published in his favor? Yet, strange to say, the Flag looks on with the utmost complacency at the course adopted by its own friends, but the very moment we mention our preference for Mr. Calhoun, a southern man, too, and therefore more particularly a friend to southern rights and southern institutions, it denounces our movement as premature. This is a singular instance of personal partiality, and the blindness of personal prejudices. If this be what the Flag calls *fair play*, we'll have none of it. If that paper had merely contented itself with condemning our movement as premature, without expressing any preference itself, perhaps, we would not have so much reason to complain, but while it condemned our course, it took occasion to declare its preference for Mr. Buchanan, thereby falling into the very same error for which it took us to task, and evincing how much better qualified it was to preach than to practice.

We hold the Flag accountable for another error in its mode of conducting this discussion. Not satisfied with endeavoring to exhibit the merits of Mr. Buchanan in the most favorable light, it undertook to detract from Mr. Calhoun, and that, too, when we had not written the first word derogatory to the personal claims of the former. This course was not only ungenerous, but most unwise, for, if the Flag had reflected for a moment, the idea might have occurred to it, that there was a possibility of Mr. Calhoun's being selected as the Democratic candidate for 1844, in which case it would find itself in the very awkward position of one undertaking to answer his own arguments.

In the last Flag, we find another attempt to affect public sentiment in this State, in favor of Mr. Buchanan in preference to Mr. Calhoun, headed "Circular to the Democratic Party of the United States," and signed "Jefferson." The object of the writer, whoever he is, is very plain. He is not so much a partizan of Mr. Buchanan, or an enemy to Mr. Calhoun, as a personal friend of Mr. King. The object is, not so much to make

Mr. Buchanan President as to make Mr. King Vice President. For the public as the private character of Mr. King we entertain the highest respect, and did we consider it consistent with the interests of the great party to which we belong, and the advancement of the great and vital principles which are now at issue in the country, to put forward Mr. King's claims to the second office in the republic, we would be the foremost in placing his name before the country. But we hold those interests and those principles at too high a value, to permit us to sacrifice them to personal preference or State pride. Besides, we hold the office of President to be the chief object of the campaign, and that of Vice President to be merely secondary; we cannot, therefore, forego our choice for the Presidency, in order to elect a favorite for the Vice Presidency. There would be neither good policy nor sound sense in that.

The writer, however, professes to give reasons why Mr. Calhoun can't in his opinion, be elected, and, strange to say, some of them are the very reasons why we advocate his claims. Here are the reasons given:

"First—The politics of the country and the supremacy of the party are too unsettled. Second—He is from the South, (the hot-bed of strict construction,) and the head of the Nullification party. Third—There are many prospects of a resort to the doctrines of that party before the canvass could close; in the event of which the old Union party would abandon him, and leave him to be supported by South Carolina alone. A tariff for protection, a refusal to admit members of Congress, elected under the general ticket system, to their seats, or the distribution bill may yet shake the Union to its centre."

Now it is precisely because the politics of the country and the supremacy of the party are unsettled, that we want Mr. Calhoun selected for the office. We want a master mind to guide the ship of state safe through the troubled sea of politics; we want a man of experience and profound knowledge, to relieve the country from the financial embarrassments into which the currency quacks have thrown it; we want a giant intellect to infuse into the country the truly republican doctrines of "Free Trade;" we want a man like Jefferson, of pure principles, of untiring energy, of sterling honesty and unbending firmness, to gather together the elements of Democracy throughout the land, and crush the hydra-headed monster, Federalism, which is again raising its many heads in the country and blasting its prosperity with its pestilential breath; in fine, Mr. Buchanan may be an Ajax, as the writer of the Circular calls him, but we want an Achilles to lead us on, for we shall have a Hector to contend against.

"He is from the South, the hot-bed of strict construction," says this writer. That is another reason, and a strong one, why we prefer him to any name that can be mentioned. We tell this writer that there are already too many in the country who are but too willing to forget the doctrine of "strict construction." It is full time that this doctrine should be re-established in its full meaning. It is full time that the principles of the Constitution should be carried out according to its strict letter, and not prostituted to the base designs of hungry monopolists, avaricious capitalists and scheming politicians. This second reason is,

therefore, with us, but another argument in Mr. Calhoun's favor. As to Nullification, which has been introduced here for effect, we tell the writer of this Circular it wont do. Does he forget that the Legislature of this State, of South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia, and some others, in their late sessions, nullified the Distribution act? Did not the Governor of Georgia and did not New Hampshire also nullify that clause of the Apportionment act relating to districting the State? And we say further, that were it not that there is a certainty of a Democratic majority in the next Congress, of the repeal or entire modification of the present Protective Tariff bill passed by the Whigs, the Distribution act, and some others, he would see more nullification in 1843 and 1844, than ever he saw in 1832 and 1833. Let us hear no more, then, of Nullification upon this question. We shall, henceforth, look upon the man who mingles it with the Presidential nomination, as more of a partizan than a patriot.

But this writer was never more signally mistaken, than when he hazards the assertion, that it is doubtful whether Mr. Calhoun can get more than one State north of the Potomac. In reply to this, we give an extract from the New York Daily Morning Post, an ably written, and widely circulated, and highly influential paper among the working classes of the north. Here it is:—

1st. We think that the principles of Mr. Calhoun are more in accordance with the feelings of the mass of the Democratic party, than those of any other man. All are, no doubt, faithful and consistent Democrats, but all are not liberal and comprehensive to the same degree. On the two great questions of the day, the two most important to our political welfare and social progress, the tariff and the currency, Mr. Calhoun is far in advance of any of his competitors. He understands the subjects thoroughly, and is in favor of no half-way measures of reform.

2. Mr. Calhoun has greater talent for administration than any other statesman that we can call to mind. His intellect is peculiarly penetrating, systematic and energetic. When he was at the head of the War Department, the rapidity and ease with which he reformed the abuses that inevitably grew up among so many agents and clerks, was an occasion of surprise and admiration to all who understood the working of government machinery. Place him in the Presidential chair, and he would instantly reform all the departments.

3. Mr. Calhoun possesses those qualities of originality, boldness, and firm adherence to principle, which always attach the sympathies of the multitude. Like General Jackson, he is straight forward and honest. The people may easily know him. His principles are above board. He does not suffer himself to be swayed by personal motives; but having a distinct idea and plan of government, he carries them out with inflexible purpose. A deep, strong, abiding enthusiasm, is the feeling with which he is every where regarded by his friends.

4. We believe that Mr. Calhoun is, at this moment, the most popular candidate. At the South, there can be no doubt, that he is not merely the chief favorite of the people, but that they have no other favorite. With the working classes of the north, too, he is an object of the strongest admi-

ration. His name cannot be mentioned in a public meeting without exciting a spontaneous outburst of cheers. They admire his genius; they like his frank and manly bearing; they feel a common attachment to his principles; and they esteem him for his unsullied and generous character.

Thus far we think it our duty to notice the article in the Flag. As to Mr. Buchanan we have little to say, having no desire whatever to detract from his merits. But, we must say, that he is not our choice, for we do not believe him to be the man for the crisis, and his last vote for the present highly protective Tariff law, would render it impossible for him to embody and combine the strength of the party in the South. We would say, in conclusion, however, that the efforts of the Flag, or in the Flag, we care not which, to produce an effect in this State, unfavorable to Mr. Calhoun, will meet with the most signal failure. Such efforts may do some mischief, but certainly can be productive of no good to the party.

Mr. Tyler's Luck.—President Tyler has attained a thing rarely reached by the Chief Magistrate of any nation in one short year—that of wounding in the tenderest point each of the two great opposing parties of the country.

The Whigs look to him as the author of the defeat of their darling measure of a National Bank; and the Democrats see in him one who has crushed, for a short time at least, their favorite principle of the sovereignty of the people.

We say he has crushed, or at least suspended it, because we can hardly doubt that had it not been for his hasty interference, and the natural desire to avoid a collision between the people and the government of the Union, the Constitution of Rhode Island would have gone into quiet operation, and the charter party would not have had the spirit nor the ability to make resistance to the primary principles of popular government.

Mr. Tyler has been more unfortunate than the man with his ass, who, trying to please everybody, pleased nobody; for he has not only pleased nobody, but sorely displeased everybody.—*Pennsylvanian.*

Protected Labor.—The ultimate consequences of attempting to protect the industry of a country by law, are seen in the starvation, riot, violence, and bloodshed which now pervade the manufacturing districts in England. The landlords and capitalists clubbed together for the purpose of keeping out foreign grain and manufactures by high duties, under pretence of protecting British industry, and giving employment to labor. An artificial system at war with nature, grew up under the legislation of Parliament. Laborers became more and more dependant on employers, and society in the manufacturing towns was virtually divided into masters and slaves; the master, however, not being under any obligation, like our Southern slave-holders, to provide for his slave when sick or old, or when his labor is no longer profitable. Under such circumstances they are turned out to starve and die, while the masters are living in luxury on their former earnings. So great are the numbers now discharged and suffering under this system, that they constitute in many places a vast majority of the population. Men will not starve by thousands, with-

out an effort, by any means which nature has furnished them, to procure the means of present subsistence. Driven to desperation it is natural and just to attribute their condition to bad government. Rioting becomes rebellion, and rebellion, if successful, becomes revolution. And nothing but a powerful standing army at this moment prevents an awful revolution in the British Isles, burying in the blood of thousands the ruins of a wicked system, which, under the delusive cry of *protection*, has taxed and impoverished the laboring millions, until death itself is preferable to the further endurance of hopeless suffering.

Yet, the same system is the hobby of some of our leading statesmen! The cry here is *protection*, *protection*; the object is, *taxation, taxation*.—*Kendall's Expositor*.

Importance of a Vote.—Joseph Snelling, of Pelham, a minister of the gospel in John Hancock's day, and who now is, in his old age, an industrious and worthy farmer, stated that prior to his entering the ministry, he voted for John Hancock as Governor of Massachusetts, but after his entering he ceased to have any thing to do with political affairs, as it was then considered by the people to be incompatible with the duties of a learned divine for him to meddle with politics, as it would tend to suggest prejudice in the minds of the laity. He adhered to these then prevailing sentiments for a long time after he left the ministry to pursue agricultural pursuits, until a few hours previous to the election of Morton, when he resolved that he would give him his vote, (the first vote he had given since voted for Hancock,) he did so, and Marcus Morton became Governor by one majority.—*Lowell Advertiser*.

Beans.—A writer down south, thus discourses of this vegetable. Hear him:

"The people down east are death on beans—cold baked beans! boiled in a bag—beans mixed with corn—string beans—beans in all their variety and excellence. They are folks who know beans. On Sunday, especially, do they attack these poor innocent vegetables. A good old Dominie who labored in one of their bean eating towns, made a calculation by which he concluded that he preached to about four bushels of beans every Sunday."

We recollect that the whigs, dear lovers of the people, told us during the Harrison campaign, that if Mr. Van Buren should be re-elected, we should have to subsist upon soup made from this vegetable, with the addition of the enormous sum of TEN CENTS per day. *Vice versa*—only place old Tip in the chair of state, and if not heaps of gold we should have "two dollars a day and roast beef." Well, Old Tip was placed there, and these splendid promises have not yet been fulfilled; and according to present appearances, these dreams are not likely to prove realities. Walk up gentlemen, we are almost out of patience. Our eyes are becoming dim, of looking, and we fear we shall be under the necessity of purchasing a pair of spectacles. Send on the beef soon.—*Passaic Guardian*.

The Coon emblem of Whiggery.—Mr. Fisher, in the course of his remarks, at the Democratic meeting held in Cincinnati, in allusion to the live Coon which presided at the Whig meeting, said he fully

concurred with the Whigs in the propriety of selecting that filthy, cowardly, thieving animal as the emblematic representation of their principles. It is particularly appropriate now, when the Whigs are tread beyond redemption in almost every State in the Union. They have been driven from nook to corner, from every hole where they were wont to hide themselves, and now the democracy have got them safe up a tree; and they may as well come down and die peaceably as be shot at and killed. Mr. Fisher remarked that there were other resemblances. The coon prowls about at night—its deeds are in darkness. The coon is also a useless animal, a consumer only, and lives by plunder, and the Whig leaders wish to live by plundering the people by means of fiskehood, Banks and High Tariffs.

Another most striking resemblance is that a Coon is good for nothing at all, till its hide is taken off and hung up on the fence to dry. In the firm conviction of this fact, the people all over the country have turned out to skin the coons and tan their hides. This particular branch of industry requires no protection from the Government, for it flourishes spontaneously in almost every state of this confederacy.

Whig Predictions Reversed.—In 1840 the Whigs of Ohio had engraved upon their banners which they bore through the streets in their procession, the following on one side:

"A sheep's head and twelve and a half cents a day under Van Buren!"

And on the other side:

"Two dollars a day and day and Roast Beef under Tip and Ty."

Now we should like to know how many of the "Koons" or "Log Cabin Boys" of Paterson, as they disgustingly term themselves, have seen the above promise fulfilled? We state, without the fear of contradiction, *not one*, but on the other hand there are many who have gladly seized the *pluck* without the 12 1-2 cents, these Koons dare not deny. Let them but look to our large cities, and this glaring fact, may be found recorded in their own abandoned prints.—*Paterson Guardian*.

The National Debt.—According to the admission of John Quincy Adams, in the Report on the Veto Message, Trueman Smith being one of the committee, and the whole of our delegation in the House voting in the affirmative, there has been created since March 4th, 1841, a debt of Fifteen Millions, and according to the same report, the Whig majority in Congress have settled no system of reducing expenses. It is time indeed that the whigs of Ohio should again exhibit their coons, and Henry Clay should sacrifice "virgin heifers" in every state of the Union, as well as in Kentucky, to sustain this corrupt and profligate party from just indignation.—*Hart. Times*.

"When will 'the Penitentiary claim its own?'"—The Philadelphia Ledger particularizes the case of a mother and three daughters in that city, who, before the failure of the United States Bank were worth \$30,000.—The whole of this sum was invested in the Institution above named, from the whole of which they could not now probably realize over one hundred or two hundred dollars. Their wearing apparel and every thing else that could be converted

into means for procuring nourishment, have since gone, article by article, until dresses were not left fit for more than one or two of their number to make themselves public in; and for the last six weeks they declare that not an article of food of any kind except potatoes, has passed the lips of one of them! "In the meantime," asks the N. Y. Sun, "where is Nicholas Biddle and the horde of plunderers, who have wasted the substance of this widow and these orphans? How long will it be before justice is meted out to these public plunderers—before "the penitentiary will claim its own?"

President of a Party.—This was one of the standing objections urged by the whigs against Mr. Van Buren. He was the President of a party.—But now these consistent partizans are denouncing Mr. Tyler as a "Traitor."—Not a traitor to his country. Oh no. But a traitor to the "Whig Party." His treachery consists in not signing a bill for a National Bank; an institution, as Mr. Jefferson truly said, of the most deadly hostility to the constitution; and in not consenting to an unconditional contribution of the monies derived from the public lands, when every farthing of it, and millions more, are wanted to defray the expenses of the Government. Both are party measures; obnoxious in the highest degree, to a large majority of the people. And for refusing to sanction these; for obeying the will of the people, rather than the wishes of the Whig party, president Tyler is stigmatized as a traitor. How very consistent!

Keep out of bad Company.—The Boston American recently asked the editor of the Portland American, how his marm did; to which the Portland editor replies as follows:

"She's nicely, and in the enjoyment of good health and a clear conscience, owing to her thorough democracy.

We recollect, when we were to start off from parental influence into the world, how the good old lady placed her spectacles upside down on the tip end of her blessed and venerable nose, and among other excellent advice, warned us, as we valued our peace of mind, to be true to our country and to old Hickory.

"Take care of them ere federals, my son. They were Tories in the Revolution, and have been so ever since. Don't have nothing to do with them." That's the right sort of "Marm."

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE.

[From the Eve. Journal, July 9, 1841.]

The people and the country need a NATIONAL BANK. Congress ought to charter one.

[From the Eve. Journal, May, 17, 1841.]

To this country and people A NATIONAL BANK is as INDISPENSABLE as a NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

From Mr. CLAY's letter to J. Stratton, Sept. 13, 1842.]

A SOUND NATIONAL CURRENCY—regulated by the will and authority of the nation.

[From the N. Y. Courier and Enq. Sept. 1842.]

We trust that during the present political contest it will be distinctly understood, that the WHIG PARTY are COMMITTED to the creation of a NATIONAL BANK.

For Tippecanoe and TYLER too.—Whig Song.

WING DECENCY, PIETY AND ELOQUENCE!—At the recent whig meeting in Albany, Mr. Caruthers, a member of Congress from Tennessee, spoke of President Tyler, whom he helped sing into office in 1840, as follows:

"When Judas Iscariot betrayed his Master, he had the magnanimity to go out and hang himself. When Benedict Arnold sold his country, he had the decency to run away. But there is John Tyler: he will not die—he will not resign, nor will he hang himself, nor run away. I do not wish to have him assassinated. Oh no! But if God in his providence should think proper to take him away hence, we, my friends, should be among the last to mourn."

Where is the Democrat that would not be proud of such a Wife.

A FACT.—I was told of the following circumstance a few days prior to the Aldermen's election in Savannah. I did not desire the publication of it then, for fear that invidious individuals might impute it to an electioneering device.

"Well," said a wife to her husband, "that good friend of yours has been here again, inquiring for you—he told me, positively, that the whig party had come to the conclusion to support only persons who would vote the whig ticket for aldermen, and that my husband would either have to vote in that way, or lose his place upon the city watch. I told him that my husband was a democrat, very poor, and very dependent; but, poor as he was, his family cared not a fig for man's proscription, that to God we looked for blessings and not to the whigs, and rather than my husband should be made subservient to any party that his mind and conscience did not approve of, I would, feeble as I am, work at sixpence a day, and subsist upon the verriest pittance.

"I told him to leave my house, humble and unprovided for as it was, for he disgraced and profaned it by his presence—that none other than the meanest and most contemptible specimen of human nature, would attempt to rob a citizen of his birthright by appeals to the sympathies and necessities of a wife!"

What a rebuke! Aye, and what a wife! The proudest daughters of our state might well envy the native dignity and uncorrupted purity of such a lady. The possession of her hand and heart, is wealth and happiness for any man.—Savannah Georgian.

THE RIGHT COURSE.

The following extract from the Richmond Enquirer, contains sentiments to which we heartily assent, and have before expressed; but it gives us great pleasure to find them expressed by the veteran Ritchie:

We stand uncommitted to any candidate for the Presidency and mean to remain so. We will engage in no discussion upon the question. We go for principles and not for men. We must establish our principles in the hearts of the people, and then we will come out for the best and most available man to carry them out. Any honest capable man sooner than Henry Clay, say we!—But if any individual in our ranks should be prompted, by his private ambition to mingle in the contest—if he should be so mean, so utterly lost to the great issue which the republic has at stake, as to look to himself, instead of our principles; as to intrigue for his elevation; as to encourage his friends to interest

themselves for his own success: as to prompt them to attack his competitors—then we solemnly pledge ourselves to take up any other Democrat sooner than such a selfish and ambitious aspirant. If all the aspirants should take the same selfish course, then we must cashier them all, and look out for some more upright champion, from the more unassuming walks of life to lead us to victory. We cannot express in terms too plain and too strong the firm determination of our soul. We trust, too, that such are the purposes of the great Republican party. In fact, we heartily believe that any man who would rather take the other course—any man who would postpone his claims at the present moment—who will bide his time—who will have the magnanimity to recommend another in preference to himself—would, by that very act, bind himself by ‘hooks of steel’ to the heart of the Democracy. It was this noble conduct in Crawford towards Col. Monroe, which won to him many, many warm friends in 1823—Who there so high-minded and so wise as to take a similar course in these extraordinary times?

“*Stoppage of the Public Works!*”—Who stopped them? The democrats did not. They were stopped—immovably stopped—long before the law declaring that fact was passed by the legislature. They were stopped under the inexorable law of NECESSITY—the contractors and laborers having gone for six months without their pay, owing to the impossibility of negotiating our stocks, under the reckless and dishonest administration of the whigs. In ascribing to the democratic party a policy hostile to improvements, the whig electioneers know that they do not represent the truth to the people. The democratic policy was to progress steadily with the improvements of the state, keeping within the bounds of ability and prudence; not to go headlong, reckless of results, and contracting debts without making provision for payment, but in such a way as a frugal individual would conduct his business—in such a way as an honest man would do—to contract no more debts than he had the means of paying, and to improve his grounds or buildings no faster than his wants and resources would justify. Will any enlightened and fairminded citizen of this state of whatever party, after the experience that has been had, and in view of the results now seen and felt, consent to re-exchange this safe and successful policy, for the ruinous, anti-paying, never ending credit system of the whigs?

Is there an Adopted Citizen among the producing and working classes that will not vote for Farmer Bouck after reading the following:—

To the Editor of the Rochester Republican:

SIR—I received a letter from a gentleman in this State last January, and the sentiments expressed in said letter are so truly REPUBLICAN, that I have a strong desire to lay one or two extracts from it publicly before my countrymen, who have made this the land of their choice. It is indeed consoling to us who have been driven by misrule from the land that we “adored” that there is “balm in Gilead,” at least on this side the Atlantic, and it is heart-cheering to have the hand of fellowship extended to us from such a high source; it is one of the many assurances that we never need fear persecution from persons of elevated minds and exalted

characters. The following extracts are selected from this truly Democratic communication:

“FULTON, January 20th, 1842.

“Yours of the 4th inst. has been received. I can assure you I read with much satisfaction your interesting letter, and was particularly gratified to learn that you remain steadfast in the good old political faith which you professed and practised when we first met about 18 years since. In the various political changes which have taken place in the last twenty years, it is gratifying to hear from an old political friend who has stood firm, and suffered the clouds of political adversity to pass over him unheeded.”

“Allow me to say that I do not concur with you in the supposition that a native citizen should be preferred to an ‘adopted citizen’—such is not the genius of our government. When the terms of the Constitution are complied with, we should recognize no distinction among our citizens, except such as are justified by substantial worth.—Every citizen should feel that he has equal claims on the patronage and support of the government. Let me hope that for the future you will discard the idea, that because you are an adopted citizen you have not equal rights; but that you will place yourself on the broad platform of American equality, and aspire to that merit known to private and political integrity, and moral worth.

Receive assurances of my

Confidence and Esteem,

WILLIAM C. BOUCK.”

The sentiments contained in the above extract are, (in my opinion,) calculated to rivet the hearts of adopted citizens to the institutions of America, even if they had not taken the oath of allegiance.

Your publishing the extracts together with the remarks, will much oblige

Yours, &c.,

AN ADOPTED CITIZEN.

ROCHESTER, April 14th, 1842.

PAPER MONEY.

One of the best illustrations of the virtues of a paper currency, is the following from a St. Louis paper.

It seems that a party of gentlemen were telling their “experience,” while standing in front of the Gas Light Office, when a well known genius came along, and breaking into the “party,” told his story something in this wise:

“Hold your horses,” said he, “and if you want to hear the greatest shaving story that you ever did hear, just keep cool. I never have, in all my life, had much money on hand at one time; but a short time before the suspension of specie payments by the Miner’s Bank of Dubuque I had \$200 of her bills, and when I heard the news of her failure, I thought she would rise again, so I held on to the money. After a few weeks, I saw it was going to ruin, and I determined to get rid of it; so I took it to a broker’s, and changed it for Cairo, at thirty per cent discount. This I look on as paying pretty dear for a shave: but the next thing I heard was that the Cairo Bank had blown up; and I goes off to a broker’s instantan, and off comes twenty-five per cent. more, and then I had the product of my speculations in the State Bank of Illinois money. Next

thing away goes the State Bank—hursted all to pieces—and hang me if I didn't lose thirty per cent. more in obtaining shawneetown money; and then I thought I was safe, with what little money I had got—but alas! for all worldly affairs!—down goes the Shawneetown Bank—refuses to resume—panic raised—and to prevent the brokers from shaving me again, I went to a private individual, and gave him all the Shawneetown money I had for twenty dollars in Ohio money, and on offering to pass it, I was told that it was counterfeit. And now, whether you believe it or not I tell you, gentlemen, it is the fact, there is the whole remains of my \$200."

Upon this he produced two ten dollar bills on the Ganga Bank of Painesville, and exclaiming, "Yes, them two cursed counterfeit notes on the Bank of Ganga are the whole remainder of my money speculation,"—rushed around the corner and up Locust Street, while the whole company went right over to the Tontine and liquored.

PLAIN FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.

It is well at times to go back a little into the history and practices of parties, that we may the better understand their present character and tendency. At the last Presidential election the people trusted the Federal or whig party with power; let us look briefly into the history of that party. And first, of *Banks*.

Early in President Jackson's administration, a controversy arose between the President and the United States Bank, which led to a veto of the bank charter—the removal of the deposits—the removal of Secretary Duane—committees of investigation twice admitted and once excluded by the bank—the exclusion by the bank of the government directors—the protest of the French draft and the question of damages—the final re-chartering of the bank by the legislature of Pennsylvania—its suspension, resumption, second suspension and final insolvency.

On all these questions, without a solitary exception, the Whig party took sides with the bank. The President alleged the charter of the bank to be unconstitutional, the Whigs denied it—the President insisted the political practices of the bank were dangerous, the Whigs denied it—the President charged the bank with creating enormous expansions and contractions in the currency of the country, for the very purpose of producing hard times, embarrassment and distress, the Whigs denied it. To check this foreseen evil, the President determined to remove the deposits, the Whigs denounced him as a usurper—to accomplish the point, he removed the Secretary of the Treasury, the Whigs said he was a tyrant for so doing—his friends, at this instance, sent a committee from Congress to investigate the affairs of the bank; Mr. Biddle refused to produce the books, and the Whigs said Mr. Biddle was right and that Congress and the President were wrong—the President instructed the government directors to report to him the proceedings of the bank in relation to political loans; Mr. Biddle excluded these directors from the discount committee, so they could learn nothing, and the Whigs cheered Mr. Biddle for so doing. The Bank laid strong hands upon government dividends to the amount of some 150 000 dollars, as damages on the French draft, the President refused to allow the claim, the bank would not pay over, and the Whigs adhered

to Mr. Biddle against the government. The charter obtained from the legislature of Pennsylvania, and the authority to suspend, were charged to be the fruit of bribery, the Whigs denied it—the bank for months and years before her dissolution was said to be insolvent, the Whigs denied it. From beginning to end, the Whigs fought for the bank and against the government of their own country!

Well, the long agony is over—and who where right? Of all rotten corporations in the country, there is none more fetid than the United States Bank. The great Mr. Biddle, the splendid financier, next to Clay and Webster, the greatest man in all the Whig ranks, has been indicted for his swindling transactions in that bank, by a sober grand jury of his own city. The men who procured the authority to suspend, Hurd, and his accomplices, have also been indicted for bribery. A Philadelphia jury has decided that the bank had no right to retain the \$150,000 damage on the French draft. In fact, upon every point of the controversy, experience has shown that the people and the President were right, and that the bank and the Whigs were wrong.

Here, then, is a lesson, taught by the safest of all counsellors, experience.

But there are other facts in this connexion. The very hard times which Gen. Jackson predicted the bank would bring about has followed. Thousands have been ruined—tens of thousands have suffered. After all this has passed before our eyes, would any man believe that a wise statesman, or a sensible party would again advocate such a bank? In the last campaign, even the Whigs seemed to have gathered wisdom from the past, and declared that they were no longer in favor of a bank. But the instant they got into power, they passed a bill to make another enormous bank, from which we were saved only by the firmness of the President, who applied the veto.

If you are an independent man, reader, think of these things. Knowing these facts to be so—passing them all in review before you—can you be in favor of another such bank? Can you wish the same revolting scenes to be again practised? Would you visit on your children the same distresses you have suffered? If, in the honesty of your heart, you say you would not, then reflect, can you go with a party who have always been the advocates and supporters of such an institution.

Answer at the polls, before God and your country?
—*Trenton Emporium*.

Hard Cider Times Revived.—The following resolution passed by the Whigs of Mount Pleasant will be read with unfeigned sorrow and regret by all who have taken any interest in the great temperance movement, which has been sweeping for more than a year over the land.—It will be seen that the whigs are about to renew the *hard cider carousals*, the song singing buffoonery and drunkenness of 1840.

"Resolved, That the whig lateh string of this town hang outside the door, and *we pressingly invite our friends from all parts of the country to come and pull it, they will find the HARD CIDER as refreshing as it was in 1840, our songs quite as patriotic and melodious, and our 'Coons' just as slick and sagacious. In fact we have got 'the same old Coon'.*"—*Highland Democrat*.

THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC GUIDE

EQUAL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES ARE ALL THE PEOPLE ASK FOR.

THE blessings of Government, like the dews of Heaven, should be dispensed alike on high and low, the rich and the poor.

The privilege of self-government is one which the people will never be permitted to enjoy unmolested. Power and wealth are continually stealing from the many to the few.

JACKSON.

WILLIAM LEGGETT.

VOL. I.

OCTOBER, 1842.

No. XII.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS.

Twenty-Seventh Session—1841-42.

For the debates in Congress of which we give an analysis in the following pages, in conformity with a promise made to our readers in our prospectus, we are indebted to the Congressional Globe.

Such has been the continued altercation and wrangling exhibited by the *majority* in our national legislature, that the task of presenting an outline of their sayings and doings, is one of no ordinary character. More than eight months have now elapsed since the Congressional Session commenced, and the actual benefits, if any, derived from the labors of this *august* assembly, might easily have been accomplished in one-eighth portion of the time. We presume they have been amply provided for by the *people's* money during their long, uninteresting and almost useless sojourn at Washington. A return to their respective houses some time since, might perhaps have been less profitable to *them*, but in our estimation, far more conducive to the happiness and prosperity of the country.

Instead of accomplishing any thing that might ameliorate the condition of the country—that might place before the view of a suffering community any *hope* for the future, they have been content to waste the public treasures in an attempt to “head Capt. Tyler”—to embarrass every measure which might seem to promise relief to our citizens—to bargain with “*Home leaguers*”—with *Protective Tariff men*, and to put their *darling Harry of the West* in a proper

condition to run the *Presidential race*, in 1844.

We earnestly call on the bone and sinew of our country to read the preceding article—to act on the principles it inculcates—to rally—to place men in our national and state legislatures who will attend to their interests—who will merge all private considerations, as well as those of mere party, in the public good—who will not harass the Executive for the mere desire for opposition, and who will do something more than “talk by the hour.”

Opening of Congress—Sub-treasury repealed—No Fiscal Agent to regulate exchanges.

The alarming state of our commercial relations—deranged currency and general prostration of the country, drew the attention of President Tyler, in his message to Congress, to the subject of a Fiscal Agent, which should supply the place of the *Sub-treasury system* repealed in the extra session by the Federal Whigs. Mr. Tyler proposed that a board of control should be established at Washington, with agencies in our most prominent commercial cities, for the safe keeping of the public monies—that the public might substitute treasury notes in lieu of gold and silver—that the limits of the issues of treasury notes should not exceed 15,000,000, without a legislative enactment—that deposits of gold and silver might be made and certificates granted thereon, and finally authorized the purchase and sale of domestic bills and drafts, resting on a real substantial basis, payable at sight

or having but a short time to run, and drawn on places not more than 100 miles apart.

Mr. Benton opposed this new banking concern with that energy which has always distinguished his opposition to encroachments on the Constitution. He contended that it presented the Federal Government as a board of exchange brokers—that the emission of paper money by Congress was unconstitutional—that the mode of paying the incidental expenses of this Fiscal Agent was unknown in the annals of our country. We are assured our readers will coincide in opinion with the Missouri Senator when we recall to their recollection that it was proposed to pay the expenses of this governmental stock exchange by authorizing it to receive premiums for its *certificates of deposit*, and on bills bought and sold by it.

Revision of the Tariff.

The consideration of a revision in the Tariff, as recommended in the message of Mr. Tyler, produced the most protracted debates in the early part of the session. The Federal Whigs advocated a high protective duty—while the Democratic party contended for such a Tariff only as should supply the exigencies of Government and leave commerce free to its *natural* regulations.

For our own part, we consider the words Tariff and tax as synonymous. Admitting the correctness of this remark, we contend that taxes, to be just, should be *equal*. The Tariff is unequal: if high, in its operations it enables the large capitalist to break down and crush his neighbor whose means are not so abundant. He can annihilate the resources of the less fortunate manufacturer, and raise his commodity to a price suitable to his own purposes after having so done. Is a high protective Tariff in favor of the *working classes*? Believe it not, reader of the Guide. Ask yourself the question—turn back to the facts which for years have stared you in the face—and point a single instance under a high protective Tariff where the wages of the *operatives* have been increased? The increased profits have not passed into the pocket of the *working*

man—he has been allowed no share in them—they have been deposited in the pocket of the lordly aristocratic *manufacturer*, who, not content with thus fattening on the labors of his *operatives*, has denied them the political privilege of voting according to their consciences, under the penalty of losing *all* employment.

Bill to repeal Mr. Clay's Land Distribution Bill.

On Monday, Dec. 21st, 1841, Mr. Linn, of Missouri, introduced a bill into the Senate to repeal the distribution land bill of the *retired Western Senator*, and to appropriate the proceeds of the public lands to the common defence of the Union. In the course of the debate which ensued on the introduction of Mr. Linn's bill, we find the following forcible remarks from Senator Buchanan of Pa.

"I have not had time to read the report of the Secretary of the Navy—but I understand it is an able, nay, a splendid document. It proposes, I am told, to increase our navy to half the size of the British navy, without considering that the cost of our navy, man for man and gun for gun, is probably double that of Great Britain. Thus, with a revenue deficient of fourteen millions of dollars, we are indulging in the most splendid prospects of glorious schemes. Sir, I am in favor of economy: but whilst I am in favor of economy, I would not neglect the proper defences of the country—I would not yield a particle of our rights to any nation on earth. But we must come down from our high notions. When we are in such an encumbered and embarrassed condition, we ought to think of paying *off our debts*, before we think of such splendid schemes. And if I were in favor of distribution, it certainly would not be until after the payment of the public debt and after our finances shall be re-established."*

* For a more full exposition on the subject of the navy appropriation bill referred to by Mr. Buchanan, we refer our readers to the admirable speech of the Hon. Fernando Wood, of New York, in the House of Representatives, March 20th, 1842, to be found in page 261 in this journal.

We cannot withhold an extract from Mr. Woodbury's speech on the above bill :

"Let the distribution act be repealed, said he, and let the source of revenue from public lands be appropriated as proposed in this repeal bill, and it will shew to foreign countries that this Government has something *definite* and *tangible* to bear the expense of any war in which it may be engaged. Let, then, war come, or be protracted how or when it may, there is an inexhaustible public domain to live upon and yield income, even if foreign commerce become suspended. The annual income from this source of revenue would by itself pay the interest on a loan of fifty millions, if necessary. A foreign nation before or during war, would be more reluctant to be involved in hostilities with a country possessed of such resources, than if surrounded by thousands of forts and neither revenue nor credit." The naval force of this country, with such means and such credit to sustain it, is worth more than bayonets for protection from insults or aggression, if having only besides them a reckless character and waste of every public resource.

Bankrupt Law—opposed by Mr. Benton on the ground of injustice and unconstitutionality.

Mr. Benton contested the passage of the bankrupt law with more than his accustomed zeal—he contended that it was no bankrupt law, and, *as such*, Congress had no moral or constitutional right to pass it; that the law was a law for the *abolition* of debts—excessively injurious to the interests of the creditor, and made only for the debtor; that under its operation a man might as often as he pleased become a bankrupt, and probably gain twenty-five per cent. at each period; that it might be made a *profitable* business; that it was a *political* scheme, fraught with evil, brought into existence during the extra session in order to catch the *votes* of the hundreds of thousands who were anxious to be covered by its protecting wings. Mr. B. further argued that other bankrupt systems, as those in Europe, were

equal in their operation; that *Banking Institutions* could claim no exemption from the common provisions of bankruptcy, but that in our own country, under the present odious law, the *banks* would be allowed to share in the effects of all other bankrupts, while *they* were removed from under the influence of the law.

Messrs. Wright, Buchanan and Calhoun were always found by the side of the Senator from Missouri, protesting against the passage of this law—presenting numerous petitions against it, some for repeal and others for modification. A corresponding opposition to this law, in the Senate, manifested itself in the House of Representatives. On Thursday, January 20th, on the presentation of a petition from the citizens of Richmond, Virginia, for the repeal of the bankrupt law, Mr. Briggs moved that the "said petition be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, with instructions to report an amendment to the bankrupt law, by which *all corporations* which issue paper to be circulated as *money*, shall be brought within the provisions of the said law." The Federal Whigs got rid of the motion by calling for the *previous question*. Every attempt of our democratic friends, to repeal this law, or to include in its provisions the monied monopolies, was rendered abortive by the majority (Federal Whigs) resorting to this political artifice.

Treasury Note Bill—Banks and their Circulation.

In the debates on the Treasury Note bill, Mr. Benton offered as an amendment to its provisions, that a tax of ten cents should be laid on bank notes and all other paper put in circulation as money by corporations, individuals or companies. Mr. B. subsequently withdrew his amendment at the solicitation of his friends, pledging himself again to bring it forward as soon as an opportunity offered, which, said he, will be very soon under this *tax-laying administration*.

Mr. Bayard, in the course of the debate above referred to, declared there were *now* 901 *banks* which held the community in

debt to them *four hundred and sixty-two millions of dollars*. These banks, said Mr. B., "have usurped the Federal power over the currency. Here in this very city, (Washington) in the face of a penal enactment, we find the most miserable bills circulating as a currency."

Paper Money payments and forced tenders of Treasury Notes.

On the 12th of February, 1842, Mr. Benton rose in his place in the Senate to offer a resolution on the subject of paper money payments, &c., founded on a personal transaction. Mr. B. determined to test the constitutionality of *paper money*, at the seat of Government, directed that a check for \$142, signed by the Secretary of the Senate, on the Bank of Washington, for the congressional services of Mr. Benton, should be paid in gold or silver or returned *protested*. The cashier refused to pay the amount in hard money, and a public notary, under the direction of the Senator, protested the order, for non-payment. In presenting a resolution based on this occurrence, Mr. Benton said, "tyranny must be resisted: oppression must be resisted: violation of the constitution must be resisted: wickedness must be resisted; otherwise there is an end of *law*, of *liberty* and *right*. Sir, continued Mr. B. resistance must be made: the safety of the country and the constitution demands it. It must be made *here*: for here is the *source* and *presence* of *tyranny*. It must be made by some one in *station*, for the voices of those in private life cannot or will not *here* be heard. The Whig administration *in its first year*, is without money, without credit, and with no other means of keeping up but by forced payments of paper money, which it strikes from day to day to force into the hands and to stop the mouths of its unfortunate creditors. This is its condition, and is the natural result of the folly which threw away the land revenue, which repealed the hard money clause of the Independent Treasury, and which now demands the establishment of a national manufactory of paper

money for the general and permanent use of the Federal Government."*

Custom House Investigation.

In a debate in the Senate arising out of a resolution offered by Mr. Pierce, we find the following appropriate reply by Mr. Buchanan to an attack on Mr. Van Buren's administration by Harry of the West. The *retired Senator*, instead of meeting the subject before the House, that of misconduct in Mr. Van Buren's administration, had selected the appointments of Samuel Swartwout and Jesse Hoyt as the objects of his special attack. In the reply to this attack, Mr. Buchanan says: "The Senator will not be able to shift from himself and his party the responsibility of proving to the country the corruptions of which they accused the late administration, by diverting attention to Jesse Hoyt or any other Custom House officer. The charges made in the face of the country by the Whig party, and which they *pledged themselves to prove the moment they got into power*, were those of enormous corruption and abuses; and when they did get into power, one of their first acts was to appoint six of their own commissioners to ferret out the abuses and corruptions of the New York Custom House, with which they were to astound the country. Yet now, after ten months' investigation—after the inquiry has penetrated every thing—when the friends of the late administration call for *proof*—when they demand the exposure of their alleged corruptions and abuses—instead of being fairly met with the facts and evidences, they are told of Jesse Hoyt's and Samuel Swartwout's appointments by General Jackson! Mr. Buchanan said on a future occasion he would review the expenses of the late and present administration. He would then shew that *five millions* of the expenses of the government were brought about by the Whig party in consequence of their extravagance at the extra session.

* For a more detailed account of this transaction, we refer our readers to No. 7 of this Magazine, page 208.

Retrenchment and Reform—Mr. Clay's Resolution on an Increased Tariff—Compromise Act.

On the 19th of March, 1842, the Senate took up the resolution of Mr. Clay to raise the Tariff beyond 20 per cent. as fixed by the *Compromise Act*, and to *repeal* the provision in the extra session for the distribution of the public lands, requiring that act to be suspended in the contingency of a higher rate of duty than 20 per cent. Mr. Calhoun was *then, as now*, the foremost to stand forward in opposition to this direct violation of the *Compromise Act*. In a strain of the most masterly argumentative eloquence, he contended that the resolutions of Mr. Clay were most paradoxical in their character. "The professed principle of one, said Mr. C., is to adhere to the *Compromise Act*, to lay a tariff for *revenue alone*, and to raise revenue for no other purpose than to provide for an economical administration of the government. Instead, continued Mr. C., of a disposition to adjust expenses by an *economical* adjustment, these resolutions manifest a direct contrary disposition—that of swelling the expenditures to an amount far beyond the real wants of the government." Mr. Calhoun then reviewed the operation of the *Tariff regulated by the Compromise Act*, in its relation to manufactures and exports. He demonstrated beyond a doubt, that the manufactures at Lowell had considerably increased, not only in quantity but in rate of profit, under the *Compromise Act*. In relation to *exports*, said Mr. C., the aggregate value of cotton exported from 1826 to 1834, was two hundred and one millions of dollars: for the next seven years, under the *Compromise Act*, from 1834 to 1841, it was *four hundred and thirty-five millions*—an increase of 115 *per cent.* over the high protective tariff. In the article of tobacco the increase was still greater, being 18 millions—equal to an increase of 43 per cent." With these facts before us, supported by the most unquestionable documentary evidence, can any one, a *Federal Whig excepted*, doubt for a

moment that a high protective Tariff must be ruinous to the country? It may, as in 1828, indeed, fill the treasury to overflowing; it may form the basis of another system of Banking, which shall spread through the country with the rapidity of lightning; under its influence the hydra of speculation may again rear itself; the banks may doubly swell the market with their *paper promises*; ten thousand dollars in *paper* may obtain fifty thousand dollars in credit; but the day of *reckoning*, as surely as that of judgment, will come—awful in its consequences, desolating in its influences.

We are aware little can be said that will arrest the iron hand of power in its exercise over the liberties of a prostrate people by the Federal Whigs—our resources are not of the *present*, but in the *future*. That the Tariff bill will not pass under the form in which it was presented by Henry Clay, or that it will be vetoed by President Tyler, we can have little doubt. Let us have a tariff for the resources of Government alone, not one that will blast the fair fruits of industry, depress poverty and enhance wealth; let our trade be as free as our country, open to honorable competition; a better protection to our trade and manufactures might be found in the moral sense of the people than in high duties on the importation of that which is really, to us, superfluous.

A high protective tariff is one of the means by which our aristocratic gamblers seek to maintain their ascendancy in society and in the Government of the country. It is a *tax* by which affluence can drain the last resources of poverty and smile on the dupe to its artifice.

We are an *agricultural* nation; our resources are in our vallies and mountains—in our vast internal communications—in the abundant produce which the earth yields to us, and in the energy of our laboring and producing classes. If exchanges are generally against us, the fault is our own; if a man buys more than he wants, would he under a proper moral sense increase *by taxation* the value of the article which he pur-

clases; or rather, would he not diminish the consumption of the article produced by his neighbor and increase that of his own? The rule applies to *nations* equally as to individuals: if exchanges are against us, let us diminish our imports and *increase* our exports. Commerce may always be thus made to regulate itself, without an additional and useless protection by a high Tariff duty. Neither is there any possibility that a high Tariff can subserve the purposes for which it is proposed by the Federal Whigs. Raise the tax on an imported article of manufacture to an amount almost exclusive, and we present to the capitalist a temptation at all hazards to produce an equally costly article. In this country, where labor is higher than in Europe, the home manufactured article would soon exceed the additional Tariff—the foreign article would flow in and glut our markets, and commercial ruin would be the inevitable consequence of this dangerous measure.

*Loan Bill—Deficiency in the Revenue—
Portion of Mr. Charles Brown's Speech.
---Means in Treasury in March, 1842.*

In the debate on the extensive loan bill of 1841, and an addition of five Millions of dollars thereto, the following marks and statement of Mr. Charles Brown, are too forcible and pungent---too true to the spirit and the letter, to permit us to pass them over. We commend them to the perusal of our democratic friends.

Mr. Charles Brown would ask the gentleman from Kentucky, [Mr. Marshall] and the gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. Saltonstall,] if the Whig party were not responsible for the deficiencies in the Treasury, intended to be supplied by the bill under consideration, when they would be responsible for the action of the government? What were the facts? He would read from the message of the President, and the report of the Secretary of the Treasury requiring the loan. The President says:

"I feel it to be my duty to invite your attention to the accompanying communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, in relation to the probable demands which will be made upon the Treasury for the present quarter. It will be seen that, without arresting the requisitions which will be made by the War and Navy Departments, for the months of March, April, and May, there will be an unprovided for deficit of upwards of three millions of dollars."

And again:

"The diminution in the revenue arising from the great diminution of duties under what is commonly called the compromise act, necessarily involves the Treasury in embarrassments."

And what does the Secretary of the Treasury say:

"The aggregate of demands upon the Treasury during the present and the two succeeding months, is estimated, as will be seen by the statement which I have the honor hitherto to submit, at \$9,574,040. The immediate means within the command of the Treasurer for meeting these expenditures were at the commencement of the present month, including the unexpended power to issue Treasury notes, under the act of the 31st of January last, about three millions of dollars. Of this sum, nearly two hundred thousand are in the land offices. A portion of the amount has been paid for land since the first of January last, and is required by law to be paid over to the several States. The greater portion of it is held at points not convenient for ordinary disbursements.

"The nett revenue from customs during the present and two succeeding months, is estimated at \$3,250,000. But, after adding this amount to the means now at the command of the Treasury, there will still remain a deficit to be provided for of upwards of three millions for the service of the same period.

Statement of means in the Treasury on the 1st of March, 1842.

Cash subject to the drafts of the Treasurer by the latest returns to this date, with the several depositories and collectors, - - -	\$237,949 03
Subject to draught in the land offices, by latest returns - - -	178,311 20
	<hr/> 416,260 23

Amount of Treasury notes authorized by act of 31st January last, which may be issued on 1st of March	2,653,093 30
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Total of immediate resources	\$3,069,353 53
Estimated revenue from customs during March - - -	1,250,000 00
Do do April -	1,000,000 00
Do do May -	1,000,000 00

Means for the current three months	\$6,319,353 53
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Probable demands during the current three months:

The amount of Treasury notes issued in March, 1841, at 6 per cent. was about \$1,200,000; estimating that two-thirds of these have been already redeemed through the custom house and land offices, there remains to be paid during the month of March - - -	\$400,000 00
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The Secretary of War estimates his requisitions in March at -	\$22,692 00
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The Secretary of the Navy estimates his requisitions in March at -	900,000 00
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No salaries having been paid by the Treasury since the 18th of January on account of the civil list, and the quarterly payment of interests on public debt becoming

due on the first of April, the payment on account of civil list, foreign intercourse, and miscellaneous and legislative expenditures, should the usual appropriation bill pass in the course of March, may be estimated - - - - 1,275,000 00

\$3,737,692 00

The amount of the Treasury notes issued at 6 per cent. during the month of April, 1841, was about \$550,000. Estimating that one-half have been redeemed through the custom houses and land offices, and the other half held for investment, there will remain to be paid in April, - - - - \$425,000

The Secretary of War estimates his requisitions in April at - - 906,128

The Secretary of the Navy estimates his requisitions in April at - 724,000

The civil list, foreign intercourse, and miscellaneous and legislative, will require about - 500,000

2,555,128 00

The amount of Treasury notes at 6 per cent. issued in May, 1841, was about \$1,250,000; estimating, as above, that one-half have already been redeemed, there will be required in May, for this item - - - - \$640,000

The Secretary of War estimates his requisition for May at - - - 1,491,220

The Secretary of the Navy estimates his requisitions for May at - - - 650,000

Civil list, foreign intercourse, and miscellaneous and legislative will require about - 500,000

3,281,220 00

Total estimated expenditures for current three months - - \$9,574,040 00

Deficiency of estimated means \$3,254,686 47"

And what do these figures show? That the proposed expenditures of the present three months will be - - - - \$9,574,040 00

Of which to pay Treasury notes will be - - - - 1,465,000 00

\$8,109,040 00

Deduct also amount due for salaries from 18th January, to 1st March, say - - - - 700,000 00

Actual proposed expenditure for the quarter, from March 1st to June 1st - - - - 7,409,040 00

And what is the revenue to meet this expenditure?

Revenue from customs estimated - 3,250,000 00
Actual deficiency in the revenue for the present quarter to meet the proposed expenditures - - 4,159,040 00
7,409,040 00

Thus showing that the proposed *expenditures* of this administration are, and will be for the three months from March 1 to June 1 of the present year, *more than its revenues*, over four millions of dollars, instead of *three*, as the President says. And, pray, who is responsible for this? Is Mr. Van Buren's administration? What debts or appropriations of the late Democratic Administration are there to make this deficiency? None! none! it is all Whig expenditure—Whig deficiency—and it is but right that the country should know it. But we are told, said Mr. B. by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Marshall] that the whig party is divided! That there is a whig party at this end of the avenue! and a whig party at the other end of the avenue! that they are broken into fragments, and therefore they are not responsible for the administration of the Government. Is this the excuse they intend to offer to the people of this country for their mal-administration of its affairs? Are their party or personal quarrels to absolve them from their representative responsibilities? Are they to continue to hold the power and not be held accountable for its exercise? I ask these questions because it is time the people should know to whom they are to look for the responsibility. But will the Whig party in this and the other House of Congress say it has not the power to make laws—to reduce the expenditures of the Government, or to increase its revenue? Are they not all powerful at this end of the avenue, in both branches of the Legislature, and can show at least what they would do if they could? Have the Whig party at this end of the avenue any right to charge upon their brother at the other end the defeat of any measure they have not sent to him for his approval? But what measure did they propose when they were a united party, that was calculated to stop the expenditures of the Government, and to bring them within its income, or to raise the revenue to meet its expenditures? Did not the Whig party, through its representatives, meet here in May last, clothed with power believed to be omnipotent? Then it was united—brethren from both ends of the avenue met in sweet communion. The party then boasted of its power! It promised to raise the country from ruin and distress to the highest pinnacle of prosperity—from gloom to glory. It would restore credit and confidence. It would fill every man's house with riches, and every man's heart with gladness. It made its rules, and executed them with a rod of iron. It trampled upon the rights of the minority in these halls, and spurned them as if they were slaves or serfs with collars on their necks. It put the gag in their mouths, and applied the lash to their backs. It bade them hold their peace, that its voice—the voice of the great, triumphant and mighty Whig party might speak—might be heard through its acts throughout the land. At the voice of its great leader—the Dictator in the other end of the Capitol—the Whigs, little and great, met in the garrets or cellars of this Capitol in grand

council, in midnight caucus, and there swore to each other, and to their leader to carry his decrees into effect. And they did carry them into effect. The great Whig measures—the Distribution, Bankrupt and Loan bills, with all their kindred spirits, white and gray—were made, matured, and passed into laws. But where, among them all, was this great measure, every where the Whig syren song, before the election—that measure of retrenchment and reform—that measure that was to reduce the expenditures of the Government—that was to stop the wasteful extravagance of the former Administration, and bring us back to the good old days of Republican economy? Where was that great measure at the extra session? Where is that great measure even now? O, yes! we have had retrenchment—we have, after weeks of debate, and the deep research of a committee, *cut off two pages and two clerks.*

It is with great pleasure we record a portion of the remarks made by our fellow townsman, Mr. McKeon on the loan bill. Our Democratic friends have only to read and understand. They will find in the speech of Mr. McK. not *verbosity*, but a plain statement of incontrovertible *facts*. It will be seen by a careful perusal of the two extracts we have made, from Mr. Brown and Mr. McK., to which administration the charge of extravagance justly belongs.

Mr. McK. referred to the President's last message, in which it is stated that the evils now surrounding the Government have not resulted from the present Administration, &c. He would ask the President's friends in the spirit of unkindness, whether the charge was true? What was the state of the Treasury on the 4th of March last? What was the amount of public debt? He referred to Senate document No. 91, of this session, in which the amount was stated from the Treasury Department at \$8,000,000. Was that chargeable on the past Administration? And could it fairly be made a subject of censure at the present time? In that debt were several old debts, among which he mentioned one of \$1,500,000 for the District of Columbia. He read from Mr. Woodbury's last report to Congress relative to the then state of the finances, and said either that he (Mr. W.) was mistaken, or there must be something unkind in the President's declaration now. He said that no debt of a permanent character was contracted during the past Administration. He also referred to Mr. Van Buren's last message, to show that he had left no debt when he went out of power.

He then came back to Mr. Forward's statement of \$8,000,000 debt on the 4th of March last. Take from this the debt for the District of Columbia, the small debts the time of the payment of which was not known, and the amount of Treasury notes at that time paid in at the custom-houses, and by no means could the debt exceed \$5,500,000. That was the condition of the country on the 4th March. He asked the friends of the President to explain this. At the last regular session it was proposed

to give the coming Administration 5,000,000, to be expended after the 4th March; and that amount was given to save the necessity of an extra session. That, he should think, would fairly be an offset against this \$5,500,000 debt.

Within the first month of Harrison's administration he issued a proclamation that the embarrassments of the country required the attendance of the Representatives here on the 31st May. They convened, and he then expected a full statement of the accounts of the Treasury. They were then told that \$12,000,000 would be sufficient to carry the Government out of its difficulties. That was given; and, while they were borrowing money, a most serious mistake was made in giving away the Land fund. The tariff was also raised. When they came here at the commencement of this session, application was made for \$5,000,000 of Treasury notes; and now they were told that they must increase the loan, and fund a debt of eighteen or twenty millions more. He asked the friends of the present Administration whether this was justly chargeable to the past Administration?

Unlike every prudent man in the world, this Government, although in difficulty, was determined to pursue a system of appropriations altogether beyond its revenue. With a revenue decreasing, a Government credit sinking, and a Government borrowing, they had now a proposition to increase the civil and diplomatic expenses and the expenses of the army and navy. They must retrace their steps to restore the country to prosperity. Here was \$25,000,000 asked for as the necessary expenses of the Government. Where was this to come from? Gentlemen said, raise the tariff. They seemed to think there was a magic about a custom-house. The revenue would not come from that source. The sales of foreign goods were greater when banking facilities were afforded, and had diminished with the disorders of the country. If they increased the rate of duty the consumption would be less, and the revenue would not be increased as anticipated. He asked gentlemen to explain the operation of these things, when they come to say the revenue would be increased by raising the duties. The tariff would not do it. Gentlemen had said, take back the public lands. He believed this would in a great measure tend to the restoration of the credit of Government, although it would not give sudden and immediate relief. They had to suit themselves to the want of expansion of the currency, a want of disposition to use imported articles, and to the falling off of the proceeds of the public lands.

What was the remedy which he would recommend he had been asked. He would tell. The State of New York had come up to direct taxation, and its credit was better in Wall street than that of any other State, and he prophesied that, before ninety days, the stocks of that State would be at par. He referred to these things to show—and he spoke only for himself—that we could get through these difficulties and come out with flying colors. Could we get the money by this loan abroad? He had been credibly informed that while the stocks of Spain, which he believed had not paid any interest for twenty years, were selling in Market in London, ours would not sell at all. Was there any probability that we could get

par for the United States stocks, when Ohio stocks were sold for fifty cents, and New York city stocks at ninety-seven or ninety-eight.

We were about to close our remarks on the debates on the loan bill, when the following from John C. Calhoun, Esq., met our eye. We present it without comment. It requires none.

Mr. Calhoun observes, it was not his intention to discuss in detail the provisions of this bill. That had been done so fully and so ably by those who had preceded him on his side, that he had not a word to add.

It was not possible, he conceived, for gentlemen to shut their eyes to the true nature of this measure—a measure standing so prominently by itself. It is prominent in its financial bearings, as one of the great measures of the system of measures commenced at the extra session. The same committee which reported this bill, had reported during the extra session—not long since—its precursor in the system, a loan bill of twelve millions; and so high stood the credit of the Government then, that the committee itself, and all its supporters on the other side, anticipated that the loan would be taken at five per cent. Such, too, was the then opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury. And what has been the sudden and alarming change within the short period of nine months? That change has been such, and so great that the very same committee and the Secretary of the Treasury are compelled to come forward and declare that the credit of the Government has fallen so rapidly and so low that they cannot get money on it, even at six per cent. They not only do this, but they propose such terms as stamp their own conviction of the fallen credit of the Government on the face of this bill, and thus induce a depreciation which must go down as low as the public credit could sink, even in a time of war.

The chairman of the committee, instead of admitting that the difficulty of obtaining this loan is a consequence of impaired credit, has argued that it is the scarcity of money, and the competition for it in the market, which have been the entire cause. But was it not a fact that money in the stock markets of Europe was only worth three to four per cent? And is it not well known that money in this country is plenty at six per cent., and can be had readily for that when undoubted security is offered? What, then, is the real cause of this difficulty? It is the action of the gentlemen themselves. It is their own policy which has brought down the credit of the Government. And how have they done this?

First, by diminishing the income of the Government; by giving away three millions of resources; and then by increasing their expenditures at the extra session upwards of six millions; thus destroying the equilibrium between means and expenditures. And the circumstances under which this was done have contributed far more to impair the credit of the Government. It was done with a full knowledge of the discredit of the States; and a conviction that the least want of foresight would cause a fearful reaction. The gentlemen say the late Administration, left the government in an impaired condition, with debts pressing on the Treasury, and that it was this broke down

its credit. But was that the fact? If it was, did they not avow before hand that they knew it, and did they not undertake to reform the alleged abuses of that Administration. Were they not pledged to redress what was wrong; to bring down expenditures to the income of the Government; and to cause economy to pervade every department? And in what way did they set about this reform?

Instead of the course they promised, they commenced with increased expenditures; gave away part of their resources; and brought forward a system of measures calculated to impair the credit of the Government in the eyes of the whole world. Could they now be surprised, after having been warned of this, to find that all confidence in their Administration was destroyed, and that the credit of the Government was deeply wounded? Why is this bill necessary? Was its necessity unforeseen? Did not their distinguished leader tell them at the extra session that without new means their deficit at the end of the year would be ten millions? What was done to avert this? Were expenditures reduced? Nothing was done but an alteration of tariff for ulterior objects. Nothing but this was done to avert the deficit; but much was done to insure it. An important item of income was squandered away, and expenditures were enormously increased. This was all consistent with the avowed object of their policy, to form a combination of bank and tariff as the only means of relieving the country. In proof of this avowal, he referred to a report from one of the committees of the other House. It was observed that an increased tariff for protection could not be authorized by either branch of Congress directly therefore it was attempted indirectly, by encouraging expenditures to render increased duties indispensable for the revenue to meet the wants of the Government. This is what has led to all the expenses, extravagance and corruption, combining to place the Government in the difficulties under which it labors. If the gentlemen could succeed fully—if they could carry out their system to the full extent, and thereby maintain their possession of power, the results would be more fearful, more alarming to the institutions of this country, than any man could comprehend. He compared the Government to a family with an income inadequate to its expenditures; which instead of giving up its luxurious pursuits, not only continues its extravagance, but went far beyond former expenditures, and, at the same time, gave away a part of its estate.

The gentlemen were entitled to credit for consistency in pertinaciously adhering to their system with a tenacity worthy of a better cause. So tenaciously are the bent on adhering to their system, that when the time comes for fulfilling the clause in their land bill to restore the land fund, they will revoke that clause, and repudiate the very condition, but for which they never could have carried the measure. This is necessary to bring about the grand schemes of the whole system—bank and tariff. When that aim is attained, there will be no reductions; retrenchment will never be heard of; then the system will stand on its own operations, without popular appeals.

In looking over the various Congressional Globes which extend to the end of the ses-

sion, we perceive little more worthy of record; the various fiscal agent bills and their veto by the President; the censure cast on the President by the Senate; the private misunderstanding between Mr. Wise and John Quincy Adams, are matters which are rather subjects for history than connected with politics, strictly so called. From the beginning to the end of the session, the democracy has nobly done its duty. Forced in some degree to compromise its principles for the general good, in the support to the Tariff bill, it was strongly opposed to higher duties than those sufficient for the purposes of revenue. If our democratic friends did not succeed in their endeavors to rescue the country from the imposts of a tariff, they succeeded in forcing the Federal Whigs to give up the scheme of their leader Henry Clay—the repeal of the Compromise Act. The *practical value* of the late Congress will be looked for in vain in the annals of our country. The shameful expenditure of time and the people's money by the Federal Whigs who composed the Congressional majority—the daring innovations on the Constitution sought to be obtained by them, must send them back to their constituents with a brand deep as that imprinted on the forehead of the first transgressor—a mark by which they will be known not only at present, but in future, and we hope better times.

Statement of appropriations made during the second session of the twenty-seventh Congress of the United States of America, specifying the amount and object of each.

H. R. No. 38. *For the support of Government for the year eighteen hundred and forty-two.*

For pay and mileage of members of Congress and Delegates, \$400,000; pay of the officers and clerks of the Senate and House of Representatives, 25,000; stationery, fuel, printing, and all other incidental and contingent expenses of the Senate, 25,000; stationery, fuel, printing, and all other incidental and contingent expenses of the House of Representatives, 100,000; H. R. No. 74, for pay and mileage of the members of Congress and Delegates from the Territories, 273,712; pay of the officers and clerks of the Senate and House of Representatives, 12,500; stationery, fuel, printing, and all other incidental and contingent expenses of the Senate, 35,000; stationery, fuel, printing, and all other incidental and contingent expenses of the House of Representatives, 50,000;

printing and binding ordered by the Senate during the twenty-sixth Congress, and remaining unpaid, 27,282 68; preparing, printing, and binding documents ordered by the resolutions of the Senate of the second of July, eighteen hundred and thirty-six, and March second, eighteen hundred and thirty-seven, relating to the establishment of the seat of Government, 12,250; a deficiency in the appropriations for the twenty-sixth Congress, on account of the contingent and incidental expenses of the House, 98,335 85; the salary of the principal and two assistant librarians and the messenger of the library, 3,450; contingent expenses, for carpet, and repairs to the furniture of the library, 1,500; purchase of books for the library of Congress, 5,000; the purchase of law books for the library of Congress, 1,000; the salary of the President of the United States, 25,000.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

For the salary of the Secretary of State, 6,000; clerks and messengers in his office, 20,300; incidental and contingent expenses of the Department of State, including publishing and distributing the laws, 25,000; compiling, printing, and binding the Biennial Register, 1,466 49.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

For the salary of the Secretary of the Treasury, 6,000; compensation to clerks and messengers in his office, 20,050; the salary of the First Comptroller, and the compensation of the clerks and messengers in his office, 22,600; the salary of the Second Comptroller, and the compensation of the clerks and messengers in his office, 15,250; the salary of the First Auditor, and the compensation of the clerks and messenger in his office, 18,900; the salary of the Second Auditor, and the compensation of clerks and messenger in his office, 20,900; the salary of the Third Auditor, and the compensation of clerks and messengers in his office, 35,050; the salary of the Fourth Auditor, and the compensation of clerks and messenger in his office, 18,950; the salary of the Fifth Auditor, and the compensation of clerks and messenger in his office, 12,500; the salary of the Treasurer, and for the compensation of clerks and messenger in his office, 13,350; the salary of the Register of the Treasury, and the compensation of clerks and messengers in his office, 27,200; the salary of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, and other officers, 98,500; the salary of the Solicitor of the Treasury, and compensation to clerks and messenger in his office, 7,450.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR.

For the salary of the Secretary of War, 6,000; clerks and messengers in said office, 13,350; the salary of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and the compensation of clerks and messengers in his office, 17,900; the salary of the Commissioner of Pensions, and the compensation of clerks and messenger in his office, 16,600; the compensation of clerks in the office of the Commanding General, 1,000; of clerks in the office of the Adjutant General, 7,150; of clerks and messenger in the office of the Quartermaster General, 7,300; of clerks and messenger in the office of the Paymaster General, 7,100; of clerks and messenger in the office of Commissary General of Purchases, 4,040; of clerks in the office of the Commissary General of Subsistence, 3,800; of clerks in the office of the

Chief Engineer, 5,150; of clerk in the office of the Surgeon General, 1,000; of clerks in the office of the Colonel of Ordnance, 8,150; of clerks in the bureau of Topographical Engineers, 3,400.

NAVY DEPARTMENT.

For the salary of the Secretary of the Navy, 6,000; compensation of clerks and messengers in his office, 11,250; salaries of the Commissioners of the Navy Board, 10,500; compensation of secretary of the Navy Board, 2,000; compensation of clerks, draughtsman, and messenger, in the office of said Board, 8,450; this sum to pay arrearage for clerks' salary heretofore appropriated, (the same having been carried to the surplus fund in the year eighteen hundred and thirty-five,) 618 33.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

For salary of Postmaster General, 6,000; salary of three Assistant Postmasters General, 7,500; compensation of clerks and messengers in said office, 48,600; of two watchmen, at three hundred dollars each, 600; salary of Auditor for Post Office Department, 3,000; of clerks and messengers in said office, 55,000; repairs of the building lately occupied by the Post Office Department, 2,572 85.

SURVEYORS AND THEIR CLERKS.

For salary of surveyor general northwest of the Ohio, 2,000; compensation of clerks in his office, per act of ninth May, eighteen hundred and thirty-six, 6,300; salary of surveyor general in Illinois and Missouri, 2,000; compensation of clerks in his office, per act of ninth May, eighteen hundred and thirty-six, 3,820; salary of surveyor general of Arkansas, 1,500; compensation of clerks in his office, per act of ninth May, eighteen hundred and thirty-six, 2,800; salary of surveyor general of Louisiana, 2,000; compensation of clerks in his office, per act of ninth May, eighteen hundred and thirty-six, 2,500; the salary of the surveyor general of Mississippi, 2,000; compensation of clerks in his office, per act of ninth May, eighteen hundred and thirty-six, 5,000; the salary of the surveyor general of Alabama, 2,000; compensation of clerks in his office, per act of ninth May, eighteen hundred and thirty-six, 2,000; salary of surveyor general of Florida, 2,000; compensation of clerks in his office, per act of ninth May, eighteen hundred and thirty-six, 1,000; salary of surveyor general of Wisconsin and Iowa, per act of twelfth June, eighteen hundred and thirty-eight, 1,500; compensation of clerks in his office, per act of twelfth June, eighteen hundred and thirty-eight, 1,600; salary of secretary to sign patents for public lands, 1,500; salary of Commissioner of Public Buildings in Washington city, 3,000; compensation of two assistants to the Commissioner, as superintendent of the Potomac bridge, carried away by the ice freshet, 1,650; for completing the requisite offices, for the Treasury building, 40,375; completing the work yet to be done, and to pay for labor and materials due at the General Post Office building, 74,375; erecting privies, grading and paving courts at the new jail, and erecting suitable furnaces for heating the building, 1,851; pay of John Joyce, account allowed him by the board of commissioners under resolution of Congress, 133 87; enclosing Patent Office and grounds with wood pale fence, clearing grounds, planting trees, preparing and fixing window shutters, 2,000.

UNITED STATES MINT AND BRANCHES.

For salary of the director of the mint at Philadelphia, 3,500; compensation of the treasurer in said office, 2,000; of chief coiner in said office, 2,000; of the assayer in said office, 2,000; of melter and refiner in said office, 2,000; of engraver in said office, 2,000; of the assistant assayer, 1,300; of one clerk at one thousand two hundred dollars, two at one thousand one hundred dollars, and one at one thousand dollars, 4,400; to workmen in said office, 24,000; specimens of ores and coins to be reserved at the mint, 200; salary of the superintendent of the branch mint at Charlotte, North Carolina, 2,000; compensation of assayer in said office, 1,500; of coiner in said office, 1,500; of one clerk, 1,000; to workmen, 3,500; of the superintendent of the branch mint at Dahlonega, Ga. 2,000; of the assayer, 1,500; of the coiner, 1,500; of one clerk, 1,000; to workmen, 2,880; of the superintendent of the branch mint at New Orleans, 2,500; of the treasurer, 2,000; of the coiner, 2,000; of the assayer, 2,000; of the melter and refiner, 2,000; of two clerks, at twelve hundred dollars each, 2,400; of workmen, 2,000; rebuilding flues of melting department, 1,500; iron rods for strengthening north and south wings of the mint, 1,000.

WISCONSIN TERRITORY.

For the salary of the Governor of Wisconsin Territory, as Governor, one thousand five hundred dollars; as superintendent of Indian Affairs, one thousand dollars, 2,500; compensation of three judges, at one thousand eight hundred dollars each, 5,400; compensation of secretary, 1,200; contingent expenses of the Territory, 350; compensation and mileage of the members of the Legislative Assembly, pay of officers, printing, stationery, fuel, lights, enclosing the Capitol square, and all other incidental and miscellaneous objects, 20,000.

IOWA TERRITORY.

For salary of Governor of Iowa Territory, as Governor, one thousand five hundred dollars; as superintendent of Indian Affairs, one thousand dollars, 2,500; compensation of three judges, at one thousand eight hundred dollars each, 5,400; compensation of secretary, 1,200; contingent expenses of the Territory, 350; compensation and mileage of the members of the Legislative Assembly, pay of officers, printing, stationery, fuel, postage, lights, furniture, rent, and all other incidental and miscellaneous objects, 20,175; the arrearages of expenses for the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Iowa, for the present and previous years, 13,421.

FLORIDA TERRITORY.

For salary of the Governor, 2,500; compensation of four judges, at one thousand eight hundred dollars each; and one, at two thousand three hundred dollars, 9,500; compensation of secretary, 1,500; contingent expenses of the Territory, 350; compensation and mileage of the members of the Legislative Council, &c. 27,025.

JUDICIARY.

For the salary of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, 5,000; of eight associate judges, at four thousand five hundred dollars, 36,000; of the district judge of Maine, 1,800; of the district judge of New Hampshire, 1,000; of the district judge of Massachusetts, 2,500; of the district judge of Vermont, 1,200; of the district judge of Rhode Island, 1,500;

of the district judge of Connecticut, 1,500; of the district judge of New York, northern district, 2,000; of the district judge of New York, southern district, 3,500; of the district judge of New Jersey, 1,500; of the district judge of Pennsylvania, eastern district, 2,500; of the district judge of Pennsylvania, western district, 1,800; of the district judge of Delaware, 1,500; of the district judge of Maryland, 2,000; of the district judge of Virginia, eastern district, 1,500; of the district judge of Virginia, western district, 1,600; of the district judge of Kentucky, 1,500; of the district judge of Tennessee, 1,500; of the district judge of Ohio, 1,000; of the district judge of North Carolina, 2,000; of the district judge of South Carolina, 2,500; of the district judge of Georgia, 2,500; of the district judge of Louisiana, 3,000; of the district judge of Mississippi, 2,000; of the district judge of Indiana, 1,000; of the district judge of Illinois, 1,000; of the district judge, of Alabama, 2,500; of the district judge of Missouri, 1,200; of the district judge of Michigan, 1,500; of the district judge of Arkansas, 2,000; of the chief justice of the District of Columbia, 2,700; of two associate judges, at two thousand five hundred dollars each, 5,000; of the judge of the criminal court, 2,000; of the judge of the orphans' court of Washington county, 1,000; of the judge of the orphans' court of Alexandria county, 1,000; of the attorney general of the United States, 4,000; for the compensation of the clerk and messenger, 1,500; of the district attorneys of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, (northern district,) New Jersey, Pennsylvania, (western district,) Delaware, Virginia, (eastern district,) Virginia, (western district,) Tennessee, (eastern district,) Tennessee, (western district,) Tennessee, (Jackson district,) Kentucky, Ohio, North Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, (western district,) Mississippi, (northern district,) and Mississippi, (southern district,) Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, (northern district,) Missouri, Michigan, Arkansas, Florida, (eastern district,) Florida, (middle district,) Florida, (western district,) Florida, (southern district,) Florida, (Appalachicola district,) and Iowa, each two hundred dollars, 6,800; of the district attorney of South Carolina, 366 11; of the district attorney of the eastern district of Louisiana, 600; of the district attorney of Wisconsin, 250; of marshals for the districts of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, (northern district,) New Jersey, Pennsylvania, (western district,) Delaware, Virginia, (eastern district,) Virginia, (western district,) Kentucky, Ohio, Tennessee, (eastern district,) Tennessee, (western district,) Tennessee, (Jackson district,) Louisiana, (eastern district,) Louisiana, (western district,) Mississippi, (northern district and southern district,) Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, (northern district,) Alabama, (southern district,) Missouri, Michigan, Arkansas, Florida, (eastern district,) Florida, (middle district,) Florida, (western district,) Florida, (southern district,) Florida, (Appalachicola district,) Wisconsin, and Iowa, each two hundred dollars, 6,800; of marshal for the district of North Carolina, 400; for defraying the expenses of the supreme, circuit, and district courts of the United States, including the District of Columbia—also, for jurors and witnesses, in aid of the funds arising from fines, penalties, and forfeitures, incurred in the year eighteen hundred and forty-two and preceding years; and likewise, for defraying the expenses of suits in which the United States are concerned, and of pro-

secutions for offences committed against the United States, and for the safe-keeping of prisoners, including expenses under the bankrupt law, and also including thirty thousand dollars arrearages for last year, 375,000.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Annuities and grants: Josiah H. Webb, per act of twelfth December, eighteen hundred and eleven, fifty dollars—Rachael Dohrman, per act of third March, eighteen hundred and seventeen, three hundred dollars—Elizabeth C. Perry, per act of second March, eighteen hundred and twenty-one, four hundred dollars—Elizabeth M. Perry, per act of second March, eighteen hundred and twenty-one, one hundred and fifty dollars, 900; for survey of the coast of the United States, 100,000; for the continuation of the survey of the northern and southern lakes of the United States, 20,000; for completing survey of the boundary between the State of Michigan and Territory of Wisconsin, 7,000; to enable the President of the United States to cause to be made and completed an exploration and survey of that part of the north-eastern boundary line of the United States and the adjacent country which separates the States of Maine and New Hampshire from the British provinces, and for completing maps of surveys already made, and other work, according to estimates, 66,301 75; for salaries of the two keepers of the public archives in Florida, 1,000; for allowance to law agent, assistant counsel, and district attorney, under acts providing for settlement of private land claims in Florida, 3,535 82; for expenses in relation to the relief of certain insolvent debtors of the United States, 2,000; for the support and maintenance of the penitentiary of the District of Columbia, 616; to make good a deficiency in the year eighteen hundred and forty-one, in the fund for the relief of sick and disabled seamen, as established by the act of the third May, eighteen hundred and three, 46,500; to complete and put in a suitable condition for occupation the marine hospital at Mobile, 15,000; for the custom house at Boston, 75,000; for payment of such amount as shall be found due by the select committee, appointed in the House of Representatives on the thirteenth day of May, eighteen hundred and forty-two, for superintendence, work done, and materials furnished in completing the custom house, New York, 23,200; for expenses of sixth census, including printing statistics and reports, enumeration of inhabitants and addendum, and census of pensioners for revolutionary and military services, ten thousand copies each, 110,000; for the removal of the statue of Washington, 1,000; for expenses incident to the issue of treasury notes heretofore authorized, 2,000.

LIGHT-HOUSE ESTABLISHMENT.

For supplying light-houses, 116,735 96; for repairs, refitting, and improvements of light houses, and buildings connected therewith, 125,357 82; for salaries of two hundred and thirty-six keepers of light-houses, 94,038 33; for salaries of thirty keepers of floating lights, 15,800; for seamen's wages, repairs, and supplies to thirty floating lights, 67,176 18; for weighing, mooring, cleansing, repairing, and supplying the loss of beacons, buoys, chains, and sinkers, 25,499 12; for expenses of examining annually the condition of the

light-houses, 15,215; for completing the dike (from Goat Island, Newport, Rhode Island) and removing the light to the new light-house, 13,000.

INTERCOURSE WITH FOREIGN NATIONS.

For salaries of the ministers of the United States to Great Britain, France, Russia, Prussia, Austria, Spain, Mexico, and Brazil, 72,000; salaries of secretaries of legation to the same places, 16,000; salaries of the charges des affaires to Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Belgium, Chili, Peru, Venezuela, New Granada, Texas, Naples, and Sardinia, 54,000; outfits of charges des affaires to Sweden, Belgium, New Granada, and Holland, 18,000; salary of the minister resident to Turkey, 6,000; salary of a dragoman to the legation to Turkey, 2,500; contingent expenses of foreign intercourse, 30,000; contingent expenses of all the missions abroad, 30,000; salary of the consul at London, 2,000; the relief and protection of American seamen in foreign countries, 35,000; clerk-hire, office rent, and other expenses of the office of the consul at London, 2,800; in full for the balance of expenses of running and marking the boundary line between the United States and Texas, 400; salaries of the commissioner and surveyor, 1,125; the benefit of the legal representatives of Edward Lee, 352.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

For the service of the General Post Office for the year eighteen hundred and forty-two, viz: transportation of the mail, 3,150,000; compensation of postmasters, 915,000; ship, steamboat, and way letters, 20,000; wrapping paper, 16,800; office furniture (for offices of postmasters) 4,600; advertising, 33,500; mail bags, 20,000; blanks, 30,000; mail locks, keys, and stamps, 10,000; mail depredations and special agents, 28,000; clerks for offices (i. e. to deputy postmasters) 200,000; miscellaneous, 58,000.

H. R. 79—For the relief and protection of American seamen in foreign countries, 15,000. H. R. 100—For the repair of the custom house in Providence, Rhode Island, 1,000. H. R. 468—For establishing an auxiliary watch in the city of Washington, 7,000. H. R. 469—For erecting and lighting lamps on Pennsylvania avenue, 2,500. H. R. 557—For purchasing materials, and for the support of the penitentiary in the District of Columbia, 7,965. H. R. 446—For certain expenses in the erection of a penitentiary in the Territory of Iowa, 15,000. Senate 88—To provide for an insane hospital for the District of Columbia, 10,000. Senate 94—For the relief of the Plumb Island Bridge and Turnpike Company, 8,000. S. 186—To provide for the reports of decisions of the Supreme Court, 1,300. S. 226—For a new edition of the laws of the United States, 9,130. S. 264—For the permanent employment in the Post Office Department of certain clerks, 13,200. S. 315—For defraying expenses of the Supreme, Circuit, and District Courts, 100,000.

H. R. 639. *For such necessary objects as have been usually included in the general appropriation bills without authority of law, for certain incidental expenses of the Departments and other offices of the Government.*

1. IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

One superintendent of the northeast executive building, at two hundred and fifty dollars; and three watchmen, at three hundred and sixty-five dollars each.

2. IN THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

In the First Comptroller's office, one assistant messenger, at three hundred and fifty dollars. In the First Auditor's office, one additional clerk, at one thousand dollars. In the Second Auditor's office, one additional clerk, at one thousand dollars, until the second of April, eighteen hundred and forty-three. In the Third Auditor's office, three additional clerks: two at one thousand one hundred and fifty dollars each, and one at one thousand dollars. In the Fourth Auditor's office, one clerk, at twelve hundred dollars. In the Fifth Auditor's office, two clerks, under the act of seventh July, eighteen hundred and thirty-eight, at one thousand dollars each. The compensation of the clerk authorized by the act of May twenty-six, eighteen hundred and twenty-four, in the Treasurer's office, is hereby increased to one thousand dollars; and the compensation of the clerk in the same office authorized by the act of July two, eighteen hundred and thirty-six, is hereby increased to one thousand two hundred dollars. In the office of the Register of the Treasury, one loan clerk, (to take effect from fifteenth April, eighteen hundred and forty-two.) at one thousand four hundred dollars. In the office of the Solicitor of the Treasury, three additional clerks, at one thousand one hundred and fifty dollars each; and one law clerk, at fifteen hundred dollars. One superintendent of the southeast executive building, at five hundred dollars; and eight watchmen at three hundred and sixty-five dollars each.

3. IN THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

In the office of the Commanding General, one messenger, at five hundred dollars. In the office of the Adjutant General, one messenger, at five hundred dollars. In the office of the commissary General of Subsistence, one additional clerk, at one thousand dollars; one messenger, five hundred dollars. In the office of the Commissioner of Pensions, one messenger, at seven hundred dollars, until the first day of January next; after which there shall be two messengers only in said office, at a compensation of five hundred dollars each. In the office of the Chief Engineer, one messenger, at five hundred dollars. In the office of the Surgeon General, one clerk, at one thousand one hundred and fifty dollars; and one messenger, at five hundred dollars. In the office of the Colonel of Ordnance, one messenger, at five hundred dollars. In the bureau of Topographical Engineers, two clerks, each one thousand, and one at one thousand four hundred, and one messenger at five hundred dollars. One superintendent of the northwest executive building, at two hundred and fifty dollars, and four watchmen, at three hundred and sixty-five dollars each.

4. IN THE NAVY DEPARTMENT.

In the Navy Commissioners' office—Two additional clerks, at one thousand and four hundred dollars each. Two additional clerks, at one thousand and two hundred dollars each. One superintendent of the southwest executive building, at two hundred and fifty dollars; and three watchmen at three hundred and sixty-five dollars each,

5. IN THE OFFICE OF THE SERGEANT-AT-ARMS, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

One messenger, at the daily compensation received by the other messengers of the House of Representatives, and in lieu of one of them.

6. IN THE OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.

One messenger, five hundred dollars, In the Supreme Court of the United States, the reporter shall be appointed by the court, with the salary of twelve hundred and fifty dollars. The assistant librarian of the library of Congress shall receive eleven hundred and fifty dollars, and the messenger seven hundred dollars per annum, to take effect from the first day of January, eighteen hundred and forty-two, in lieu of their present compensation. The clerk in the office of the Secretary of the Navy, whose salary was fixed at eight hundred dollars by the act of the twentieth of April, eighteen hundred and eighteen, shall receive in addition thereto, two hundred dollars. The Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby authorized to employ an additional clerk, as assistant in his office, at a salary of eighteen hundred dollars per annum; and the superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis be, and he hereby is, authorized to employ one clerk, at a compensation of twelve hundred dollars, in lieu of the two clerks authorized by the act of May ninth, eighteen hundred and thirty-six; and so much of said last mentioned act as authorizes the employment of two clerks is hereby repealed. The several offices and employments hereinbefore mentioned are hereby made and declared to be lawful, to all intents and purposes whatever; and the respective heads of departments, under whom the same are held and exercised, are hereby authorized and empowered to fill the same, and to continue the exercise and discharge thereof, at the salaries aforesaid, until the first day of July, eighteen hundred and forty-four, except such as are otherwise limited in this act: *Provided*, That in all cases where any of the aforementioned officers, or other persons herein authorized to be employed, have already been employed, and are now in the discharge of their respective duties, or have been so since the first day of January last, under the authority of former appropriation bills, at a different rate of compensation than is hereby authorized and affixed to their respective places, they shall be entitled to receive the same rate of compensation heretofore allowed, and at which they have been retained in employment, from the first day of January last to the time of the passage of this act. To the objects herein specified, \$50,000.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

For distributing the aggregate returns of the sixth census, 8,000; for purchasing and preparing indices to the manuscript papers of the Congress of the Confederation, and to the Washington papers, deposited in the Department of State, 1,000.

NAVY DEPARTMENT.

In the Secretary's office: for blank books, binding and stationery, 6,000; extra clerk-hire, 4,250; printing, 300; labor, 350; miscellaneous items, 400; newspapers and periodicals, 100. In the Navy Commissioner's Office: blank books, binding, and stationery, 500; extra clerk-hire, 2,150; labor, 300;

miscellaneous items, 650; the southwest executive building: labor, 325; fuel and light, 1,350; miscellaneous items, 1,150; the northeast executive building: labor, 1,200; fuel and light, 1,400; miscellaneous items, 700.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

In the office of the Secretary of War: blank books, binding and stationery, 600; newspapers and periodicals, 250; labor, 300; printing, 300; miscellaneous items, 550; books, maps, and plans, 1,000 extra clerk-hire, 3000. In the office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, blank books, binding, and stationery, 600; labor, 50; miscellaneous items, 850. In the office of the Commissioner of Pensions, blank books, binding, and stationery, 500; printing, 400; fuel, 150; miscellaneous items, 450. In the office of the Commanding General, miscellaneous items, 300. In the office of the Adjutant General, blank books, binding, and stationery, 200; miscellaneous items, 300; in the office of the Quartermaster General:—blank books, binding, and stationery, 300; labor, 100; printing, 100; miscellaneous items, 400. In the office of the Commissary General of Purchases: blank books, binding and stationery, 100; extra clerk hire, 600; printing and advertising, 1,200; labor, 100; fuel, 100; miscellaneous items, 500.

In the office of the Paymaster General: Blank books, binding, and stationery, 200; fuel 125; miscellaneous items, 400. In the office of the Surgeon General: blank books, binding and stationery, 200; printing, 50; fuel, 75; miscellaneous items, 150. In the office of Chief Engineer; blank books, binding and stationery, 600; printing, 150; fuel, 150; miscellaneous items, 50. In the office of the Colonel of Ordnance: blank books, binding, and stationery, 400; printing, 75; fuel, 150; miscellaneous items, 100. In the bureau of the Topographical Engineers: the support of the light-house on the Delaware breakwater, 1,500; blank books, binding, and stationery, 400; labor, 100; fuel, 550; miscellaneous items, 500. In the northwest executive building: labor, 400; fuel and light, 2,000; miscellaneous items, 1,670.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

In the office of Sec. of the Treasury: for blank books, binding and stationery, 3,500; newspapers and periodicals, 100; labor, 150; extra clerk hire, 1,500; printing, (including the printing of public accounts,) 2,500; sealing ship registers, 100; miscellaneous items, 700; translating foreign languages, 150. In the office of the First Comptroller: blank books, binding and stationery, 1,000; labor, 450; extra clerk-hire, 250; completing indices to public documents in the First Comptroller's office, 300; miscellaneous items, 300. In the office of the First Auditor: blank books, binding, and stationery, 500; labor, 200; extra clerk-hire, 200; miscellaneous items, 100. In the office of the Second Auditor: blank books, binding, and stationery, 300; labor, 250; extra clerk hire, 300; miscellaneous items, 100. In the office of the Fourth Auditor: blank books, binding, and stationery, 600; labor, 50; extra clerk hire, 100; printing, 40; miscellaneous items, 200. In the office of the Fifth Auditor: blank books, binding, and stationery, 250; labor, 125; extra clerk hire, 50; miscellaneous items, 125. In the Treasurer's office: blank books, binding, and stationery, 500; labor, 375; printing, 700; miscellaneous items, 350. In the Solicitor's office: blank books, binding, and stationery, 500; labor, 100; extra clerk hire, 400.

In the Register's office: blank books, binding, and stationery, 1,000; labor, 350; printing, 500; miscellaneous items (including one thousand dollars for cases for the preservation of the records,) 2,000. For the General Land Office: blank books, binding and stationery, and parchments, 12,000; labor, 500; printing, 4,000; miscellaneous items, 1,000; office of the Commissioner of General Land Office: for arrearages, since eighteen hundred and thirty-four, of cost of printing patents, publishing proclamations, printing circulars and blank forms for the land offices, 22,628 17; for compensation of extra clerks and draughtsmen in the offices of the surveyors general, 14 000; office of surveyor general north-west of the Ohio, 4,500; office of surveyor general of Wisconsin and Iowa, 1,000; office of the surveyor general of Illinois and Missouri, 4,500; office of surveyor general of Arkansas, 1,000; office of surveyor general of Louisiana, 3,000; surveying in the State of Louisiana, to be expended at a rate of not exceeding eight dollars a mile, required in part to pay deficiencies in existing appropriations, 13,000. In southeast executive building: labor, 2,200; fuel and light, 3,700; miscellaneous items, 1,900. In the Auditor's Office of the Post Office Department: blank books, binding and stationery, 2,076 68; printing blanks, 811 50; labor, 1,120; continuing fourteen temporary clerks to January first, eighteen hundred and forty-three, employed under the act of September ninth, eighteen hundred and forty-one, 4,182 19; miscellaneous items, 600; blank books and printing, prior to May, eighteen hundred and forty-two, 3,827 17.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

For blank books, binding, and stationery, 1,090; newspapers and periodicals, 100; fuel and oil, including arrearages, 3,600; miscellaneous items, 1,237; printing, 453; labor, 938; one day watchman 360; compensation of temporary clerks, 3,500.

UNITED STATES MINT AND BRANCHES.

For coinage expenses, including materials and implements, fuel, new machinery and repairs of old, die making, and wastage of gold and silver at the Philadelphia mint, 15,200; house expenses, including water rent and taxes, repairs, lighting, cleaning, and watching at the same, 4,000; office expenses, including stationery and postage, 600; coinage expenses, including materials and implements, fuel, repairs, and wastage of gold, at the Charlotte branch mint, 1,200; house expenses, including repairs, lighting, and cleaning at the same, 200; office expenses, including stationery and postage at the same 100; coinage expenses, including materials and implements, fuel, repairs, and wastage of gold, at Dahlonega branch mint, 600; house expenses, including repairs, lighting, and cleaning at the same, 200; office expenses, including stationery and postage at the same, 100; coinage expenses, including materials and implements, fuel, repairs, and wastage of gold and silver, at the New Orleans branch mint, 11,052; house expenses, including water-rent and taxes, repairs, lighting, cleaning, and watching, 3,598; office expenses, including stationery and postage, 350; annual repairs of the Capitol, 7,458 50; annual repairs of the President's house, 2,550; repairs of fence on Pennsylvania avenue fronting the War and State Departments, and fence of President's garden, 200; taking down and removing the two furnaces beneath the wall of the House of

Representatives, 9,634; purchase of ground north of the General Post Office, 25,000; rebuilding the bridge across Pennsylvania avenue at Second street, 12,000; altering, 600; alterations and repairs and fixtures on the north wing of the Capitol, 1,853 45; new floors in the basement story of the President's house, 550; completing the Post Office building, 27,091 71; repairing the stone work which secures the iron pipes where they cross the Tiber, 150; repairing the flag footways at the Capitol and President's House, 200; expenses attending the negotiation of a treaty with the Wyandot Indians of Ohio, in addition to former appropriations, 1,000; compensation to a clerk in the office of Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, 1,200; for compensation to two commissioners to examine claims under the treaty with the Cherokees of eighteen hundred and thirty five, 15,058; compensation for two clerks, authorized to be continued by the Secretary of War in the office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1,500.

JUDICIARY.

The contingent expenses of the Attorney General's office, 500; pay and mileage of the members of Congress, and delegates from the Territories, 122,630; stationery, printing, and all other incidental and contingent expenses of the Senate, 7,058; stationery, printing, and all other incidental and contingent expenses of the House of Representatives, 25,000; [amount of contingent bill, \$517,247 37.]

H. R. No. 75. For the support of the army, and of the military academy, for the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-two.

For the pay of the army, 1,477,700; commutation of officers' subsistence, 527,264; commutation for forage to officers' horses, 116,971; commutation of clothing of officers' servants, 30,240; commutation of clothing not drawn in kind by the troops, 50,240; expenses of recruiting, 15,709 36; clothing of the army, camp and garrison equipage, cooking utensils, and hospital furniture 374,876 80; subsistence in kind, exclusive of that of officers, 769,668; regular supplies furnished by the quartermaster's department, 316,000; barracks, quarters, and storehouses, &c., 135,000; the incidental expenses of the quartermaster's department, 127,000; transportation of officer's baggage when travelling on duty, without troops, 65,000; transportation of troops and supplies, 242,000; contingencies of the army, 9,000; the medical and hospital department, 28,000; extending and rendering more complete the meteorological observations conducted at the military posts of the United States, 3,000; the current expenses of the ordnance service, 100,000; the armament of fortifications, including compensation of a special agent to attend at the foundries employed in making cannon, 150,000; ordnance and ordnance stores and supplies, 100,000; the manufacture of arms at the national armories, 360,000; repairs and improvements and new machinery in the Springfield armories, 20,000; repairs and improvements and new machinery at Harper's Ferry armory, 30,000; arsenals, 120,000; purchase of saltpetre and brimstone, 40,000; expense of preparing drawings of a uniform system of artillery, 1,350; preventing and suppressing hostilities in Florida, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War, 500,000; military surveys for

the defence of the frontier, inland and Atlantic, 15,000; arrcarages for the preservation of the public property at the several places of harbor and river improvement, 15,000; the support of the Military Academy for the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-two, viz: pay of officers, instructors, cadets, and musicians, 60,521; commutation of subsistence of officers and cadets, 40,977; commutation of forage of officers' horses, 4,184; commutation of clothing of officers' servants, 420; defraying expenses of the Board of Visitors, and for the other various current and ordinary expenses of the Academy, other than pay and subsistence, 26,436; increase and expense of library, 1,000; building and repairing the necessary boats, and for carrying on the improvements on the Missouri, Mississippi, Ohio and Arkansas rivers, 100,000; the preservation and repairs of public works heretofore constructed for the improvement of harbors, 30,000; H. R. 516. For the payment of Florida militia, 166,242 20; S. 17. For the payment of Georgia militia, 175,000; S. 57. For the payment of Louisiana militia, 61,278; H. R. 76. *For the naval service for the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-two, viz:*

For pay of commission, warrant, and petty officers and seamen, \$2,335,000; pay of superintendents, naval constructors, and all the civil establishments at the several yards, 73,420; provisions 720,000; medicines and surgical instruments, hospital stores, and other expenses on account of the sick, 30,000; increase, repair, armament, and equipment of the navy and wear and tear of vessels in commission, 2,000,000; ordnance and ordnance stores on the Northern lakes, 59,097; improvement and necessary repairs of the navy yard at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 47,425; improvement and necessary repairs of the navy-yard at Charlestown, Massachusetts, 29,000; improvement and necessary repairs of the navy-yard at Brooklyn, New York, 129,000; improvement and necessary repairs of the navy-yard at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1,600; improvement and necessary repairs of the navy-yard at Washington, District of Columbia, 15,300; improvement and necessary repairs of the navy-yard at Gosport, Virginia, 56,800; improvement and necessary repairs of the navy-yard near Pensacola, Florida, and for a naval constructor at said place, 35,300; necessary repairs of the hospital building and its dependencies at Charlestown, Massachusetts, 3,960; finishing coppering the roof of the hospital building at Brooklyn, New York, 1,500; necessary repairs of the hospital building and its dependencies, at Norfolk, Virginia, 13,750; building an ice-house and privies at the hospital at Pensacola, 2,000; necessary repairs of the Philadelphia naval asylum, 1,300; defraying the expenses that may accrue for the following purposes, viz: for freight and transportation of materials and stores of every description; for wharfage and dockage; storage and rent; travelling expenses of officers and transportation of seamen; house rent to pursers, when duly authorized; for funeral expenses; for commissions, clerk-hire, office rents, stationary, and fuel to navy agents; for premiums and incidental expenses of recruiting; for apprehending deserters; for compensation to judge advocates; for per diem allowance to persons attending courts-martial and courts of inquiry, or other services

authorized by law; for printing and stationery of every description, and for working the lithographic press; for books, maps, charts, mathematical and nautical instruments, chronometers, models, and drawings; for the purchase and repair of fire engines and machinery; for the repair of steam engines in navy-yards; for the purchase and maintenance of oxen and horses, and for carts, timber-wheels, and workmen's tools of every description; for postage of letters on public service; for pilotage and towing ships of war; for taxes and assessments on public property; for assistance rendered to vessels in distress; for incidental labor at navy-yards not applicable to any other appropriation; for coal and other fuel, and for candles and oil for the use of the navy-yards and shore stations, and for no other object or purposes whatever, 450,000; for contingent expenses for objects not hereinbefore enumerated, 3,000; charter of the steamers *Splendid* and *Clarion*, in Sept. and Oct. eighteen hundred and forty one, for the survey of Nantucket shoal, 4,345 89; carrying into effect the acts for the suppression of the slave trade, including the support of recaptured Africans, and their removal to Africa, 10,543 42; the transportation, arrangement, and preservation of articles brought, and to be brought by the exploring expedition, 20,000.

MARINE CORPS.

For pay of officers, non-commissioned officers, musicians, privates, and servants, serving on shore, and subsistence of officers of the marine corps, 183,381; provisions for the non-commissioned officers, musicians, privates, and servants, and washerwoman, serving on shore, 45,054 89; clothing, 43,662 50; fuel, 16,274 12; keeping barracks in repair, and for rent of temporary barracks at New York, 6,000; transportation of officers, non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates, and expense of recruiting, 8,000; medicines, hospital supplies, surgical instruments, pay of matron and hospital stewards, 4,140; military stores, pay of armorers, keeping arms in repair, accoutrements, ordnance stores, flags, drums, fises, and other instruments, 2,800; contingent expenses of said corps, 17,980. H. R. 402—To supply a deficiency in the navy pension fund, 84,951. H. R. 418—For certain sites for marine hospitals, 44,721. H. R. 512—For the erection of a marine hospital at or near Ocracoke, North Carolina, 10,000. S. 175—For the construction of a war steamer, 250,000. S. 285—For the construction of a depot for charts and instruments of the navy of the United States, 10,000.

H. R. No. 80. *For certain fortifications of the United States for the year one thousand eight hundred and forty two.*

For repairs at Fort Preble, Portland, Maine, 1,000; at Fort Scammel, Portland, Maine, 5,000; at Fort Mc Clary, Portsmouth, N. H. 5,000; of Fort Constitution, Portsmouth, N. H. 5,000; of sea-wall on Deer Island, Boston harbor, 2,000; of Fort Independence and sea-wall at Castle island, balance of the original estimated cost of the work, 30,000; Fort Warren, Boston harbor, 33,000; of old Fort Griswold, New London Harbor, Conn. 5,000; completing the repairs of Fort Niagara, at the mouth of Niagara river, New York, and erecting and repairing the necessary buildings thereon 5,000; completing the repairs of Fort Ontario, at Oswego, New York, and erecting the necessary buildings thereon, 6,000; Fort Schuyler, New York harbor, 20,000; completing Castle Williams, New York har-

bor, 5,000: South Battery, New York harbor, 2,000: Fort Columbus, New York harbor, 2,040: permanent wharves for Fort Columbus, Castle Williams, and South Battery, Governor's Island, New York harbor, and to complete the work according to the original estimates, 8,000: repairs of Fort Hamilton, New York harbor, 5,000: repairs for correcting defective construction of Fort Lafayette, New York harbor, 12,000: Fort Monroe, Old Point Comfort, Virginia, 35,000: of Fort Mac n, Beaufort, N. C. 5,000: for preservation of the site of the same, 7,000: for Fort Sumter, Charleston harbor, S. C. towards completing the same, agreeably to the original estimates: for Fort Livingston, Barrataria Bay, Louisiana, 10,000: for carrying on the work at Fort Towson, 10,000: for carrying on the work at Fort Smith, 10,000.

H. R. No. 78. An act making appropriations in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-two.

For revolutionary pensions, under the act of the eighteenth of March, eighteen hundred and eighteen, in addition to a probable balance at the end of the year eight-en hundred and forty one, of one hundred and eighty-eight thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine dollars, \$88,231: for invalid pensions, under various acts, 200,275: for pensions to widows and orphans, per act of the fourth of July, eighteen hundred and thirty-six, in addition to a probable balance, at the end of the year eighteen hundred and forty one, of thirty thousand dollars, 242,000: for five years' pensions to widows, per act of seventh of July, eighteen hundred and thirty-eight, 200,000.

H. R. No. 77. For the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department, and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with the various Indian tribes, for the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-two.

For the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department, viz:—For the pay of the superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, and the several Indian agents, \$16,500; for the pay of sub-agents, 13,000; for the salary of one clerk in the office of the superintendent of Indian Affairs south of the Missouri river, 1,000; for the salary of two clerks in the office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1,500; for the purchase of provisions for Indians, 11,800; for the necessary buildings required at the several agencies, and repairs thereof, 2,000; For postages, rents, stationery, fuel for offices, and other contingencies of the Indian Department, 36,500; For carrying into effect the stipulation of certain Indian treaties, viz:—for fulfilling treaty with the Christian Indians, 400; for fulfilling treaties with the Chippewas, of the Mississippi, 35,000; with the Chippewas of Saginaw 5,800; the Chippewas, Menomones, Winnebagoes, and New York Indians, 1500; with the Chippewas, Ottowas, and Pottawatomies, 33,890; with the Choctaws, 49,450: with the Creeks, 63,940: with the Chickasaws, 6,000: with the Cherokees 5,640: with the Delawares, 10,344: with the Florida Indians, 6,610: with the Iowas, 7,875: with the Kickapoos, 5,000: with the Kaskaskias and Peorias, 3,000: with the Kanzas, 6,040: with the Miamies, 52,393: with the Eel Rivers (Miamies) 1,100: with the Menomones, 31,830: with the Omahas, 1,440: with the Ottowas and Chippewas, 62,365: with the Otoes and Missourias, 5,610: with the Osages, 34,406: with the Ottowas, 4,300: with the Pottawatomies, 15,200: with the Pottawatomies of Huron, 400: with the Pottawatomies of the Prairie, 15,400: with the Pottawatomies of the Wabash, 20,000: with the Pottawatomies of Indiana, 17,000: with the Piankeshaws, 800: with the Pawnees, 9,600: with the Quapaws, 4,660: with the Six Nations of New York, 4,500: with the Senecas of New York, 6,000: with the Sioux of the Mississippi 40,510: with the Yancton and Sante Sioux, 1,340: with the Sacs and Foxes of Mississippi, 48,540: with the

Shawnees 7,180: with the Senecas and Shawnees, 2,060: with the Senecas, 2,660: with the Wynandots, 6,840: with the Weas, 3,000: with the Wynandots, Winsees and Delawares, 1,000: with the Winebagos, 92,860: with the Miamies, 333,050: to enable the Secretary of War to procure medals to be distributed amongst the chiefs and leading men of the Indians, 2,500 to cover expenses incurred by the commissioners in holding treaties with the Sac and Fox, Winnebago and Sioux Indians, 6,200: for this sum, in addition to the appropriation per act of eighteen hundred and thirty-five, for the expenses of treating with the Comanches and other wild tribes of the Western Indians: S. 315: to carry into effect a treaty with the Wynandot Indians, 71,260 92.

PRIVATE.

II. R. 40 Lieut. John L. Cline, 573 27: do 41 Francis G. McCauley, 742 09: do 46 John P. Campbell, 200: do 48 John Barnes, heirs of 2186 50: do 52 S. Phelps and Charles Landon, 2,000: do 64 Burnett Bindsall, 345: do 82 John P. Converse and J. P. Rees 613 83: do 83 John E. Alexander, 146: do 88 Daniel Homans, 200: do 89 Isaac Fessenden, 50: do 90 James Tongue, 1,837 78 John Scrivener, 3,840, William Holson's heirs, 3,968 39: do 93 Archibald McCallum 930: do 95 a John Underwood, 1,250: do 95 b Nathaniel Mitchell, 931: do 99 Ingoldsby W. Crawford, not to exceed, 1,000, Samuel Phillips, do 117 William Markham, 250: do 127 representatives of Col. Wm. Pratt, 1,515 28: do Benj. F. Hard, 1,329 59: do 218 John Johnson 756 82: do 219 Hugh Stewart, 6,662 25: do 224 C. H. Atherton, or legal representatives, 2,333 86: do 226 John King, 900: do 238 James Morow and Jonathan Tipton, with interest from October 26, 1839, 1,114 57; do 297 Benj. P. Roberts, 52: do 316 John B. Pierce, 756 87.

SENATE—PRIVATE BILLS.

For the relief of Caroline E. Clitherald 1,663: of the heirs of Daniel Pettibone, deceased, 5000; of Geo. W. Paschal, 287 50: of Mary Prettynan, 247: of E. D. Dixon, 152: of James H. Relfe, 200: of the legal representatives of Nathaniel Pryor, deceased, 4160: of the legal representatives of John Scott, 1,500: of Jacob Pennell and others, 38: of Captain J. Throckmorton, 1000: of Caleb Eddy, 285 87: of David Gels-ton, 36,157 40: of Bezekiah L. Thistle, 75: of Robt. B. Lewis, 15: of Enoch Hidden, 200: of Isaac Hull, 604 84: of Daniel Kleiss, 83 52: of the legal representative of Richard T. Banks, 3,206 09: of Francis A. Harrison, 199: of John C. Reynolds, 1,121 03: of of Marston G. Clarke, 392 50: of Zachariah Jellison, 340 13: of William Polk, 119 50: of Andrew Forrest, 368 34: of Mrs. Mary W. Thompson, 900: of the legal representatives of Henry Eckford, 3,783 97: of John W. Skidmore, 238 34: of Nathaniel Mitchell, 275.

RECAPITULATION.

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Indian Department, treaties, &c.	1,300,077 47
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Clerk's Office Ho. of Reps, August 31, 1842.

MW. ST. CLAIR CLARKE,

Clerk House of Representatives of U. S.

We have now laid before our readers a brief view of the proceedings of the ever-memorable twenty-seventh Congress of the United States. We particularly call the attention of our readers to selections from President Van Buren's Message to Congress in 1840, published in this Journal, page 48. They not only shew the prosperous state of the finances of the Government, but that of Federal Whig administration, which, in defiance of their boasted promises of *retrenchment of expenses*, &c., far exceeds that of Mr. Van Buren's administration for 1840; and that, too, notwithstanding the savings of the vast outlays by the cessation of the war in Florida, &c., &c.

On referring back to the long session of Congress just over, it does not require much penetration to discover the cause why members of Congress have lavished away so much of the people's money. We are well aware that much of the time of the members has been *twittered away* in "heading Capt. Tyler," and in President making, &c. But we conceive that the *root of the evil* is still deeper, and that it cannot be *eradicated* until the people use their *pruning hooks more freely*—we mean, by their selecting and sending *more men of their own class to represent them* in Congress. Although we entertain the highest respect for professional men, yet, generally speaking, they are not men of business out of their law pursuits. This, in a great measure, accounts for their long speeches on the floor of Congress—speeches, the subject of which, with few exceptions, might be stated in one-tenth or even one-twentieth of the space, and would be much better understood both by the House and their constituents. These remarks may probably not be pleasing to even many of our personal friends; but should this be the case, all the apology we have to offer is, that we write for the people, or in other words, to do the greatest good for the greatest number; and this, we think, can be done by sending men to Congress that will work more and talk less. We are backed in this opinion by one of the most

distinguished Democrats of the present day, and by one of the days gone by. The former, speaking of abuses, &c., says: "Rely first on yourselves; put more men of your own class into the State Legislatures and into Congress;" the latter, no less a man than Thomas Jefferson, who says:

"I never heard General Washington or Dr. Franklin speak more than ten minutes at a time, nor to any but the main point which was to decide the question. They laid their shoulders to the great point, knowing that the little ones would follow of themselves. If the present Congress errs in too much talking, how can it be otherwise in a body to which the people send one hundred and fifty lawyers, whose business it is to question every thing and talk by the hour."

Let us for a moment look at members composing the last session of Congress: we there find that the two Houses of Congress numbered something like 290 members, out of which number 245 are lawyers. Besides this, we are under the impression that the present Federal Whig Cabinet, with the God-like Daniel at their head, are lawyers; and in looking round at our State Governments, Legislatures, &c., we find that the gentlemen of the bar rule and govern, similar to the National Government, &c. We do not wish to be understood as being unfriendly to lawyers by the foregoing remarks; but, at the same time, we do think that the working classes, upon the Democratic principle, ought to have a due proportion in our National and State Legislatures, &c. We are aware that we shall be met on this point by statements such as the working classes are not by education, business habits, &c. fitted for such stations; we regret to say that, generally speaking, we are compelled to admit this; but while we do so, we feel persuaded that there are men in the ranks of the working classes who would not only do honor to themselves but their country on the floors of Legislative Halls, &c.; and we believe nothing is wanting to bring forward *thousands* of the working classes but an opportunity for them to enter fairly into the field of legislation, &c. But this cannot be done until the people rise in their might and majesty and do justice to themselves in asserting their right at

the ballot box to a due portion from among themselves to assert their Equal Rights and Privileges in the Legislative Halls of our country.

It is our intention to follow up this subject in a future number.

LADIES' FREE SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION OF RHODE ISLAND.

PAWTUCKET, OCT. 1, 1842.

MR. EDITOR: As the ladies in Rhode Island possessed of human feeling, are held up through certain presses as objects of ridicule for heartless, brainless mortals to bestow their choice epithets upon, we, the ladies of this place, have thought it best to form a Ladies' Suffrage Society, to distinguish us entirely from that class of females, upon whom we look with pity and contempt. Yes, and can read the paragraphs of ridicule, or listen to the attempted sarcasm, with the same feelings of scorn, that the honest patriot would experience in reading the deeds of a Benedict Arnold. We esteem it not only a privilege, but an honor to be called a Dorrite—to be ranked with the advocates of him whose character from youth upward has stood untarnished, whose whole history has been signalized for his purity of principle and integrity of conduct; who, though exiled from his home, and a price set upon his head, has left but few compeers in this State. And we esteem it the highest compliment an Algerine can bestow, when we are called "Dorrites." Therefore we wish to publicly announce our sentiments, and we ask the favor of your columns for this purpose:

PREAMBLE.

Feeling it a duty which we owe to our country, her institutions and to ourselves, to support, and respect such laws and rules as shall best promote the peace of the country, and the welfare of her citizens; and whereas, our present form of government and rules, in this State, have failed to do this, and by their unjust course, give evidence that they mean to continue this anti-republican law, and unlawful possession of the State government, we do hereby agree, and bind ourselves, severally and collectively, to the strict observance of the articles contained in our Constitution, framed for the defence and support of the Suffrage cause in Rhode Island.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1. This Society shall be called the Pawtucket Ladies' Suffrage Society.

ARTICLE 2. This Society shall have a President, three Directresses, a Secretary, and a Private Committee of four.

ARTICLE 3. No lady shall become a member unless she has a majority in her favor.

ARTICLE 4. No person shall be admitted a member who would blush to be called a Dorrite, though it were in presence of the largest feeling Algerine in the State.

ARTICLE 5. No lady shall become a member who shall refuse, at any time, to own her principles, or defend the name and character of Gov. Dorr, when and wherever they hear it traduced, by male or female.

ARTICLE 6. No lady shall become a member unless willing to join heart and hand, in all virtuous movements to establish, to defend, and to maintain the cause of Suffrage in Rhode Island.

ARTICLE 7. This Society shall hold a weekly meeting at such places as shall be deemed proper.

ARTICLE 8. The Society shall agree upon twelve private houses to hold meetings in—which shall be designated by numbers known only to the Society.

ARTICLE 9. The funds of the Society shall be raised by voluntary subscription; and no money shall be appropriated to any use without the consent of the whole Society.

ARTICLE 10. Every member detected in reporting the doings of the Society to an Algerine, or to any person who is not a true friend of Gov. Dorr, shall be expelled, without a hearing or a vote.

ARTICLE 11. Every member shall be required to give a strict account of who questions them concerning the movements of the Society.

As the first fruit of this Society, I present in their name, our united and heartfelt thanks to His Excellency Henry Hubbard, Governor of New Hampshire, and His Excellency C. F. Cleveland, for their patriotic refusal to sign the requisitions for the surrender of Thomas W. Dorr, to the acting authority of this tyranny-bound State. We would also thank them, together with Gov. Morton, for the pains they have taken to explain, in their letters, the true principles of liberty, as contained in the Constitution of the United States, that great bulwark of American freedom and independence, concerning which, at this late day, so many remain ignorant; and if there is a female heart in Rhode Island, that does not fully respond to the thanks we offer, the pulses

of that heart beat not with the patriotic blood of our forefathers, or the noble spirit of our grandmothers.

A TRUE SUFFRAGE LADY.

P. S. Will the editors of Connecticut and N. Hampshire papers, friendly to Free Suffrage, please copy our thanks to the Governors of their State? And will the editors of every State who have advocated the cause of the oppressed and insulted people of Rhode Island, accept the unfeigned gratitude of this Society for their untiring labors in the cause of justice?

It affords us great pleasure not only to republish the foregoing, but to earnestly request Democratic Editors over the Union to republish it; also to use all fair and honorable means to promote and aid the noble cause the Democratic Ladies of Rhode Island are engaged in. We hope and trust that branches of the Ladies' Free Suffrage Association of Rhode Island will be established over our country, to remain in force until every vestige of the King Charles Charter in Rhode Island is totally obliterated and a Constitution established in conformity to the one guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

Come, ladies, who among you will form the first branch of the Ladies' Free Suffrage Association of Rhode Island? We trust that the Democratic Ladies of the Empire State will lead the van.—EDS. D. GUIDE.

WOMEN! GOD BLESS THEM.

The following is from the Plebeian.—Say what we may in favor of the patriotism of the gender masculine the women of Rhode Island give evidence of an order and degree of patriotism which the ruder sex dare not presume to. It is only in the hour of adversity that we know woman's worth. 'Mid the full blaze of fortune's rich meridian, her modest beam retires from vulgar notice. But when the clouds of woe gather around us, when shades and darkness dim the wanderer's path, we see that chaste and lovely light shining forth to cheer him on, an emblem and an emanation of the world celestial. Then alone her love, her value, her power, is visible. Who can read the circular which follows, without feeling that the women, God bless them, are an invulnerable fortress, against which oppression and despotism may beat in vain. We were honored with it enclosed in a neat note from one of the fair Republicans of the land of Roger Williams, and cannot forego the first opportunity to publish it:

THE YOUNG WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION having determined to hold in the city of Providence, on the 18th day of October, a Fair or Public Sale,

the proceeds of which are to be appropriated to the relief of those reduced to suffering and want in consequence of their adherence to Free Suffrage principles, and to the advancement and defence of free principles and human liberty among Rhode Island citizens and upon Rhode Island soil, it was deemed advisable to address the Suffrage Women of this State, affectionately soliciting their counsel and aid.

Sisters, the cause which now demands our earnest prayers and untiring efforts, is the cause of equal rights! The shackles are upon our souls: the galling chains are upon the limbs of our fathers and brothers. Say then, shall we not with all woman's energy address ourselves to the great work of emancipation? Shall not the emotions which cause the sympathizing tear to fall for those who have boldly placed themselves in the forefront of this great battle, and have periled their lives, ruined their health, wrecked their fortunes, and are compelled to remain exiles from their homes, fill our souls and arouse our energies to do "with our might whatsoever our hands find to do" in this holy cause. Will not every woman who feels an interest in the cause, in some way assist in arranging and executing the plans for this fair? We appeal to you, dear sisters, "in full confidence that our call will meet with a joyous response from all those who love the cause of freedom."

Will not each town and village furnish at least one long, heavily loaded table, superintended by its own true-hearted, self-sacrificing proprietors?

Above all, let each town village, and hamlet send up a numerous liberty-loving delegation, to cheer by their presence and their smiles, the toil worn laborer.

One and all, let us do something. Oppressed humanity expects it of us—God requires it at our hands.

Donations of articles for the Fair; may be left at the office of the Republican Herald, or with either of the Committee.

CAROLINE ASHLY, No. 16 Mathewson street.

ANNA M. WEAVER, No. 74 High street.

ANNA M. LORD, Cor. of John and Thayer st.

SARAH A. ALLEN, 115 Friendship street.

MARIA E. ALLEN, 115 Friendship street.

PROVIDENCE, Sept. 22, 1842.

VETO POWER.

Extract from the Speech of Mr. Buchanan, in support of the Veto Power.

For more than half a century, under this constitution, we have enjoyed a greater degree of liberty and happiness than has ever fallen to the lot of any other nation on earth. Under such circumstances, the Senator from Kentucky, (Mr. Clay) before he can rightfully demand our votes in favor of a radical change of this Constitution, in one of its fundamental articles, ought to make out a clear case. He ought not only to point out the evils which the country has suffered from the existence of the veto power, but ought to convince us they have been of such magnitude that it is not better "to bear the ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of." For my own part, I believe that the veto power is one of the strongest and stateliest columns of that fair temple which our ancestors have dedicated to liberty, and that if you remove it from the time honored edifice, you will essentially impair its strength and mar its beauty. Indeed there will then

be great danger that in time it may tumble into ruins.

Sir, in regard to this veto power, as it at present exists, the Convention which framed the Constitution, although much divided on other subjects, were unanimous. It is true that in the earlier stages of their proceedings, it was considerably discussed and presented in different aspects. Some members were in favor of an absolute veto, and others were opposed to any veto, however qualified; but they at length unanimously adopted the happy mean, and framed the article as it now stands in the Constitution. According to Mr. Madison's report of the debates and proceedings in the Convention, we find that on Saturday, the 21st July, 1787, the "tenth resolution giving the Executive a qualified veto, requiring two-thirds of each branch of the Legislature to over-rule it, was then agreed to *nem con.*" The Convention continued in session for nearly two months after this decision; but so far as I can discover, no member ever attempted to disturb this unanimous decision.

A principle thus settled ought never to be rashly assailed under the excitement of disappointed feelings occasioned by the veto of two favorite measures of the Extra Session, on which Senators had fixed their hearts. There ought to have been time for passion to cool and reason to resume her empire. I know very well that the Senator from Kentucky had announced his opposition to the veto power so far back as June, 1840, in his Hanover Speech; but that speech may fairly be considered as a declaration of his own individual opinion on this subject. The great whig party never adopted it as one of the cardinal articles of their faith, until, smarting under disappointment, they saw their two favorite measures of the Extra Session, fall beneath this power. It was then, and not till then, that the resolution, in effect, to abolish it was adopted by them as a party, in their manifesto. The present amendment proposes to carry this resolution into execution.

I should rather rely upon the judgment of the Senator from Kentucky on any other question, than in regard to the veto power. He has suffered so much from its exercise, as to render it almost impossible that he can be an impartial judge. History will record the long and memorable struggle between himself and a distinguished Ex President, now in retirement. This was no common party strife. Their mighty war shook the whole Republic to its centre. The one swayed the majority in both houses of Congress, whilst the other was sustained by a majority of the people. Under the lead of the one, Congress passed bills to establish a Bank of the United States—to commence a system of Internal improvements—and to distribute the proceeds of the public lands among the States; whilst the other, strong in his convictions of duty, and strong in his belief that the voice of the sovereign people would condemn these measures of their representatives, vetoed them every one. And what was the result? Without, upon the present occasion, expressing an opinion of any one of these questions, was it not rendered manifest that the President elected by the mass of the people, and directly responsible to them for his conduct, understood their will and their wishes better than the majority in the Senate and the House of Representatives? No wonder then that the Senator from Kentucky should detest the veto power. It ought never to be torn from its foundations in the Constitution by the rash hands of a po-

litical party, impelled to the deed under the influence of defeated hopes and disappointed ambition.

I trust now that I shall be able to prove that the Senator from Kentucky has entirely mistaken the character of the veto power; that in its origin and nature it is peculiarly democratic; that in the qualified form in which it exists in our Constitution, it is but a mere appeal by the President of the people's choice from the decision of Congress to the people themselves; and that whilst the exercise of this power has done much good, it has never been and never can be, dangerous to the rights and liberties of the people.

This is not "an arbitrary and monarchical power;" it is not "a monarchical prerogative," as it has been designated by the Senator. If it were, I should go with him heart and hand for its abolition. What is a monarchical prerogative? It is a power invested in an emperor or king, neither elected by nor responsible to, the people, to maintain and preserve the privileges of his throne. The veto power in the hands of such a sovereign has never been exerted, and will never be exerted, except to arrest the progress of popular liberty, or what he may term popular encroachment. It is the character of the public agent on whom this power is conferred, and not the nature of the power itself which stamps it either democratic or arbitrary. In its origin, we all know that it was purely democratic. It owes its existence to a revolt of the people of Rome against the tyrannical decrees of the Senate. They retired from the city to the Sacred Mount, and demanded the rights of freemen. They thus extorted from the aristocratic Senate a decree authorizing them to elect tribunes of the people. On these tribunes was conferred the power of annulling any decree of the Senate, by simply pronouncing the word "*veto.*" This very power was the only one by means of which the Democracy of Rome exercised any control over the Government of the Republic. It was their only safeguard against the oppression and encroachments of the aristocracy. It is true it did not enable the people through their tribunes to originate laws; but it saved them from all the laws of the Senate which encroached on their rights and liberties.

Now, sir, let me ask the Senator from Kentucky was this an arbitrary and monarchical power? No, sir, it was strictly democratic. And why? Because it was exercised by tribunes elected by the people, and responsible annually to the people; and I shall now attempt to prove that the veto power, under our Constitution, is of a similar character.

Who is the President of the U. States, by whom this power is to be exercised? He is a citizen, elected by his fellow citizens to the highest official trust in the country, and directly responsible to them for the manner in which he shall discharge his duties.—From the manner in which he is elected, he more nearly represents a majority of the whole people of the United States than any other branch of the government. Sir, one-fourth of the people may elect a decided majority of the Senate. Under the Constitution, we are the representatives of sovereign States, and little Delaware has an equal voice in this body with the Empire State. How is it in regard to the House of Representatives? Without a resort to the gerrymandering process, which of late years has become so common. It may often happen, from the arrangements of the Congressional districts, that the minority of the people of a State will elect a majority of Representatives to

Congress. Not so in regard to the President of the United States. From necessity he must be elected by the mass of the people in the several States. He is the creature of the people—the mere breath of their nostrils—and on him, as the tribune of the people, have they conferred the veto power.

Is there any serious danger, that such a magistrate will ever abuse this power? What earthly inducement can he have to pursue such a course? In the first place, during his first term, he will necessarily feel anxious to obtain the stamp of public approbation on his conduct, by a re-election. For this reason, if no other existed, he will not array himself with the exercise of the veto power against a majority in both houses of Congress, unless in extreme cases, where, from strong conviction of public duty, he may be willing to draw down upon himself their hostile influence.

In the second place, the Constitution leaves him in a state of dependence on Congress. Without their support, no measure recommended by him can become a law, and no system of policy which he may have devised can be carried into execution. Deprived of their aid, he can do nothing. Upon their cordial co-operation the success and glory of his Administration must, in a great degree, depend. Is it, then, at all probable that he would make war upon Congress, by refusing to sanction any one of their favorite measures, unless he felt deeply conscious that he was acting in obedience to the will of the people, and could appeal to them for support?—Nothing short of such a conviction, unless it be to preserve his oath inviolate to support the Constitution, will ever induce him to exercise a power always odious in the eyes of the majority in Congress, against which it is exerted.

But there is still another powerful influence which will prevent his abuse of the veto power. The man who has been elevated by his fellow citizens to the highest office of trust and dignity which a great nation can bestow, must necessarily feel a strong desire to have his name recorded in untarnished characters on the page of his country's history, and to live after death in the hearts of his countrymen. This consideration would forbid the abuse of the veto power. What is posthumous fame in almost every instance? Is it not the voice of posterity re-echoing the opinion of the present generation? And what body on the earth can give so powerful an impulse to public opinion, at least in this country, as the Congress of the United States? Under all these circumstances, we must admit that the opinion expressed by the Federalist is sound, and that "it is evident that there would be greater danger of his not using his power when necessary, than of his using it too often or too much." Such must also have been Mr. Jefferson's opinion. When consulted by Gen. Washington in April 1792, as to the propriety of vetoing "the Act for an apportionment of Representatives among the several States, according to the first enumeration," what was his first reason in favor of the exercise of this power upon that occasion? "Viewing the bill," says he, "either as a violation of the Constitution, or as giving an inconvenient exposition to its words, is it a case wherein the President ought to interpose his negative?" "I think it is." "*The non-user of his negative power begins already to excite a belief that no President will ever venture to use it; and consequently, has begotten a desire to raise up barriers in the State Legislatures against Congress throwing off the control of the Con-*

stitution." I shall not read the other reasons he has assigned, none of them being necessary for my present purpose. Perilous, indeed, I repeat, is the exercise of the veto power, and "no President will ever venture to use it" unless from the strongest sense of duty, and the strongest conviction that it will receive the public approbation.

The manner in which the State of New York is districted for the election of Members of Congress.

CHAP. 325.—An act to divide the State into Congressional districts. Passed Sept. 6, 1842.

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows :

§ 1. That for the election of representatives in Congress of the United States, this State shall be and is hereby divided into thirty-four districts, namely :

The counties of Suffolk and Queen shall compose the first district.

The counties of Richmond and Kings shall compose the second district.

The first, second, third, fourth, and fifth wards of the city and county of New York shall compose the third district.

The sixth, seventh, tenth and thirteenth wards shall compose the fourth district.

The eighth, ninth and fourteenth wards shall compose the fifth district.

The eleventh, twelfth, fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth wards shall compose the sixth district.

The counties of Westchester and Rockland shall compose the seventh district.

The counties of Putnam and Dutchess shall compose the eighth district.

The counties of Orange and Sullivan shall compose the ninth district.

The counties of Ulster and Delaware shall compose the tenth district.

The counties of Columbia and Greene shall compose the eleventh district.

The county of Rensselaer shall compose the twelfth district.

The city and county of Albany shall compose the thirteenth district.

The counties of Washington and Essex shall compose the fourteenth district.

The counties of Warren, Franklin, Clinton, and townships, number fifteen, thirty-two, seven, four, five and forty-one of Totten and Crossfield's purchase within the county of Hamilton, and all the territory in said county lying north of said townships, shall compose the fifteenth district; and all those parts of said county of Hamilton shall, for all the purposes of any general

or special election of State and county officers, electors of president and vice president, and representatives in congress, be taken and deemed to be a part of the town of Long Lake, in said county.

The counties of Saratoga, Schenectady, Fulton, and that part of the county of Hamilton not included in district number fifteen, shall compose the sixteenth district.

The counties of Herkimer and Montgomery shall compose the seventeenth district.

The counties of St. Lawrence and Lewis shall compose the eighteenth district.

The county of Jefferson shall compose the nineteenth district.

The county of Oneida shall compose the twentieth district.

The counties of Otsego and Schoharie shall compose the twenty-first district.

The counties of Chenango, Broome and Tioga shall compose the twenty-second district.

The counties of Madison and Oswego shall compose the twenty-third district.

The county of Onondaga shall compose the twenty-fourth district.

The counties of Cayuga and Cortland shall compose the twenty-fifth district.

The counties of Tompkins, Chemung and Yates shall compose the twenty-sixth district.

The counties of Seneca and Wayne shall compose the twenty-seventh district.

The county of Monroe shall compose the twenty-eighth district.

The counties of Ontario and Livingston shall compose the twenty-ninth district.

The counties of Steuben and Allegany shall compose the thirtieth district.

The counties of Cattaraugus and Chautauque shall compose the thirty-first district.

The county of Erie shall compose the thirty-second district.

The counties of Wyoming and Genesee shall compose the thirty-third district.

And the counties of Orleans and Niagara, shall compose the thirty-fourth district.

§ 2. Each district shall be entitled to elect one member.

§ 3. In the city and county of New York and in the county of Hamilton, it shall be the duty of the board of canvassers of such county to specify in their statement of the votes given for representatives in Congress the number of votes given in each of the congressional districts to which the several portions of said county respectively belong; together with the names of the persons for

whom such votes were given, and the number of votes given for each.

§ 4. In all cases where the meeting required to be held in pursuance of "an act respecting elections other than for militia and town officers," passed April 5, 1842, by the supervisor, assessors and town clerk of the respective towns, and by the common council of the respective cities in this state, on the first Tuesday of September instant, has not been held on that day, it shall, instead of that day, be held on the first Monday of October next; and the same adjournments, notices, appointments of inspectors of election, and other proceedings may be had under this amendment as are required or authorized by the said act, provided that no adjournment shall extend beyond the fifteenth day of October next.

§ 5. This act shall take effect immediately.

STATE OF NEW YORK, } I have compared the preceding with an original law of this State on file in this office, and do certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom, and of the whole of said original.

S. YOUNG, Secretary of State.

Awful State of the Finances.—We see it stated in official documents, that the expenses of Government for the present year will be at least \$26,000,000. The only revenue now left the Government are customs, which are estimated this year at \$10,000,000. The amount of Treasury notes out on the 1st March last, were \$8,500,000—yet to be issued \$2,600,000, making in all \$11,000,000. Treasury notes are now at a discount of five per cent, and they being received at the custom houses, the whole of the customs will be absorbed in the redemption of treasury notes, thus leaving the Government without a dollar of revenue to meet its \$26,000,000 of expenses.

Was the Government ever in such a predicament before? And all this in a time of peace—in the second year of whig reform—when the Government was to be carried on for thirteen millions a year—when we were to have better times, high wages, low taxes, and milk and honey all round. What a commentary on our rulers, their false promises and pledges! But how are these 26,000,000 of expenses to be paid? By further TAXING the people. That's the 'reformers' cry now. To help this squandering, extravagant administration out of difficulties;

to retrieve the nation's lost honor, the people are to be more heavily taxed than they ever were under a democratic administration. When the tax gatherer comes round, let them not shrink from his demands, but pay him what he asks. But when election time comes, then let them ask themselves whether that party is worthy of support, which, when out of power, promised Low taxes, and when in power makes High Taxes. Let it be remembered by all who see a national debt staring them in the face; a bankrupt dollarless treasury—an increase of taxes—that these things would not have occurred under a democratic administration. They are the legitimate fruits of whiggery—the pains brought upon the people by the great hard cider spree of 1840, which resulted in the defeat of the democracy, and the ascent to power of the old Federal-taxing, squandering party.—*O. Democrat.*

Cromwell's Speech to the Long Parliament.—The following are the very words spoken by Oliver Cromwell to the Long Parliament. The document was found among some old papers which had belonged to the Cromwell family. How fitly this speech would have applied to the bickering whig majority in the Congress of the United States, lately adjourned:—

Spoken by Oliver Cromwell when he put an end to the Long Parliament in 1653.

"It is high time for me to put an end to your sitting in this place, which ye have dishonored by your contempt of all virtue, and defiled by your practice of every vice. Ye are a pack of mercenary wretches, and would, like Esau, sell your country for a mess of pottage; and, like Judas, betray your God for a few pieces of money. Is there a single virtue now remaining amongst you? Is there one vice which you do not possess? Ye have no more religion than my horse—Gold is your God—which of you have not bartered away your consciences for bribes? Is there a man amongst you that hath the least care for the good of the Commonwealth? Ye sordid prostitutes! have ye not defiled this sacred place, and turned the Lord's Temple into a den of thieves? By your immoral principles, and wicked practices, ye are grown intolerably odious to the whole nation. You, who were deputed here by the people to get their grievances redressed, are yourselves become their greatest grievances.

"Your country, therefore, calls upon me to cleanse this Augean Stable, by putting a final period to your iniquitous proceedings in this House; and which, by God's help, and the strength he hath given me, I am now come to do. I command ye, therefore, upon the peril of your lives, to depart immediately out of this place.—Go! get you out! make haste! ye venal slaves, begone! Poh! Take away that shining bauble there, and lock up the doors."

A WHIG'S OPINION OF THE LATE CONGRESS.

It was not the purpose of a majority of Congress to settle public questions speedily, or at any time in accordance with the national interests. Such a course of proceeding would have terminated the sessions in three months, during which, as the public know, all the business that ever came before a congress can be settled. This is shown by what has been done during the alternate sessions commencing in December, and ending on the first day of March.

To what then may be attributed the neglect of the public business entrusted to Congress during the past session? In the first place, as we apprehend, to the entire absence of honest principles, and of common patriotism, on the part of a majority of its members, whose main employment consisted in the business of making and unmaking Presidents and securing for themselves those offices and emoluments usually claimed by *partizan politicians*.

Secondly, a majority of congress, whose income in private and professional life may rarely exceed \$500 to \$1500 per annum, to such as have any occupation, have been induced to defeat and protract the public business, as well as private claims before Congress, for the sake of extending their period of service.—*Boston Courier, a leading Whig paper.*

The Banking System.—The Madisonian states that "there are in eighteen States of the Union upwards of \$190,000,000 of banking capital, *wholly inconvertible and irredeemable* in specie: we stagger under debts to the amount of \$200,000,000; we have sunk by the banking system, according to the report of the treasury, the trifling sum of \$305,451,497! So much for the blessing of the banking privilege." Yes, and our good friends the "whigs," would increase these blessings by giving us more banks.

Beauties of Banking.—In a late number of Sylvester's Counterfeit Detector, we find a list of the names of upwards of 1200 banks in the United States. Upon a careful examination we find that of 1200, upwards of 300 are broken or "no sale," which means the same thing; sixty-four are fraudulent institutions; forty-four are either closed or closing; fifty-five are at a discount of from 35 to 90 per cent.; sixty-two are from 2 to 20 per cent. discount, and but fifty-two are at par, or worth 100 cents on the dollar, in the city of New York. The same paper also contains a list of over 800 different counterfeits on the various banking institutions in the Union.—*Buffalo Courier.*





